THE MADURA COUNTRY

A MANUAL

12. 2. 36.

COMPILED BY ORDER OF

THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT,

BY

J. H. NELSON, M.A.,

OF THE MADRAS CIVIL SERVICE, AND LATE FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

IN FIVE PARTS.

MADRAS:

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PREFATORY LETTER.

FROM

JAMES HENRY NELSON, ESQUIRE,
OF THE MADRAS CIVIL SERVICE,

TO

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF REVENUE,
MADRAS.

SIR,

I have the honor to inform you that the Manual for the Madura District, the compilation of which was directed by Government in their Order No 2,162 of the 9th September 1865, has been completed and printed and to submit the same for approval.

I have to express my regret that the work has taken much more time than was anticipated by the Board. but venture to hope nevertheless that I shall not be deemed to have delayed its completion unnecessarily In addition to the obstacles which ordinarily impede and delay one who brings out a work of any size in an out-of-the-way station in India, I have had to contend with certain peculiar difficulties In the first place the nature of the work rendered it necessary to look over more or less carefully the greater part of the voluminous records contained in the Record Office of Madura, which records are kept in a most confused and disorderly state, and to hunt up inscriptions and historical notices about which nothing was known in Madura. In the next place the circumstance of my holding a Judicial

the Manual, prevented me from communicating as freely as was desirable with those native officials who alone could materially assist me Then my removal more than a year ago to Madras and subsequent change to my present post, necessarily interfered with my arrangements and made it difficult for me to obtain information from Madura on various matters. Again, the inability of my printer to keep more than about a hundred pages of type set up at any one time, has for obvious reasons impeded the progress of the work. Other special difficulties it is unnecessary for me to enumerate

On the other hand, I have every reason to be grateful to the officials of the District generally, and to several non-official gentlemen resident in it, for the great kindness and promptitude with which they have supplied me with much valuable information To notice here in order the names of all who have so assisted me, would take up too much space but I should do ill were I to neglect to acknowledge the deep obligations imposed upon me by the liberality of the worthy Chief of the Jesuit Mission of Madura, who brought to my notice and lent me the "Mission du Maduré," a large collection of Administration Reports written by Jesuit Missionaries, some as far back as the very beginning of the seventeenth century, and so furnished me with some most excellent materials of which the very existence was unsuspected, for writing the history of Madura in comparatively modern times. Nor can I pass over in silence the very valuable assistance I have derived from the intelligence and knowledge of Revenue matters of Râja Râm Raû, the Huzûr Magisterial Clerk, whose services were considerately placed at my disposal by the Collector. Ever polite and ready to oblige however great and heavy his regular duties might be, he has both lightened my labors and made them more pleasant.

With regard to the authorities of which I have made use, it

I have depended upon the Collector's Records In other cases I have used the best authorities to which I had access. Thus in referring to Cingalese history, I have quoted from Upham's Mahâvansi, being unable to procure a copy of Turnour's more reliable work And doubtless other instances will readily be detected by my readers in which authorities quoted by me are of indifferent repute. For all such defects I must crave indulgence on the ground that there is nothing in the shape of a library at Madura, and the libraries of Madras contain but few Oriental works which could have been of much use to me. Had the means of acquiring the best historical information been procurable, it would certainly have been turned to account.

The Board will perhaps observe that I have done little if anything in the way of drawing inferences from figured statements. and I should therefore explain that I attempted to theorize about several matters, but was so greatly dissatisfied with my results that I had not the courage to publish them. I have failed altogether to discover sudden augmentations of the total area under cultivation obviously caused by the promulgation of new rules and regulations by the Board; or signs of periodicity in droughts and famines; or periods of depression or the reverse of trade and manufactures All that I have learnt with any certainty, is that since the assumption of the Madura District by the British a very marvellous change for the better has taken place in its condition A wretchedly poor and debased population has become orderly, industrious, and on the whole, prosperous. Where there were no means of intercommunication, fairly good roads and bridges have sprung up in every direction. Where fearful famines used to rage from time to time, starvation is now a thing almost unknown Where land was almost valueless, it now commands fancy prices Where justice was a term known only to a few pedantic scholars, and none had or even claimed rights but the st g, justice is n

administered with more or less impartiality in every part of the country, and is eagerly demanded and contended for by the poorest of the poor Where education was impossible to all, it is now possible to all; and its advantages are beginning to be generally appreciated. That these things are, and that they are the results of wise and beneficent administration, there can be no question. But how far any particular administrative act has contributed to the total improvement of the country, it is almost if not absolutely impossible, I believe, to ascertain.

I will conclude therefore with the expression of a hope that the Board will excuse my omission to manipulate statistics, and be content to know that the state of the District is manifestly improving day by day; that a light assessment and steadily increasing prices of agricultural produce are bringing about a healthy increase of cultivation, that the extra sources of Revenue such as salt and stamps, exhibit an elasticity full of promise for the future; and that considering the natural disadvantages under which Madura labors, its condition and prospects are all that could reasonably be expected

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

J. H. NELSON.

SHEVAROY HILLS,
30*th May*, 1868

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PART I.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY, LITHOLOGY, &c.

Situation of the Collectorate.—Boundaries.—Extent.—Configuration of the Country.—Mountains.—Rocks.—Minerals.—The river systems.—Tanks.—Lakes.—Salt marshes.—Forests.—Coasts.—Palk's Strait.—The Pâmbam Pass.

THE Collectorate of Madura, situated between latitudes 9° 5′ N. and 10° 45′ N. and in longitude 77° 15′ E. and 79° 30′ E., comprises the Madura District proper, the Dindigul sub-division, and the two great permanently settled Estates or Zamindâris, Râmnâd and Sivagangei. It is one of the most southerly divisions of the Madras Presidency, being bounded as follows, viz., on the north by Coimbatore, Trichinopoly, Puthukôttei and Tanjore; on the east by Palk's Strait; on the south by the Gulf of Manâar and Tinnevelly; and on the west by Travancore.

In shape it is, roughly speaking, not unlike an oblong, having its short sides facing the east and the west respectively, and which might be almost bisected by a line passing through the town of Madura, either north and south or east and west. The greater portion of the eastern half is within the limits of the two Zamindâris, of which the eastern-most, that of Râmnâd, is washed along its whole length by the sea, and contains the entire coast-line of the District. The east coast faces part of the west coast of Ceylon, and at one place all but touches it. This is at its southern extremity, where the land runs out towards the east in a narrow tongue some fiftee[illegible]es long, and almost joins the foot-shaped island of Pâmbam. [illegible]en this island and the island of Manâar there is only a ledge of rocks, just covered with water: and Manâar is divided from Ceylon by but

a very narrow and shallow strait. On the west a portion of the great range of mountains known as the Western Ghauts divides the Collectorate from the Travancore country, and forms a well defined natural boundary. On the north and south there are no natural boundaries.

The average length of the Collectorate, as now constituted, is about 75 miles, and the average breadth about 125. Its total area is said to be 8,789¾ square miles,

		Sq. Miles
	Râmnâd having an area of....	2,351
	Sivagangei......................	1,557
Principal Division.	Tirumangalam Tâlûk...........	618½
	Madura Tâlûk..................	361
	Mêlûr Tâlûk.....................	617½
	Periakolam Tâlûk................	1,212¾
Sub-Division.	Dindigul Tâlûk..................	1,091
	Palani Tâlûk.....................	981
	Total area...	8,789¾ square miles.

Looked upon as a whole, this District may be said to be an almost uniformly level tract, forming a portion of the long stretch of country which slopes down gradually from that great back-bone of the Dekkan, the Western Ghauts, to the Bay of Bengal. It is true that its western portion contains two or three very considerable spurs of those Ghauts, an important detached block of mountains, and several isolated hills and rocks. But all of these are mere abrupt, local up-heavals, formations (apparently) quite unconnected one with another, and which check only in a moderate degree the constant tendency of the country to dip towards the east. The District is, in fact, one large plain, and its mountains are but excrescences, the presence of which on its surface varies indeed its aspect, but does not very sensibly affect its general character

A secondary range of hills running parallel to the great Western Ghauts, and nearly north and south, separates the District from the Travancore country, and is called by the English " the Travancore hills." It has been trigonometrically surveyed; but is nevertheless, an ost unknown tract of country. It is said not to exceed 2,500 fe height, as a rule; although its peaks here and there reach very considerable altitudes. On the Madura side, the mountains rise very abruptly for the most part, from plains about 1,500 feet above

the level of the sea, but on the Travancore side, they stretch away towards the sea with a very gentle fall, and gradually sink down till they join the low country, with innumerable undulations and slopes. In consequence of this curious arrangement, the plentiful rains of the south-west monsoon, if they by any chance pass over the main range, are nevertheless caught and deposited on the Travancore side, and only stray showers escape the attraction of the secondary range and fall on the Madura plain. And the rain which actually falls on the Ghauts is almost all drained off down their western slopes. In fact, feeders of only two streams, the Suruli and the Veigei, flow eastward.

In the geological maps prepared by Professor Greenough this range is colored as laterite; but it seems clear that this coloring is incorrect. In his letters to Government, dated 4th January 1856 and 30th July 1857 respectively, General Cullen, the then Resident of Travancore, (and no mean geological authority,) pointed out, that the secondary ranges on the western side of the Ghauts were not (as marked by the Professor) a laterite formation, but were composed all of them of gneiss: and that those on the eastern side were of gneiss underlying compact "kunkur" or travertine And it does not appear that laterite is abundant in any part of the Madura hill-country; whereas gneiss and the granitic formations generally are known to be abundant in every part of it. Captain Payne has been employed recently in surveying a small portion of the jungles, with which the range is covered, and the only rocks observed by him were gneiss and varieties of granite. The locality is terribly feverish, infested with wild beasts, and wholly uncultivated and uninhabited. So that few Military Officers have ever had occasion to visit, or report on it; and it is quite a *terra incognita* to most Civilians. More however will be known of it after a while, when the survey above alluded to shall have been completed. The object of this survey is to acquire information touching the advisability of sanctioning a scheme of irrigation, which will be found described in a later portion of this manual under the head of "Public Works"

The Madura spurs of the Ghauts are three in number. The most important of them, called by Tamils the "Varâha" or "pig" mountains, but better known to the English by the name of the "Palani mountains," springs from, and is connected with the main body of the Travancore hills at their northern extremity, and runs E N. E., a total distance of fifty-four miles, with a mean breadth of

about fifteen. As may be supposed, its height is not the same in all parts: and for convenience sake it is usually divided into two portions, namely, the upper and the lower Palanis. The western or higher portion forms at top a plateau of some 105 square miles of an average height of 7,500 feet, and with peaks running up as high as 8,000 and even 8,500 feet: while the eastern range is nowhere more than 5,000 feet above the level of the sea, and gradually drops down to 1,500 and less in the direction of Dindigul. The rocks composing these mountains are for the most part enormous masses of gneiss, interstratified with quartz-rock, and with veins of felspar occasionally running through them. In some places these are found to be firm and solid, and appear to have successfully resisted the attacks of wind and rain. But, as a rule, they are more or less decayed to a considerable depth; and sometimes so much so, as to have been reduced to a gritty kind of clay. The tops consist mostly of syenite, which occurs in huge boulders: and is also often met with on the sides of the mountains. Other rocks, which most commonly occur on the mountains, are syenitic, granulitic, porphyritic, and micaceous varieties of granite. Siliceous clay and hornblende slate also occur: and argillaceous slate is found in small veins running through the highest tops. The strata of this last are marked and distinct: and the cleavage is regular and tolerably smooth. Were it found hereafter in large quantities, it is possible that it might prove very valuable. The minerals known to occur are the following, viz., prase, ferruginous quartz, the striped common opal (with geodes of chalcedony), black mica, iron mica, sulphuret of iron, ferro-tantalite, hydrous oxide of iron and anhydrous oxide of iron.* But there is every reason to believe, that many other kinds of minerals occur there in abundance: and that careful exploration of the Palanis by experienced mineralogists will likely lead to most valuable results. The presence of gold, for instance, is pretty clearly indicated by its occurrence in minute particles in the alluvium and sand of the plain at the north-east and of the range, which are formed of the disintegrated and decomposed rocks of the mountains.

The tops of the hills are covered with grass growing on a black soil, often several feet thick; and under this black soil there lies very often a dark yellowish clay. The supply of water is abundant in most parts of the range all through the year; and no less than eleven streams rise from the two plateaus, and carry down into the plains on eitherside disintegrated rock and various mineral deposits.

The lower Palanis differ very considerably, in many respects, from the upper; and it will be necessary hereafter to give a full description of the two ranges. Mountains so remarkable are not to be found in many parts of Southern India, or in fact of any country in the world. And as the future welfare of India would seem to be likely to be influenced, in no slight degree, by the constantly increasing numbers of European capitalists who settle on its hills, a full account of the Palanis, accompanied by some remarks on their prospects and capabilities, is imperatively called for in a manual for the Madura District.

About thirty miles south of the Palanis the Travancore hills turn off E.S.E., and continue in that direction for about fifteen miles. From the middle of this line of hills, and at right angles to it, springs the second spur. It is described as a "high wavy mountain" running up into peaks 7 and 8000 feet high, and jutting out into the low country for some twelve miles or more, in a wedge-like shape. So far as I can ascertain, no European has ever ascended it, and nothing is known of its formation, or even of its general appearance. The country between it and the Palanis is called the Kambam valley, after the village of that name.

South of the high wavy mountain the Travancore hills resume suddenly their southerly direction; and at the point of turning run out into the third spur, which, like the second, has no proper name. Portions of it are called after the estates to which they severally belong: but, as it would be inconvenient to adopt so many names, I shall call it the "Varshanâd and Ândipatti range," from two of the best known villages along its bases. This range runs north-east, for some forty miles, and then turns suddenly to the south-east, and continues in that direction for about fifteen miles under the name of the "Nâga-maleis," or "Snake hills." Its height is inconsiderable, probably nowhere exceeding 2 or 3000 feet in its highest peaks, and falling towards the north-east to a few hundreds. It is believed that the rocks which form it belong exclusively to the granitic series; but nothing certain is known about them. The hills are wild and uncultivated, covered with rocks of all sizes, from stupendous blocks of naked granite down to boulders and stones and of the roughest and strangest shapes. Only the very scantiest vegetation clothes their slopes: thorns and stunted trees alone form their jungles. No wealth of any kind is extracted from their summits,

and scarcely a Pagoda has been built upon them; so that neither the natives who live in their neighbourhood, nor the officers who collect revenue from those natives, are often tempted to climb their gaunt and burnt-up sides. Cattle are grazed upon them during the dry season, and the herdsmen occasionally go up after their beasts; but they make no stay. Between the Varshanâd hills and the "high wavy mountain" lies the Varshanâd valley, which joins the Kambam valley at its extremity, and together with it is absorbed in the main valley, which lies between the Palanis and the Ândipatti range, and sinks constantly towards the east, till at the end of the Palani range it is not more than a thousand feet above the level of the sea.

A few miles to the east of the Palani range commences an irregular congeries of hills of very various shapes and altitudes, which are dotted about the map in every direction round the village of Nattam. Various portions of them are known respectively by the following names:—1. The Sirumaleis. 2 The Karunthamaleis. 3. The Nattam hills. 4. The Alagar hills. It is impossible to describe these several groups with any accuracy. For it is believed that, with the exception of the first, they have never been explored by Europeans. In appearance and physical characteristics they are believed to resemble the Varshanâd hills: but curiosity concerning them is easily set at rest by the reflection, that whilst they are low, sterile and uninhabitable, the noble Palanis present an ever-varying field for exploration. Moreover, the deadly fever which lurks in their slopes, and indeed in the whole country in which they are situated, would effectually deter the ordinary amateur geologist from venturing far within their precincts. Fomerly, a much frequented road from Madras passed through Nattam, and readers of Orme will recollect the terrible disaster which befell Colonel Heron in the "Nattam pass." But this route has long ago been abandoned, owing principally (I am informed) to its extreme feverishness.

The relative position of the four groups is roughly as follows.—The first is east of Nattam, the second north, the third west, and the fourth south.

The only one of them which is at all extensive and lofty, and which has attracted cultivators, is the first, the Sirumaleis. Its extreme length is something under twenty miles, and in its highest parts it reaches the respectable height of 3,500, or perhaps even 4,000 feet, above the level of the sea. The undulating plateau at its top is

cool and agreeable, as a place of residence; and an attempt was once made to use it as a Sanitarium: but, after a while, it was found to be very feverish, more so, in fact, than are most Indian hills, and consequently was abandoned for ever. Besides a cool climate, the Sirumaleis can boast of a fertile soil: and during the short period of their colonization by Europeans, many varieties of European vegetables, flowers, shrubs, and trees were cultivated on them with success. A few native residents raise several kinds of crops: and one of their products, a small kind of plantain, is specially prized by the natives of the Madura District, and eagerly purchased whenever procurable. The range has not been reported on at length by any official; and no details of its height, extent, climate, &c, are to be found in the records. It would probably be found to be well suited for coffee. But, in this respect, the lower Palanis are so very far preferable to the Sirumaleis, that I can conceive nothing less likely than, that the latter should ever be resorted to by planters, so long as an acre of land on the former remains available for cultivation The rocks composing the Sirumaleis are of the granitic series; and the only known minerals, potash, mica, and quartz. but this is owing doubtless to ignorance of the locality. Iron ores probably abound in all the four groups, and the minerals commonly found in granitic formations.

A little south of the Sirumaleis at a place called Vâdipatti (about sixteen miles north-west of Madura) there is a small hill composed almost entirely of porphyritic green-stone. The hornblende in its composition is of the dark variety, and the felspar is of the albite or white variety, and in the composition of the mass the columns appear in spots like the skin of a leopard. In the neighbourhood of this hill there occur the following rocks, viz, granitic sand-stone, lamellar sandstone, mica slate, (found with garnet and zeolite and mesotype); basaltic hornblende rock; porphyritic granulite, found embedding iron; and granulite, found embedding common garnet, porphyritic diorite, green-stone porphyry and porphyrite green-stone. And the following minerals have been observed, viz., quartz, with crystals of schorl; a variety of jeffersonite rock; striped felspar; schorl; and polylite in labradorite and felspar.

Next in importance, as in position, is the Alagar-malei range, or rather hill, which is some 1000 feet in height, and perhaps twelve miles in length: and the southern end of which is situated twelve

miles north of the town of Madura. Its composition is mainly aventurine quartz or micaceous sand-stone : and some portions of it appear to have been formed upon a shore, and are stratified, and have inequalities resembling ripple marks. Moreover, the vast fields of granite at the south-eastern base of this mountain and near the Sirumaleis would seem to indicate the direction and denuding force of ancient oceanic currents. At the foot of the hill is situated an ancient temple, called Kallar-Alagar Kôvil, and in the neighbourhood of this edifice several rocks and minerals have been collected of the following descriptions, viz, hypersthene ; euphotide, ; diallage rock; granite (embedding schiller-spar), mica slate ; and micaceous sand-stone ; common quartz containing glassy actinolite ; columnar quartz embedding decayed diallage; a variety of aventurine quartz ; green diallage ; greenish grey do. ; grey do.; brownish yellow do.; black do , hornblende , hornblende stone ; nemalite ; nemalite rock ; schorl , monradite , and schiller spar.

About five miles north-east of Madura, and not many from Alagar Kôvil, there is a very remarkable rock called the "Elephant rock," from its remarkable resemblance in some lights to a colossal figure of that animal couchant. It is a solid block of gneiss, two miles in length, a quarter of a mile in breadth, and about 250 feet in height. Strata of felspar, mica, and quartz run horizontally through this mass from one end to the other, and are seen on both sides of it ; and are crossed at different angles by veins or faults of a felspathic rock, which pass through the entire vein. A porch and a temple have been hewn out of one side of it. As there can be but little doubt as to the sedimentary origin of this rock, we may perhaps suppose it to have been formed in a vast pit, and upheaved into its present position by some great effort of nature.

Passing on to the Nattam hills we find other and different formations. In the neighbourhood of Kottâmpatti, on the road to Trichinopoly, and thirty-two miles north-east of Madura, is an extensive bed of silicate of iron, which composes several hills. It continues in one direction, either upon or beneath the surface, a distance of about eight miles, and contains the different varieties of this ore and their different crystals. Then, there are grey-fossil calcareous sand-stone ; euphotide ; gneiss ; slaty granite ; porphyritic granite ; porphyritic syenite ; basalt ; and garnetic greenstone. And the following minerals have been found, viz., orthoclase ; granular felspar ; steatitic ironstone ; and

allanite. A few miles north of this, and near Tovaran-kurichi, there are some considerable hills of quartz rock, having a quantity of green diallage in its composition. Other rocks of the locality are granitic sandstone, and porphyritic granite. And quartz and diopside and blue quartz are minerals known to occur there.

A few of the small isolated hills, composed of solid granite and its varieties, which rise up from the plains in various parts of the District, require some notice.

The most celebrated of these is the great rock of Dindigul. Its height is 280 feet. Rising from the midst of a low-lying plain, it stands completely isolated, with the direction of north-east and south-west. Its lofty, precipitous, and inaccessible sides were strongly fortified in the times of the first Nâyakkan kings, if not before: and for a long time the fortress of Dindigul was the key of Madura country on its western side. Even so late as 1815 the fortifications erected by Hyder Ali in the modern style, and improved by the British Government, were in a good state of preservation: and the garrison consisted of between 800 to 900 men. Another, and much larger rocky mass is the Ranga-malei, which stands on a vast plain twenty miles from, and north of, Dindigul: and is said to have a circumference of seven miles with a height of about 2,000 feet. Though not far distant from the lofty ridges of the Kuru-malei Hills, it appears to the eye to be wholly unconnected with them. Its sides and ridges are well clothed with wood, but not of valuable descriptions.

East of Kottâmpatti is a much larger and loftier hill of similar formation, called the Prâ-malei, which appears to have been used as a place of military observation. An old brass gun is still to be seen on its almost inaccessible apex, which commands a fine view of the surrounding country.

Four miles south of Madura stands the holy Skanda-malei, about 500 feet high, well known for its pure water, and on account of the grave of a Mussulman Saint, round which has been built a small memorial chapel, much resorted to by the pious. At the base there is a celebrated Hindû church, the repute of which is perhaps a little enhanced by the vicinity of the good man's remains.

A little nearer Madura on the same side is the Pasu-malei, or "Cow hill," famous through a legend, which will be narrated hereafter.

Many other small hills might be mentioned, and also a few lofty peaks such as the Tôpu-malei in the northern part of the District

but it would serve no useful purpose to give merely their names and situations; and as they are all of a like nature to distinguish them briefly, and yet intelligibly, would be simply impossible.

Almost the whole of the District, with the exception of the hill tracts, was colored by Professor Greenough as syenite. I am not aware, what was his authority for so coloring the plains: or whether, indeed, he had any. But there can be little doubt that he was somehow led into the commission of a great error. Mr. Muzzy altered the indication in the map to one of granite in some parts, and laterite in others: but unfortunately, his corrections have never been published, and I am therefore unable to show the localities for which they were made. But it may be presumed, that they were made only for those portions of the District, with which Mr. Muzzy was most familiar, such as Madura, the Alagar hills, Pasu-malei, &c.; especially as no specimens of syenite were sent by him from any of them to Madras. Granite is commonly supposed to underlie the surface soil over the greater portion of the country: and the results of Mr. Muzzy's researches are decidedly favorable to this belief; though it remains for future explorers to throw more light upon the subject. Mr. Muzzy observes with regard to syenite, "that it is not known to be an "underlying rock to any extent in any part of this District, but "appears in blocks or rounded masses, both on the mountains and some "parts of the plains." And as far as his observations had extended, "granite underlies nearly the whole of this District." With this opinion it will be of some use to compare one given by Doctor Cole with regard to the coloring of the Bellary District for syenite. In a letter from the Quarter Master General to Government, under date the 21st May 1856, Doctor Cole is stated to have said, that it was unintelligible to him, for what reason Professor Greenough had put down so much of the south of India as syenite; that hornblende was not prevalent in the rocks of Bellary; and that he could find no authority for holding that syenite underlay the vast plains of black cotton soil and red soil, of which the surface of the Bellary country consisted.

With regard to the laterite formations alluded to above, it is to be regretted that their localities cannot be clearly pointed out. There would seem to be a very extensive gravelly bed of laterite reaching from Vallam in the Tanjore District through Puthukôttei on to Sivagangei: and it is quarried and used for building purpose at Mâna-

madura and other places. But no information exists with regard to any other beds of this peculiar Indian rock. Mr. Muzzy makes the following interesting remarks on its occurrence and formation :—

" In the vicinity of Vallam, and from that place south through the
" Puthukôttei and Sivagangei Districts, the laterite takes more the
" form of a glomerate rock, and is used for building purposes.. Its
" appearance in some places, when it is forming, is that of a liquid per-
" colating the soil, and forming for itself small pipes or veins, which
" branch in different directions, not unlike the veins in the human
" system; these multiply and harden till the whole mass becomes
" thoroughly impregnated with iron, and by degrees formed into a
" hard and rich iron ore, considerable hills are formed of this sub-
" stance in the Puthukôttei District, still containing the pipe, or vein-
" like formation."

North of Vallam (he says) the laterite occurs mostly in the formation of gravel, either mingled with the soil, or immediately below it : and it is pierced everywhere by granite ridges and masses. Doctor Cole having recorded his belief, that " the true laterite rock" of the Malabar Coast, does not occur east of the Nîlagiris, it would be interesting to know. whether any is to be found between Sivangangei and Vallam. From the description given by Mr. Muzzy it would appear, that what he observed was beds of a material formed of particles of rocks decomposed in situ, and not true laterite rock.

The only remaining formation of any importance is the sandstone, which is said to extend along the whole length of the sea coasts, to a distance of a few miles inland. This long and narrow bed is colored as " diamond sandstone" by Professor Greenough : but I am unable to find any description of it by Mr. Muzzy, and am inclined to doubt, whether it has any right to be so entitled It is not commonly supposed that diamonds are found in it. At Pâmbam it has been observed in the course of dredging, that the sandstone is hard and compact only at the surface ; and that it comes away very readily after the upper crust has been blasted off, and differs then but very slightly from a sandy conglomerate.

Specimens of the following minerals and rocks were collected by Mr. Muzzy in the plains, at the following places, viz :—

NEAR MADURA.

Minerals.—Common quartz; massive greenish yellow opal; chal-

cedony and jasper; decaying cacholong; earthy cacholong; precious garnet; kaolin clay; pyroxene in rose-colored granular limestone; chloritic potstone; axstone; decayed felspar; schorl and iron; peastone; magnetic iron ore; oxydulous iron; silicate of iron; yenite; porous iron ore containing quartz and a substance resembling magnesia, iron ore; and clayey iron ore.

Rocks.—Transition limestone covered with a crust of hydro-magnesite; lias limestone, compact limestone; hard shell limestone (suited for ornamental purposes and paving); coarse glomerate calcareous sandstone, containing shells; grey fossil calcareous sandstone; gneiss; tremolitic gneiss; granite; grey granite, basaltic granite; graphic granite, syenitic granite; kunkur or concretionary limestone, mostly used for making lime; granulite with garnets; syenite; and granitic basalt.

NEAR OLD MADURA, about one mile north-east of Madura.

Minerals—Jasper and chalcedony; brown jasper; red jasper; common felspar; glassy felspar; compact felspar; cleavelandite; crystalline schorl; massive schorl; schorl crystals; schorl and quartz; and schorl quartz and felspar.

Rocks.—Siliceous slate; basaltic gneiss; tremolitic gneiss; porphyritic granite; porphyritic granite, containing diopside; tremolite rock; and tremolite granite.

NEAR PASU-MALEI, about two miles south of Madura.

Minerals.—Ferruginous quartz; drusy quartz; chert with geodes containing drusy quartz; crystallized chalcedony; stalactitic chalcedony in quartz, stalactitic chalcedony; cacholong in granular limestone; granular and solid cacholong; nodular cacholong, found in decayed lime and granite rock; fine jasper with quartz; hornblende crystal in quartz; steatite and quartz; steatite; steatite rock; steatite, containing decayed garnets; steatite with an enamel of indurated talc; glazed steatite or potstone; crystallized steatite; steatite and iron; decayed steatite in quartz; steatite rock; schorl and angite in labradorite, iron imbedded in steatite; iron inclosed by quartz, iron and quartz; carbonate of iron, steatitic iron ore; and iron glomerate.

Rocks.—Grey granitic sandstone; iron sandstone; breccia, composed of iron, steatite and quartz, compact breccia; breccia of quartz and steatite, quartz and iron breccia, porphyritic breccia, crystalline

limestone in steatite; steatitic granular limestone; granular limestone, embedding iron and pyroxene; granular limestone embedding pyroxene; a variety of granular limestone embedding pyroxene; an aggregate of granular limestone, lithia, mica, pyroxene and steatite, traversed by veins of fine crystallized carbonate of lime; transition limestone; crystalline concrete limestone; travertine, incrusted by concreted carbonate of lime; calcareous tufa with steatite; syenitic granite with iron and lime; and syenitic granite with lime and iron.

NEAR SKANDA-MALEI, about four miles south of Madura.

Minerals.—Common opal; wood opal, yellow striped; fine wood opal, greenish striped; green wood opal; red wood opal; ferruginous opal; green ferruginous opal; ferruginous opal with traces of precious opal; ferruginous opal with geodes of chalcedony; yellow jasper; grey jasper; fine striped jasper; and chloropal.

NEAR PALAMEDU, about six miles north-west of Madura.

Rocks.—Concrete limestone; travertine; basaltic hornblende; basaltic hornblende and lime.

NEAR SITTAMPATTI, nine miles north-east of Madura.

Minerals.—Irony siliceous sinter; reddish garnet with iron; petalite; crystals of augite in quartz and felspar; pyroxene; pyroxene in crystals; granular hornblende in quartz.

Rocks.—Irony sandstone; decayed iron granite; decayed diallage rock; and a variety of decayed diallage rock.

NEAR MELAKÂL, about ten miles west of Madura.

Minerals.—Wernerite; wernerite with garnets; and wernerite in granite.

Rocks.—Felspathic granite; nemalite granite; and porphyritic granulite.

NEAR ALAGAR-KOVIL, twelve miles north of Madura.—See ante page 8.

NEAR PÛVANDI, twelve miles east of Madura.

Minerals.—Siliceous sinter; chalcedonic quartz; green chalcedony; yellowish cacholong; opalized cacholong; jasper with cacholong; brown jasper replacing lime; black jasper; andesine embedding crystals of sphene; crystalline diopside; a variety of pargasite; felspar with crystals of sphene; calcareous spar; rhomb spar; prismatic

rhomb spar; rhomb spar encrusting granular limestone; sulphate of barytes; and iron and quartz.

Rocks.—Iron and quartz glomerate; crystalline limestone with lithia, mica and graphite; crystalline limestone; magnesian limestone; and nemalite granite.

NEAR TIRUMANGALAM, about twelve miles south of Madura.

Minerals.—Crystalline chalcedony; crystalline diopside; massive diopside; adularia or moonstone; and albite with garnets.

NEAR KATCHAKAT, about sixteen miles north-west of Madura.

Rocks.—Granitic sandstone; new red sandstone; basaltic granite; and gneissoid granulite.

NEAR SOLAVANDÂN, about twelve miles west of Madura.

Minerals.—Aplome garnet; massive garnet, embedding granular albite and mica; gadolonite; granular felspar and quartz; magnetic oxide of iron; and granular oxide of iron, highly magnetic.

Rocks.—Porphyritic gneiss; granite; and granular iron greenstone.

NEAR TIRUPUVANAM, twelve miles east of Madura.

Minerals.—Chalcedonic stone; chalcedony; brown chalcedony; chalcedonic jasper, and graphite.

NEAR VÂDIPATTI, about sixteen miles north-west of Madura.—See ante, page 7.

NEAR MELÛR, about eighteen miles north-east of Madura.

Minerals.—Iron garnet; melanite in granulite and melanite.

Rocks.—Gneiss; albitic, graphic granite; syenitic granite, used for touchstone; rock composed of green felspar and yellow garnet in quartz.

NEAR KALLURANI, about eighteen miles south-east of Madura.

Minerals.—Chalcedony and cacholong; cacholong; earthy cacholong; and crystallized chalcedony.

Rocks.—Porphyritic breccia.

NEAR MELAVALAVU, about twenty miles north-east of Madura.

Minerals.—Grossular garnet; crystalline,grossular garnet; massive and crystalline aplome garnet; and crystalline aplome garnet.

Rocks.—Granitic basalt.

NEAR PÛDA-KUDI, about two and twenty miles north-west of Madura.

Minerals.—Wood opal (yellow undulated geodes); brownish striped wood opal; wood opal striped with oxide of iron or manganese; brown ferruginous opal with chalcedony; chalcedony and opal; chalcedony passing into cacholong and jasper; brown jasper with geodes of bluish white; karpholite; wallistonite; tabular spar; tabular spar embedding a yellowish green mineral, a variety of ilvite; gotheite, an ore of iron; silicate of iron; cronstedite; wheolite; anthosiderite; yenite, crystallized; yenite, massive; granular yenite; compact ironstone; limonite; and a variety of lievrite

Rocks.—Granular limestone; siliceous limestone; hydraulic limestone; and amygdaloidal granite, embedding decayed garnets and felspar.

NEAR SINGAMPEDÂRI, about eight and twenty miles north-east of Madura and near Tirupatûr.

Minerals.—White chalcedony.

NEAR PANTALAKUDI, about thirty miles south of Madura.

Rocks.—White silicious marble.

NEAR KOTTÂM-PATTI, thirty-two miles north-east of Madura. See ante, page 8.

NEAR DINDIGUL, thirty-eight miles north-west of Madura.

Minerals.—Specimen of pipe clay; and tschewkenite, forming a constituent part of porphyritic granite.

NEAR TIRUPATÛR, thirty-eight miles north-east of Madura.

Minerals.—Grey jasper, with fine geodes of chalcedony.

NEAR VÎRAKAL, about forty-two miles north-west of Madura and near Dindigul.

Minerals.—Ruby garnet in compact mica; iron garnets in quartz; compact mica; compact mica, embedding needle-stone and ruby-garnets; lamular felspar; amorphous felspar; and black tourmelin.

Rocks.—Leptynite; and felspathic granite, composed of quartz and felspar.

NEAR PERIAKOLAM, forty-nine miles west of Madura.

Minerals.—Common garnet.

NEAR PALANI, about sixty-nine miles north-west of Madura.

Minerals.—Prase; ferruginous quartz; striped common opal, with geodes of chalcedony; black mica; decayed iron mica; sulphuret of iron; and anhydrous oxide of iron.

Rocks.—Siliceous clay slate; calcareous tufa, embedding prase, felspar, nemalite, and quartz; hornblende slate; and porphyritic granite, in which is found the ferro-tantalite.

NEAR MÂNKULAM, about eleven miles north-east of Madura.

Minerals.—Anorthite; jeffersonite; and scolexcorose (?)

NEAR SÂYALAKUDI, about sixty-one miles south-east of Madura.

Minerals.—Bladed gypsum; and brown gypsum.

NEAR MANDAPASÂLEI.

Rocks.—Marble, striped with iron and embedding rounded grains of pyroxene.

Leaving for a while the subject of mineralogy, we will take a glance at the river-system of Madura, which is of the simplest possible character. The "high wavy mountain" mentioned in page 5, runs out a considerable distance into the main valley between the Palanis and the Varshanâd and Ândipatti range; and divides it pretty equally into two small valleys, of which the western is properly called the Kambam, the eastern that of Varshanâd. The drainage of these two valleys and of portions of the high wavy mountain is carried off by means of numberless streamlets into two main streams, called the Veigei and the Suruli. The latter and more important of these two takes its rise partly in the Western slopes of the spur just alluded to, and partly in the Travancore Hills: the sources of the former lie partly in the eastern slopes of the same spur, and partly in the Travancore Hills. After meandering some thirty miles down the valley in almost parallel curves, the Veigei and Suruli meet a little south of Allinagaram, just after the latter has received the tributary waters of the river Têni, which drains the Bôdi-nâyakkan-ûr valley, lying between the Travancore and Palani ranges. The Suruli is then merged in the Veigei, and is no more heard of. The Veigei soon afterwards turns off abruptly to the east, and after receiving the waters of the Varâhanadi, a large stream which rises in the upper Palanis, and those of the Vattila-gundu river, called the "Manjal," which descends from the lower Palanis by a magnificent cataract,

enters the Madura country at a spot just eight and three-quarter miles N. W. of Sôlavandân. From this point it takes a decided south-easterly course, and flowing along a shallow, sandy bed from 2 to 400 yards wide in an almost direct line right across the District, finally empties itself into the sea at Âttânkarei. That is to say, the waters of the Veigei take this direction, and reach the sea, when sufficient in volume. As a rule, its bed is all but dry during by far the greater portion of the year even at Madura, a hundred miles or so from its mouth; and dry all the year round at Râmnâd. Some of the streams which drain the various nooks and corners of the principal valleys generally have a little water in them during most months in the year: but the river which they unite in forming flows, unless swollen with heavy rains, over but a very small portion of its course Near the point where it enters the Madura country, it is dammed up by the Periyanei or "Great dam," and a considerable portion of its waters is diverted into a channel taken off from its left bank; and two and three-quarter miles lower down it is again obstructed by the Chinnanei or "Little dam," and empties into a channel on its right bank the greater part of what may be left of its now greatly diminished stream Besides this, many minor channels carry off its remaining waters north and south · and the tiny streamlet that ordinarily reaches Madura is utterly lost in the broad and sandy bed It is only after heavy rains in the country of its sources, that the bed of Veigei is properly filled. The river will then come down with rapidity and violence, but with no great body of water. its maximum depth being little, if any thing, over six feet These freshes occur but a few times in each year, and last usually only three or four days Sometimes, indeed, there will be no full freshes from January to December, and the people who dwell along the banks of the river will be seen procuring for themselves scanty supplies of water by digging small holes and channels in the bed, which appears to retain at all times a certain amount of moisture On the other hand, it happens occasionally that the river continues in full flood for as much as twenty or thirty days at a time, and flowing steadily into the sea, and comes down repeatedly month after month. So irregular, indeed, are its periodical fillings, that they can never be predicted with any certainty, or relied upon with any safety When it rains at Madura, there will very possibly be no rain on the mountains and consequently no freshes in the river. And when Madura is suffering from drought, there may be torrents of rain in Kambam and Varshanâd.

Next in importance to theVeigei are the Gundu and Varshalei.

The former of these is formed of several rivulets, which take their rise in the eastern slopes of the Varshanâd and Ândipatti range of hills, above Wartrap, Uttappa-nâyakkan-ûr, and Dodappa-nâyakkan-ûr. It flows in a direction almost parallel to that of the Veigei past Tiruchuli and Pallimadam, on to Elupûr, and so to Kamudi. East of this town, it is obstructed by a large and massive but loosely built stone dam, said to be of great antiquity, and a large channel carries off its waters in an easterly direction. The channel leads to the Kallavi lake, and, issuing through the southern portion of its dyke, passes through the salt marshes lying below the village of Veigei, and finally seeks the sea at a spot a little to the east of Kîlakarei. The natural course of the Gundu continues from Kamudi towards the south-east for twenty-two miles: and the river empties its surplus waters into the sea at Mukûrpattanam This river is extremely useful to the villages situated near its banks; but the remarks made about the uncertainty of the freshes of the Veigei are equally applicable to those of the Gundu, whilst the occasions on which the latter receives a full supply of water are, as might be supposed, far rarer than those on which the former is thoroughly well filled

The Varshalei drains the eastern slopes of the Nattam hills, flows past Prâmalei to Tirupatûr, and so on in a south-easterly direction to the sea, which it enters by several mouths between Urûr and Tondi. It is very like the Gundu in character, but is perhaps somewhat better supplied with water, and is consequently of more importance to the ryot.

Besides these three rivers there are several so-called rivers of more or less utility, of which it is quite unnecessary to give particular descriptions. They merely drain slightly elevated tracts country, or carry off the surplus waters of tanks, channels and rivers They are filled only in exceptional seasons, and then to a very trifling extent. Here and there will be found tiny jungle streams, and, particularly along the bed of the Veigei, natural springs, which fill artificial channels: but no one of these requires any special notice.

The main river system of the Madura District has been described, and it only remains for me to mention a minor system, which comprises the rivers that drain the northern slopes of the Palanis The country on this side of the District slopes away uniformly in the

direction of the Coimbatore District; and the rivers flow northwards, almost parallel one to another, just as in the main system they all flow towards the south-east. The principal is the Amarâvathi: and then come the Shanmuga-nadi, the Nân-gangei and the Kodavan-âr. They flow through a small portion only of the sub-division, and their waters irrigate but a small acreage. They belong altogether to other Districts, and are of very little importance to Madura.

Having thus described the main features of the river systems of Madura, it will not be out of place for me to notice here briefly the manner in which former rulers of the country utilized the supplies of water, which these rivers furnished to them. For they have done so much in this direction, that the face of the country has in many parts been made to assume (in favorable seasons) a new and remarkable appearance. The native rulers of the country early discovered the fact, that east of the mountains the District slopes down constantly towards the sea with an average fall of about ten feet per mile: and they took advantage of this lay of the land to establish a most effectual, though simple, system of irrigation. Wherever the surface dipped a little on either side of the Veigei, a strong curved embankment was run up to the height of a few feet with its concave side facing the river; and a channel was taken off at a spot nearly as high above the level of the sea as the top of the embankment By means of this channel, water was made to run in flood-time to the low-lying land, and the tank or reservoir was complete. Flowing against the embankment the water rose to the required height, and became available for irrigation by means of sluices and channels. To prevent the embankments of large tanks being breached by heavy waves dashing against them in windy weather, their inner sides were faced with stone-work. Surplus water was carried off by waste channels placed at proper levels: and was sometimes made to supply a series of smaller tanks, constructed on lower levels, in the following manner. As soon as the parent tank had received a certain amount of water, and was nearly filled, the in-coming flood was carried away through outlets and by means of waste channels into a subordinate tank. This was filled in the course of time: and its surplus waters were carried off by waste channels to tank No. 3. This was made in like manner to supply No. 4; and so on, until the lowest of all was supplied, or until the waters failed. The surplus waters, if any, of the last tank, were usually emptied into some river, and afterwards made available for irrigation on lower lands.

The sizes and shapes of these tanks vary according to circumstances. Some have bunds or dykes only a few yards long, and will irrigate only two or three acres of land: others have an ambit of several miles, and are capable of supplying many hundreds of acres. That for instance at Râjasingamangalam, north of Râmnâd, is said to be nearly twenty miles round. The embankment is usually in the form of an irregular curve; and most tanks, when filled, have the shape of some segment of a circle, or of a horse-shoe. In those parts of the District which lie too high, or too far away from the Veigei and other rivers, to admit of the construction of river-fed tanks, the ryots have constructed smaller tanks, dependent for their supplies on the periodical rains, or on natural springs, or little jungle streams.

But, however supplied, the tanks of the District have all been constructed on the same principles: and so as to avoid even the least waste of water. So careful, indeed, are the ryots not to waste what water they have, that one of the most fruitful causes of rioting and litigation amongst them is their inveterate habit of plotting and scheming to draw off on to their lands larger quantities of water, than they have any right to use. The distribution of supplies is not regulated on well-defined principles, but in a very arbitrary manner, and ordinarily by the lowest and most ignorant of officials. And Madura has no code of laws for the better regulation and management of her works and sources of irrigation, as have Italy and other European countries, although peopled by a race naturally very quarrelsome and litigious. It is to be hoped, that before long some attempts will be made by the Legislature to remedy this crying evil.

In Dindigul numerous dams have been thrown across the streams, which leap down from the mountains in every direction; and wherever practicable, tank cultivation is carried on with great industry and success. The lowest dams of the Veigei are the Periyanei and Chinnanei, constructed close to the point where the sub-division joins the principal.

There are no natural lakes or pools in any part of the Madura District. Wherever water may be seen, it is quite sure to be water that has been stored up artificially: and if he go from the Palanis to the sea-coast, a traveller will never come across a natural reservoir of even the very smallest size.

In the Râmnâd Zamindâri there are a few salt marshes And some of them in the neighbourhood of the town of Râmnâd are of considerable extent But they are not often in a moist state, and can hardly be of any very great importance in a sanitary point of view.

The country lying between the mountains and the sea can boast of nothing in the shape of a forest or wood. Here and there a goodly clump of trees may be found in the neighbourhood of a village , and isolated trees of some size are not uncommon in some parts, particularly in those lying near the Nattam mountains. Large plantations of palmyra and cocoanut trees flourish along the sea coasts, and near the banks of rivers. And splendid avenues of trees mark the lines of the principal roads of the District. But as a whole, the country cannot now be said to be well-wooded The valleys and ravines in the high lands of the Palanis and other ranges contain a few small forests.

The coasts of Madura are low and sandy, with broken rocks cropping up in places, and are entirely without bays, indentations, and harbours. Along their whole extent there is not a single place of refuge for even a small vessel overtaken by bad weather. They are also devoid of cliffs: and the bulwarks of sand against which the sea beats, are but continuations of the adjoining low-lying sandy tracts; and, except where built upon, or planted with palmyras and cocoanut trees, the coasts present, generally speaking, a most desolate and uninteresting appearance

Palk's strait, the waters of which wash the whole of the eastern coast, abounds in shoals, currents, sunken rocks, and blind sandbanks; and the passage through its entrance is full of difficulty and danger. From Point Kalimîr to the middle banks, there is no available channel; and between them and the shoals off the Ceylon coast the passage is not more than four miles and a half broad. The north-east monsoon sweeps down Palk's Strait with great fury at times, and there is often a heavy and confused swell at the northern entrance to the Pâmbam channel. The south-west monsoon affects the Strait but slightly, as its force is intercepted by the land and mountains of the District and of Travancore.

South of the Pâmbam channel or "Pass," as it is usually called, the sea is known by the name of the "Gulf of Manâar," deriving it from the island of that name off the western coast of Ceylon. The

Gulf is far more open than the Strait; but at its northern extremity it abounds in dangerous shoals, rocks and coral islets. And it feels the full fury of both monsoons, being quite open towards the south-west, and only very partially protected by the Ceylon coast on the north-east. Great storms occur in it from time to time; and many years ago a terrific tempest breached Râmappayyan's causeway built on the ridge of rocks, which lies between the island of Pâmbam and the main-land, and stopped the communication by land, which until then had been uninterrupted.

CHAPTER II.

MINERALOGY.*

THE Mineralogy of the District, although as yet but little is known of it, is said to promise rich rewards to future investigators. The only gentleman who as yet has paid any attention to it is Mr. Muzzy, a Missionary lately attached to the American Mission. His professional duties were too heavy to admit of him sparing much time for the prosecution of his favorite study: but he managed, nevertheless, to send a most valuable collection of minerals to the Central Museum at Madras, a list of which is to be found in the "Catalogue of the Government Central Museum," published in 1855. This list has enabled me to show, in the lithological portion of the Manual, the various mineral substances known to occur in particular localities. I shall now endeavour, principally by its aid and by the aid of a few remarks which accompanied it, to show briefly, what is known touching the mineral productions of the Madura District. The arrangement adopted is that which Dana followed in his Manual of Mineralogy.

THE FIRST CLASS of Minerals, the gases, do not call for any special remarks. The miasmata, which cause fever and other epidemics, have not been analyzed: and no springs of gases have been discovered.

CLASS II.—Very insufficient supplies of water are drawn from rivers, springs, tanks, channels, and surface wells. Freshes come down the principal rivers only occasionally after heavy rains. and the river-water then obtainable is loaded with various soluble and insoluble substances, of which the principal are iron-ore and lime

Springs exist in great abundance in the bed of the Veigei: but rarely elsewhere. Some of them yield considerable supplies. The wells are usually of no great depth, and most of them dry up in the hot weather. The water found in them varies according to the soils through which it passes. but it is very seldom of really first-rate quality In some parts of the country it is said to cause dysentery, in others stricture: and cautious travellers invariably carry with them sufficient water, drawn from known sources, to last during journeys

through strange localities. A few wells, here and there, are famous for the abundance and sweetness of their contents, but these are exceptions, which only prove the rule.

The water procurable from wells is bad enough: but that obtained from tanks is even worse. The tanks are used for washing filthy clothes; buffaloes and bullocks are watered and cleansed in them; whole villages perform their ablutions in them every morning and evening; and their banks are thickly studded with human and bestial excreta. Besides this, they are filled with vegetable growths, and their waters are usually completely stagnant. When they dry up, holes are dug in their muddy beds, from which are taken very scanty supplies of water loaded with solid matter. And drinking this causes foul diseases: of which guinea-worm is in some parts, *e. g.* Râmnâd, the most common.

The town of Madura having been inhabited for many hundreds of years, its surface soil has been raised many feet by constant accretions of filth of every description. And as all its tanks and wells are receiving every day more or less moisture which has percolated through deep strata of foul slowly decaying matter, it would be strange indeed if they yielded decently pure water. The wonder is, that a single inhabitant of the town can preserve his health

CLASS III is as yet represented by graphite alone. If coal beds exist, which is supposed to be very improbable, their existence has never yet been suspected. And I have never heard of any diamonds having been found in the sandstone of the District.

CLASS IV.—Sulphur does not appear to have been found in the native state; though it occurs sparsely in combination with iron and other metals.

CLASS V.—The haloid minerals are not well represented, with the exception perhaps of salts of lime

SALTS OF BARYTA are found in heavy spar.

NITRATE OF POTASH.—The saltpetre of commerce occurs abundantly in some parts of the District, particularly in the sites of ancient villages, associated with sterile clay. In procuring it the earth is lixiviated in prepared pits, and the lye, when evaporated, yields the saltpetre together with a certain amount of salt and other impurities, which are removed as far as practicable by careful skimming The

saltpetre thus yielded is thoroughly washed two or three times: and is then fit for the market, and found to contain, comparatively speaking, but a small amount of foreign matter, perhaps ten per cent. of common salt and five of other substances.

This salt forms very readily after the copious rains of the latter part of the year: and appears on the surface of the ground in silky tufts, or efflorescences, which are scraped together with small iron scrapers and thrown into prepared pits. Messrs. Fischer and Co. are the sole manufacturers of saltpetre and supply Government under a contract with about 100 or 150 candies per annum. What was manufactured in excess of this quantity, was sent for some years to England: but latterly the prices realized have been unremunerative, and exportation has been discontinued. Whether the trade will be revived, depends upon circumstances. It does not seem to be very likely that it will.

Common Salt is found everywhere, associated with soft and sterile clays, and efflorescing on the surface of the ground in much the same manner as saltpetre It is also yielded together with saltpetre in lixiviating earth containing the latter. But it is not found in beds, or in large quantities. Its manufacture is strictly prohibited by Government, in order that the very remunerative sea-salt monopoly may not be interfered with in the slightest degree.

Salts of Lime enter into the following combinations, viz, gypsum of several kinds, calcite, pissolite, travertine, arragonite, satin spar, rhomb spar, apatite, dolomite, anhydrite, and tufa.

Lime occurs in many places, and in great abundance. The lime gravel is widely diffused in the soil, and in some places is nearly a pure carbonate of lime. In others it is mingled with various substances, and takes the form and consistence of connected lime-stone or pissolite. These are the kinds used for making roads and burning into lime.

Travertine also occurs: and here and there in plants and caves the stalactitic form, tufa.

Sulphate of Lime is found in the form of gypsum of different varieties near the salt-works on the coast, and occasionally in black cotton soil.

The Crystalline varieties are of much greater use, and are very numerous. They are found in nodular masses and large blocks, and

show the crystals of calcite and the fine granular and compact varieties. Some of them take a respectable polish, and might perhaps be wrought for marble. The minerals found imbedded in them are chondrodite, graphite, pyroxene, and molybdenum. Their localities are Pûvandi, Pantalakudi, Karnapadi, Vithêrapadi, in the Tirumangalam Tâlûk, and in many other places At Pantalakudi the outcrop is some twenty yards in width, five or six miles long, and of an unknown depth, exhibited in masses of white and pink rocks, which are nodular in most places, and apparently wholly without regularity of dip. They lie in wild confusion all about the villages abovenamed, and resemble somewhat the ruins of mighty walls. The crystalline varieties comprise also calcareous sand-stones, and magnesian limestone, such as dolomite and magnesian calcite, &c.

Chalk of a variety not unlike that commonly used in Europe, is said to occur in some villages near the Ranga-malei. But no attempt has been made by the natives of those places to turn it to good account. In 1815 they were quite ignorant of its value.

Salts of Magnesia are found in magnesite and nemalite.

Salts of ammonia, strontia, and alumina have not been found in combination with anything

CLASS VI.—EARTHY MINERALS.

SILICA, as might be expected, occurs in the greatest profusion. Under the head of Quartz we have common quartz containing or associated with iron, glassy actinolite, schorl crystals, diallage, beryl, chlorite, graphite, steatite, hornblende, sahlite, and various earthy matters Then there are quartz of various colors; and quartz crystals; and the vitreous varieties, rock crystal, aventurine, prase, milky quartz, rose quartz and amethystine quartz

Opal.—Under the head of Opal, there occur common opal, several colored varieties of opal, wood opal, striped with manganese, ferruginous opal, containing traces of precious opal and geodes of chalcedony, silicious sinter with green diallage; and irony silicious sinter.

Chalcedony—Under the head of Chalcedony, there are chalcedonic stone and quartz; crystallized, crystalline, and stalactitic chalcedony, several colored varieties; plasma; and cacholong of different kinds.

JASPER.—Under the head of Jasper, we have the common and chalcedonic jasper, and several colored varieties.

LIME appears only in the form of tabular spar.

MAGNESIA is somewhat better represented.

THE HYDROUS SILICATES which occur are chlorite, schiller spar, monradite, nemalite, vermiculite, steatite, potstone, and jade.

THE ANHYDROUS SILICATES are polylite, diallage of several colors, pyroxene, two or three varieties of diopside, coccolite, bronzite, hornblende, pargasite, and glassy actinolite

ALUMINA is tolerably well represented.

HYDROUS COMBINATIONS WITH SILICA are scolecite, karpholite, and prehnite.

ANHYDROUS COMBINATIONS WITH SILICA are the black potash, compact and irony varieties of mica, orthoclase, ryacolite, adularia, labradorite, oligoclase, albite, cleavelandite, black tourmalin, schorl, wernerite, precious garnet, the common grossular, ruby iron, and massive varieties of garnet, aplome, melanite, indicolite, and anorthite.

Kaolin clay of good quality occurs in certain localities.

GLUCINA, ZIRCONIA, AND THORIA are unrepresented.

CLASS VII.—THE METALS.

THE EASILY OXYDIZABLE METALS found are of few kinds.

Under the head of

CERIUM, YTRIUM, AND LANTHANUM we have godolonite, tschef-kinite, and allanite

TITANIUM is represented by angitic sphene, crystals of angite, and nigrine

None of the other metals of this description except iron and nickel have been found.

Under the head of the former of these two, there occur a great many varieties, viz., magnetite, oxydulous iron, magnetic oxide, granular oxide of iron, iron embedded in steatite and in quartz, pyrites, the hydrous and anhydrous oxides of iron, gothite, silicate of iron, kirwanite, cronstedite, wheolite, hissingerite, anthosiderite, chloropal, yenite, carbonate of iron, porous iron ore, iron glomerate. compact ironstone, common iron ore, clayey do, limonite, and lievrite,

As iron is so well represented, and is of so great importance to the welfare of a people, it is necessary to describe its modes of occurrence and qualities with some particularity.

IRON ORE is found in all parts of the District: but with the exception of one spot, not in large quantities. The varieties ordinarily met with are the oxides, different varieties of laterite, pyrites, native iron, and the various silicates. and they occur both in the clefts of mountains, and in the sands and rocks of the valleys and plains. Indeed iron is everywhere diffused through the soil, and is held in solution by the waters, and deposited in some of the springs and pools It forms a principal compound of many important minerals, and is sometimes found in its native pure state.

THE OXIDES are the most abundant varieties of ore in the District, and also the richest and most easily wrought.

THE GRANULAR OXIDE is found in the iron sand of the soil, and is gathered in the rivers, creeks and torrents, and on the sea-shore, and (in granular masses) on the hills. The ore is very pure, and is wrought to a greater extent than any other. Its specific gravity is from 5 to 6·5.

THE EARTHY OR MAGNESIAN OXIDE is found in earthy masses, and dispersed through the soil on the Palani and other mountains, associated sometimes with decayed felspar and steatite. It is too poor to work.

THE HŒMATITIC IRON is not abundant It is found at Pasumalei, near Madura, and elsewhere in association with laterite.

THE HYDROUS AND ANHYDROUS OXIDES are frequently met with, the former in most plains where iron is found; the latter on the Palani mountains, where it occurs of red and reddish brown colors and of a granular texture and associated with the iron magnesite.

THE MAGNETIC IRON is abundant It is found sometimes in the octahedral and other forms of crystals, sometimes in lamular and granular masses, sometimes in the form of sand.

OCHRES are more rare. Those found are the yellow earthy, and hard-red concreted varieties They occur in nodular masses in a quartz and iron gravel, with laterite and jasper, at Sivagangei.

THE CLAYEY LATERITE ORES are of frequent occurrence throughout the District. In some places they are found in nodular and

concreted masses, made up of layers of tolerably pure oxide, or oxo-carbonate, a little resembling hœmatite: in other places in extensive beds either upon or just below the surface composed of nodules so small and firmly cemented, that the mass is of considerable hardness, and solidity, and is quarried and used for building. The fort at Tripatore was faced almost entirely with this stone. In other places it appears as a red or brown granular and compact cement, somewhat resembling anhydrous oxide, and forming a glomerate with quartz pebbles or any stone that comes in its way. In some places it unites with clay. In its composition it appears to be similar to the siderite or clay iron-stone of Nicol, which belongs to the sparry iron ores, and is composed of iron peroxide, carbonic acid, manganese, magnesia, and lime. This ore is too full of impurities to be wrought much as an ore; but it possesses interest, as indicating the mineralogical changes which are constantly taking place. It is evidently forming from the iron in solution with the soil.

Sulphuret of Iron occurs sparingly. The uncrystallized varieties are met with in the loose sand and syenite of the Palani Hills

Silicate of Iron is found in its varieties, the beautifully crystallized yenite, anthosiderite, wehobite, and hisingerite. This ore is not found in many parts of the Districts; but is peculiarly abundant near Kottâmpatti on the high road to Trichinopoly. It not only crops up through the soil over a large area, but it forms an important portion of each of seven considerable hills. This ore is strictly siliceous, and its composition in various proportions from a slightly colored ferruginous quartz to a black ore of considerable richness. Its specific gravity is from 4 to 5. Its union with quartz might prove an obstacle in the way of working it; but in the neighbourhood may be found large quantities of granular limestone, which might be used as a flux.

The Carbonate of Iron occurs in small quantities in greenstone near Dindigul, and lastly;

Iron Ore is found in various parts of the Districts, particularly near Kottâmpatti, and in the Sivagangei Zamindâri, and in villages situated near the bases of the mountains. The Tenkarei country is noted for its iron ore.

But although iron ores are to be found in so many varieties and in so great abundance, the District cannot, as yet, be called an iron-producing

producing country. In Mr. Parker's time the Tahsildars were called upon to report on the extent to which iron was wrought in their respective Tâlûks · and from their answers it would appear that the iron produced in the whole District must be most insignificant in amount. Certainly, no iron is exported from Madura; and by far the greater part of that used within the limits of the District comes from Salem and England. For some reason or other the Madura smith cannot, at present, work Madura iron with comfort and at a profit. Possibly, this may be owing to unscientific and defective smelting and preparation: for the furnaces in use are of the rudest possible form, and the whole capital employed by a native company of smelters will not ordinarily amount to 10 Rupees. So inadequate, indeed are the means used to separate the metal, that specimens of slag found in the neighbourhood of ancient furnaces have been shown to possess a specific gravity of no less than from 4·5 to 5!

Manganese abounds on the hills.

NICKEL is represented by copper nickel.

THE NOBLE METALS are not well represented. Gold and silver have indeed been found; but neither is abundant.

Gold is known to occur only in one part of the District, namely, at Palakanûth, near the eastern extremity of the Palani mountains. It is there washed out of sand and alluvium, composed of disintegrated and decomposed rocks of the mountain. These consists of granulitic, micaceous and syenitic granites; the syenitic containing alamandine garnets and specular iron in abundance. The gold is found in small particles and in very small quantities, only just sufficient to pay the washer for his daily labor. But it is supposed by some that the precious mineral exists in large quantities at a depth of 20 or 30 feet below the surface of the soil, and might be worked profitably if some deep wells were dug. At present there is a great scarcity of water at the place where the soil is washed; and the work goes on on a very petty scale and in a thoroughly unsatisfactory manner.

Particles of gold are said to be procurable in the bed of the Veigei: and as part of the sand of that river is washed down from the Palani mountains, there is no reason why it should not be auriferous. The *Aruppukârans* are said to obtain gold by washing river sand · and possibly they do.

Captain Newbold says, (page 210, vol. 7, R. A. S. Journal) "I have "not been able to trace the existence of gold farther south than "Madura, where according to Ainslie (Mat. Med., vol. I, page 514) "it was discovered by the late Mr. Mainwaring, mineralised by means "of zinc, constituting a blende, perhaps resembling somewhat the "schemnitz blende of Hungary; and we know from Cronstadt,* that "the zinc ores of Schemnitz contain silver which is rich in gold. "Ainslie does not mention the nature of the formation in which this "mineralised gold occurs; but we know that granite and the primary "schists occupy the greater portion of this part of India."

Silver occurs still more sparsely than gold. Indeed it is not generally known to exist in the Madura District. I never heard of it, until I came across the following passage in the paper of Captain Newbold above quoted—(see page 207, vol. 7, R. A. S. Journal)

"Sir Whitelaw Ainslie informs us, (Mat. Med., vol. I, page 562, 3) "that silver occurs in trifling quantities in Upper Hindoostan In "Lower India, he was informed that Mr. W. Mainwaring found it in "its native state in the Madura District, associated with zinc, sulphur, "iron, fluoric acid, silica, and water, forming a yellow blende, perhaps "somewhat similar to that found at Ratieborziz in Bohemia."

ROCKS—The principal rocks of the District are, as will doubtless have been remarked by the reader of the lithological portion of this work, the igneous, and more especially those belonging to the granite series. The highest mountains, the hills, the isolated rocky masses, the huge boulders which occasionally rest upon the surface of the plain, together with the ridges and crags which pierce the crust of the earth in so many parts of the District, are composed almost without exception, of igneous rocks. Some of them are valuable for building purposes, and extensively quarried. A handsome rock, composed of dark syenite and a variety of scapolite, and known as the "black granite of Madura," receives a good polish, and is much used for the ornamentation of pagodas. It occurs in great abundance, and is very generally known. A variety of gneiss affords enormous solid blocks of workable stone, and magnificent monoliths of excellent workmanship may be seen in and near the great Pagoda. Four of them in the entrance of the unfinished tower which stands east of the "Puthu Mantapam" of Tirumalei Nâyakkan are grand specimens of native workmanship. A kind of granite of close grain and exceeding hardness has been much used by the sculptors, whose elaborate works

adorn the mantapams of the temple. A quartzose granite occurs in great abundance on the tops of the highest mountains. and is rendered highly porphyritic by the presence of beautiful green crystals of felspar.

The varieties of igneous rocks known to occur are the following, viz —

GRANITE —Common granite, grey *g*, golden *g.*, slaty *g*, striped *g.*, basaltic *g*, graphic *g*, felspathic *g*, amygdaloidal *g*, albitic graphic *g*, porphyritic *g.*, syenitic *g.*, nemalite *g*, iron *g*, basaltic *g.*, lime *g*, tremolite *g.*, granatite, porphyritic granatite, granulite, porphyritic do. and gneissoid do.

SYENITE.—Common syenite, porphyritic *s.*, albitic *s*, hyposthene rock, and hyposthene slate.

BASALT.—Basalt, granitic basalt, nodular *b*, and striped *b* .

SERPENTINE, &c.—Diallage rock, euphotide rock, greenstone, garnetic *g*, fine *g.*, granular iron *g*, and porphyritic *g*

PORPHYRY.—Common porphyry, felspathic *p*, and greenstone *p.*

DIORITE.—Porphyritic diorite. There has also been found a rock composed of green felspar and yellow garnet in quartz

The aqueous rocks which occur are the following, viz .—

SAND GROUP —Granitic sandstone, new red *s*, micaceous *s*, lamular *s*, irony *s.*, breccia, and an iron and quartz glomerate.

The old red sandstone has not been found.

CLAY GROUP.—Siliceous slate, and siliceous clay slate.

The latter occurs "in small veins running through the tops of the "Pulney mountains and in a situation favorable for quarrying. "attempts are being made to use it as a whet or polishing slate. but in "the surface specimens, which are the only ones as yet obtained, there "appears to be too little free silica, except where it passes into granite "to answer that purpose. The strata however are marked and "distinct, and the cleavage regular and tolerably smooth: and, should "it ever be discovered in sufficient quantities, may be of much value."

LIME GROUP.—These rocks are found in the greatest profusion. I have already shown their principal localities: and have said enough about them. See page 25. It will be sufficient to enumerate here the varieties already observed. They are the following, viz :—

White siliceous marble, crystalline limestone, striped marble, granular limestone, transition *l.*, lias *l.*, magnesian *l.*, concrete *l*, siliceous *l.*, hydraulic *l.*, compact *l.*, hard shell *l.*, calcarious tufa, travertine, and recent limestone, and besides these there has been found a fine specimen, being an aggregate of granular limestone, lithia mica, pyroxene, and steatite, traversed by veins of fine crystallized carbonate of lime.

The hard shell limestone found in Madura is said to be suited for ornamental purposes and paving. The striped marble of Mantapasâlei is associated with iron and embeds rounded grains of pyroxene. The granular limestone of Pasumalei embeds iron and pyroxene. The so called transition limestone of Madura is found covered with a crust of hydro-magnesite The calcareous tufa of the Palanis is found embedding prase, felspar, nemalite and quartz: that of Pasumalei is associated with steatite.

The metamorphic rocks of the District are the following, viz :—

GNEISS.—Common gneiss, basaltic *g.*, euphotide *g.*, porphyritic *g.*, syenitic *g.*, tremolitic *g.*, and gneissoid slate.

HORNBLENDE —Hornblende rock, hornblende slate, and a dark variety of hornblende.

The mixed groups are represented by—

SANDSTONE —A coarse glomerate calcareous sandstone embedding shells, glomerate calcareous sandstone, and grey fossil calcareous sandstone.

MICA.—Mica slate, mica schist, and mica slate, associated with garnet, zeolite, and mesotype.

CHLORITE.—Chlorite rock, chlorite porphyry, and chlorite slate.

Also a rock composed of albite, mica, and chlorite, and one of pyroxene, chlorite, and felspar, embedding calcareous spar, arvedsonite, free chlorite, and a yellow mineral resembling euclase.

THE SOILS.—The Tahsildars of the six Tâlûks in answer to certain questions supplied me with a considerable amount of information touching the prevalence and characteristics of the various soils of the District; and also sent me specimens of each kind, which were handed over to Doctor Rule, the Civil Surgeon, who was kind enough to examine some of them and test their capacity for absorption of moisture, the amounts of organic matter severally contained by them, &c. In this way I have been enabled to state the following particulars.

Taking the six Tâlûks one with another, and for convenience' sake supposing them to be all equal in superficial extent, out of every hundred acres of land the surface soil will be

In	19·334	Shevval, or soil	No. 1
„	14·500	Sharralei	„ 2
„	12·166	Karisal	„ 3
„	9·500	Mannal	„ 4
„	8 000	Padugei	„ 5
„	7·500	Kallar	„ 6
„	7·000	Pottal	„ 7
„	6·000	Veppal	„ 8
„	58·33	Kakkerei	„ 9
„	4·000	Sukkân	„ 10
„	2·667	Shengkarisal	„ 11
„	1·334	Alar	„ 12
„	1·166	Bûthi	„ 13
„	1·000	Uvar	„ 14
Total	100		14 kinds of soil.

Besides these there are a few other kinds, such as the "Sâmbal" and "Maleipanam" found in Tirumangalam; but they occur so rarely that it is unnecessary to consider them in calculating the average occurrence of the others.

Of the fourteen kinds, Nos 1 to 6 inclusive and Nos. 8 and 9 occur in every Tâlûk, Nos. 7 and 10 occur in all but Periyakolam; Nos. 11 and 13 in Dindigul, Palani, and Madura; No. 12 in Mêlûr, Periyakolam; and No. 14 in Mêlûr only.

The kinds which occur most commonly in any one Tâlûk are No. 3, which forms 40 per cent. of all the soil of Tirumangalam; No. 2, which forms 35 per cent. of all the soil of Dindigul, and 19 in Madura; No. 1 which forms 25 per cent. in Palani, 21 per cent. in Mêlûr, and 20 per cent. in Dindigul; and lastly Kallar, which forms 20 per cent of the soil in Madura..

The specimens of any one kind of soil which occur in different parts of the country are found to vary very considerably in color, form, and general appearance: and it would be tedious, and indeed

useless to attempt to describe all that have been supplied to me. It will probably answer every purpose to give the Civil Surgeon's rough description of the samples sent from Tirumangalam. These were thirty-three in number, and represented all the kinds known to the Revenue authorities. The description is to the following effect, viz :—

Shevval, or Soil No. 1.—Sample No. 1 is of a bright red color; pulverulent; contains a considerable amount of quartz.

Sample No. 2 is of a bright red color; pulverulent; stony. The stones are mostly quartz.

Sample 3 is a red sandy soil.

Sharralei, or Soil No 2.—Sample No. 1 is granular, in small lumps mostly; and of a grey black color.

Sample No. 2 is a very stony soil, of a brown color, held together by a binding clay. The stones are rounded as if from the bed of a stream, white and semi-transparent, and contain no lime.

Sample No. 3 is of a light brown color, and very stony.

Karisal, or Soil No. 3.—Sample No. 1 is a greyish black soil, quite free from stones, granular, not lumpy; but small lumps of granite in it: small and distinct.

Sample No 2 is a greyish black soil, rather tenacious, not stony: has small lumps of quartz in it; contains some chunam, which appears to have been artificially supplied.

Sample No. 3 is lighter in color, in large lumps: has larger gravel in it, and contains many rootlets.

Munnal, or Soil No. 4.—Sample No. 1 is arenaceous, rather stony, of a light brown color; probably contains lime.

Sample No. 2 is much the same; sandy, coarse, and gravelly.

Sample No. 3 is a brown earth of similar appearance.

Padugei, or Soil No. 5.—Sample No. 1 is a light brown earth, with a reddish tinge, very stony; similar in appearance to No. 2. Sample 3, but contains more rootlets.

Sample No. 2 is a dull grey earth, very free from stones, containing many rootlets. It is different in color from Sample No. 2; having no reddish tinge: arenaceous in appearance.

Sample No. 3 is a light pulverulent earth, reddish brown in color. Has small rootlets in it. Feels sandy to the touch Contains no stones.

Kallar, or Soil No. 6.—Sample No. 1 appears to occur in granular lumps, of which the larger ones are held together by rootlets. It is dark grey-black in color. and very free from stones.

Sample No. 2 occurs in large hard dry lumps. Is very clayey: of a light brown color.

Sample No. 3 is in hard masses, which bear distinct marks of fingers, reeds, &c., on the outside, and was probably picked up wet. Is of a light brown color, extremely binding, and most difficult to mix with water when put in the tube. Is probably most useful for pottery, brick-making, &c., but from the difficulty with which water permeates it, useless, or nearly so, for cultivation.

Pottal, or Soil No. 7—Sample No. 1, is a granular earth, friable, very free from stones; contains here and there small bits of granite and quartz. Contains also a considerable quantity of lime, judging from the effervescence caused by adding Hyd: to it.

Sample No. 2 is of a rather lighter color, and perhaps more sandy: looks calcareous.

Sample No. 3 is a little dissimilar in appearance. In granular masses and friable. More strong than the last.

Veppal, or Soil No. 8.—Sample No. 1 is a light greyish brown earth, lumpy, free from stones.

Sample No. 2 is of a blackish grey color, light, pulverulent, not very stony.

Sample No. 3 is the same, but free from stones.

Kakkarei, or Soil No. 9.—Sample No. 1 is a black, friable earth; free from stones.

Sample No. 2 do. do.

Sample No. 3 is ashen grey in color, in small lumps, not stony, but calcareous.

Sukkân, or soil No. 10.—Sample No. 1 occurs in hard greyish black lumps; contains some fine gravel; has a clayey look about it.

Sample No. 2 is much the same, but perhaps a shade lighter in color.

Sample No. 3 is a hard clayey soil, blackish grey in color.

The only other soil from Tirumangalam was "Sâmbal," which is thus described.

Sample No. 1 is a light brown earth; not lumpy, pulverulent.

Sample No. 2 is light-grey brown in color; pulverulent, and a trifle stony.

Sample No. 3 is of the same color; very soft; friable. Contains no stones.

After examining and handling all these specimens, Doctor Rule was kind enough to test their composition and capacity for absorbing and retaining moisture by the following rough method.—First of all he placed half a cubic inch of each sample of soil in a graduated glass tube, and adding water thoroughly shook up the contents. He then allowed them to settle for periods varying in proportion to their cohesiveness or tendency to separate: and when they had stood for a sufficiently long time, noted the appearance and cubic measurement of each stratum of earthy matter deposited. In almost every case there was no difficulty in doing this, as the strata were most clearly distinguishable from one another, and lay in the following order. On the surface was a thin scum of fatty matter, underneath this was a layer of clay; under that a layer of sand, and underneath that again a residuum of coarse sand, grit and gravel. The relative proportions of these several strata varied in a most remarkable manner. In some samples there was hardly any surface clay; in others no residuum of gravel, &c., in others hardly any fine sand. On the other hand some of the specimens were found to contain 40 and even 50 per cent. of insoluble gravelly matter; and some again swelled so greatly, as to yield between 3 and 400 per cent. of fine sand in excess of their original bulk. The results obtained by this method of testing will be found in the figured Statement in the next page.

After this Doctor Rule burnt a thousand grains of the first sample of each sort in a pipkin; and by weighing the same afterwards ascertained the percentage of organic matter contained in each specimen so tested. The largest percentage obtained was 12: the smallest 2. These results also will appear in the figured Statement abovementioned, at which we have now arrived.

Name of Soil.	Number of Sample.	Cubic measurement in inches of soil saturated with water	Cubic measurement in inches of its constituent parts.			Gain in cubic measurement by saturation.	No of grains, per 1,000 of organic matter, lost by burning
			Clay resting on the surface.	Fine sand settled beneath.	Coarse sand, gravel, grit, &c., at bottom.		
Shevval...	No. 1	·60	·12	·28	·20	·10	40
	No. 2	·60	·15	·35	·10	·10	...
	No. 3	·60	·08	·32	·20	·10	...
Sharralei.	No. 1	·90	·35	·25	·30	·40	80
	No. 2	·58	·10	·18	·30	·08	...
	No. 3	·55	·20	·15	·30	·05	...
Karisal....	No. 1	·95	·25	·70	·00	·45	85
	No. 2	·98	·38	·60	·00	·48	...
	No. 3	·80	·20	·50	·10	·30	...
Mannal....	No. 1	·58	·08	·30	·20	·08	20
	No. 2	·54	·10	·24	·20	·04	...
	No. 3	85	·40	·30	·15	·35	...
Padugei...	No. 1	·90	·40	·30	·20	·40	60
	No. 2	·80	·25	·40	·15	·30	...
	No. 3	·70	·25	·35	·10	·20	...
Kallar....	No. 1	·98	·48	·40	·10	·48	50
	No. 2	2·00	·20	1·80	·00	1·50	...
	No. 3	1·00	·85	·15	00	·50	...
Pottal. ...	No. 1	·85	·35	·40	·10	·35	60
	No. 2	·78	·23	·45	·10	·28	...
	No. 3	·81	·12	·69	·00	·31	...
Veppal...	No. 1	1 00	·50	·40	·10	·50	60
	No. 2	95	·40	·45	·10	·45	...
	No. 3	1·00	·50	30	·20	·50	...
Kakkarei	No. 1	·72	·32	·30	·10	·22	120
	No. 2	1·10	·31	·74	·05	·60	...
	No. 3	·70	·09	·31	·30	·20	...
Sukkân...	No. 1	·80	·25	·40	·15	·30	76
	No. 2	·90	·15	·65	·10	·40	...
	No. 3	1·90	·30	1·60	·00	1·40	...
Sâmbal....	No. 1	·70	·18	·42	·10	·20	50
	No. 2	·70	·20	·25	·25	·20	...
	No. 3	·70	·21	·35	·14	·20	...

The samples of soils from the other Tâlûks were examined in a like manner by the native Surgeon, to whom my best thanks are due, and the results he arrived at will be found in Appendix A.

The most remarkable, or perhaps I should say the only remarkable variety of soil which occurs abundantly in the Madura District, is undoubtedly the "Karisal," (No. 3) or "black cotton soil," as it is called by Europeans. I have not been able to find any description of it as found in Madura; but presuming it to be precisely or very nearly the same as the "regur," or "black cotton clay," which Captain Newbold describes, and which he a little rashly declares to occur in "at least one-third of Southern India," I must quote some of that Officer's remarks upon its composition, &c, contained in one of his papers on the Geology of Southern India, published in Volume 8 of the R. A. S. Journal. He writes as follows:—(see p. 253.)

"*Physical Aspect.*—The plains occupied by the cotton soil are in "general marked by their horizontal sea-like surface and almost tree- "less aspect. The vegetation which almost characterises it is the "shrub *Jatrophus glandulifera,* and the *nuth* grass. It is often "covered with bushes of the thorny acacias, cassia auriculata, asclepias "gigantea, butea frondosa, &c.

"*Geognostic Position.*—It covers the kunker and gravel beds just "described, and is generally seen as a surface soil; but if we examine "the edges of great sheets they will generally be found to dip for "some distance under the recent alluvium, which conceals and replaces "them as a surface soil. It not only covers extensive plains, but the "tubular summits of hills overlooking those of the diamond sandstone "and limestone, newer trap and laterite formations, far above the "present drainage level of the country; it covers all rocks from the "granite to the laterite and kunker; and often fills up depressions "and chinks in their surface, as seen in the accompanying section. "Soundings on a bluish-black clay are obtained in various situations "off the Coromandel Coast, which closely resembles the regur, as also "the blue clay embedding the marine shells below the cities of Madras "and Pondicherry. Part of this deposit, it is not improbable to suppose, "may have been derived from the denudation of the regur that once "covered the maritime tracts of the Coromandel Coast.

"*Composition, &c.*—The purest regur is usually of a deep bluish- "black color, or greenish, or dark greyish black, fracture varying from

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"shining to earthy, streak brownish, or greenish black, shining; "when placed in water it crumbles slowly with emission of air bubbles, "and forms a tenacious paste; when moistened it gives out an argil- "laceous odour. Before the blow-pipe, *per se*, it melts into a greenish "glass, or dark slag. Mr. Reid fused some of it in a large covered "crucible placed in a furnace into a solid mass, on the surface of "which a crust of oxide of iron formed. A chemical analysis made "by my friend Dr. Macleod, afforded the following result:—

"Silex	48	2
"Alumina	20	3
"Carbonate of Lime	16	0
"Carbonate of Magnesia	10	2
"Oxide of Iron	1	0
"Water and extractive	4	3
	100	0

"The quantity of iron, it appears by this analysis, is not sufficient "to account for the black color of this soil, which may be partly "attributed, as in the case of the Cuddapah limestone, to the extractive "or vegetable matter it contains. The regur of Trichinopoly, I am "informed by Captain Allardyce, does not fuse, and contains imbedded "crystals of pure mineral carbon, which are converted before the blow-"pipe into a white ash. There is, no doubt, nearly as great a diversity "of composition in the regur deposit, as we find in other equally "extensive aqueous rocks.

"The best kinds of this extraordinary soil are rarely suffered to lie "fallow, except by accident, and never receive manure, which is even "supposed to lessen its fertility. It has yielded annually crop after "crop, for upwards of 2,000 years (usually in triennial rotation) of "cotton, juari and wheat, or bajri, without receiving any aid from "the hand of man, except an annual scratching with a small plough, "and a decennial, or still more seldom, clearing of the nuth grass by "means of the large plough. It is irrigated solely by the dews and "rains of heaven."

Captain Newbold then goes on to speak of the remarkable capacity of regur for attracting and retaining moisture, and ascribes to this property the extraordinary fertility of the soil, which enables it to bear crop after crop for centuries without either irrigation or manure He had observed it to be cold and moist at a depth of eight or ten

feet below the surface, whilst the upper portion was dried into dust and had a temperature of 130°. In wet weather this surface would be converted into a deep tenacious mud.

Looking to the fact that regur contains but few rolled pebbles; that it is only near the surface that it becomes intermingled with the recent alluvium of the surrounding country; that it prevails in vast level tracts; that it contains no organic remains; that it occurs in beds lying far above the beds of existing rivers; that it rests indiscriminately on plutonic, hypogene, trappean and aqueous rocks of widely dissimilar chemical composition, with some of which it exactly agrees; and therefore evidently cannot be the result of the weathering of these rocks;—looking to these and many other circumstances, Captain Newbold was of opinion, that regur was "an aqueous deposit from waters that covered the surface of India to a vast extent," and had been formed in much the same manner as the Nile deposits, which it closely resembled.

Want of space unfortunately precludes me from giving Captain Newbold's valuable remarks at greater length, and I must go on to show what the people of Madura think of "black cotton soil:" for their opinion of it differs very considerably from Captain Newbold's opinion. They consider it to be one of the best soils, but by no means pre-eminently the best, or surpassingly fertile. And the Tahsildars' answers to my questions do not indicate the existence of any very large faith in its virtues and capabilities. On the contrary, none of them mention it by itself as the chief and best of their soils; and only two of them, those of Dindigul and Tirumangalam, mention it first in stating which are the best soils of their divisions. And it appears clearly that *Karisal* is irrigated wherever irrigation is possible, and to the greatest extent possible; and is habitually manured, as highly as the circumstances of the ryots will permit. In point of fact, judging from all that I have been able to gather with regard to the fertility of *Karisal*, as compared with that of other soils, I think it may be safely assumed that in the District of Madura at least, *Karisal* is little if anything superior to several other kinds of soil; and that in the opinion of cultivators, the only first-rate soil is *that which they are in a position to constantly irrigate and manure.* With regard to the extraordinary capacity for absorbing and retaining moisture, which Captain Newbold looks upon as highly conducive to its fertility, it will be observed on looking to Appendix A, that the *Karisal* of Madura is not very

remarkable in this respect: and Doctor Rule's examination of it and of samples of *Kallar*, showed that the latter are vastly the more absorbent and retentive of moisture, though they are as a rule notoriously sterile and valueless.

Although however the black cotton soil does not appear to be considered extraordinarily and wonderfully fertile, it is nevertheless placed amongst the best soils by all the Tahsildars: a distinction awarded to only one other soil, viz., *Padugei.* And it is undoubtedly a most useful soil, for it will grow not only cotton but almost every kind of produce, and all equally well.

Of the other soils *Shevval* and *Mannal* appear to be the most highly prized, of which the former is pronounced good by four Tahsildars, and the latter by three. *Shengkarisal* is marked good by two; *Sharralei, Pottal, Veppal, Kakkarei, Sukkân,* and *Bûthi,* each by one only.

But it must not be taken for granted that the soils of one Tâlûk correspond exactly with those of the same names in another: for there is every reason to suppose that they differ most considerably. For instance, Sample No. 1 of *Mannal,* examined by Doctor Rule, was "arenaceous, rather stony, of a light brown color:" whereas a sample of *Mannal* brought to me by a Madura Tâlûk official, consisted of particles of the size of split peas, of a yellowish white semi-transparent substance resembling quartz. And I was informed that this so called soil was very fairly productive if well irrigated. Again the *Pottal* of *Mêlûr* is represented as being a good arable soil; whereas in most parts of the District it is looked upon as absolutely useless for the purposes of cultivation.

About the soils of the Zamindâris I have been unable to gather much information. There can be no doubt, however, that the varieties common in the Tâlûks are common there also: and probably it would be hardly worth while at present to push enquiries in this direction.

We must therefore move on to another subject.

CHAPTER III.

CLIMATE, METEOROLOGICAL PHENOMENA, &c.

CLIMATE.—The climate of the District of Madura is hot, dry, unhealthy, and variable. The mountain ranges have, of course, climates differing from this more or less according to their several altitudes · and along the sea coast the heat is tempered to some extent by sea breezes. But speaking of the country generally, the assertions above made may, I think, be very safely ventured upon. With regard to temperature, it is believed, that the thermometer seldom, if indeed ever, shows so great a degree of heat in any part of the Collectorates, as is commonly felt in more northerly parts of India in the summer. And this belief would seem to be not unreasonable, seeing that the Collectorate is washed by the sea on one side, and is no very great distance from it on two others. Moreover, the north wind seldom blows over the country, at all events in the hot weather, and consequently the people of Madura may be said to enjoy an almost perfect immunity from hot and suffocating land winds, such as commonly annoy the inhabitants of the plains of India. Again, the night time is almost invariably cool: and the early morning time almost invariably pleasant and refreshing.

On the other hand, the weather cannot at any time of the year be said to be in the very least degree cold. What is ordinarily called the cold season, in contradistinction to the hot, is that portion of the year which comprises December, January, and perhaps February. During this period heavy dews refresh the earth, the nights are chilly, and the mornings and evenings often raw and foggy: but in the day time the thermometer will show upwards of 80° of heat in an inner room, and the sun will shine brightly and powerfully. Indeed if, as often happens, the October rains have failed, the cold season will differ but little from the hot. After January the days get sensibly hotter; the dews become less and less plentiful; and but little refreshment is afforded by the gentle showers which fall occasionally in February and March. In April and May the heat of the sun grows

intense: and unless tempered by unusually plentiful rains, continues to be very fierce throughout June, July and August. In September the sky is much overcast, and there is usually abundance of rain; the sun has less power; and the extreme heat of the hot season is succeeded by a most oppressive sultriness. Early in October should begin what is usually called the north-east monsoon: and heavy showers should fall at intervals during the whole of that month and part of November, till earth and air become thoroughly cooled, purified, and moistened. I say should, because unfortunately the north-east monsoon so often fails, wholly or in part, that a really cool and pleasant December is a luxury, which the people of Madura comparatively seldom enjoy.

It is to be regretted that thermometers have not yet been supplied to Tahsildars and others: and that therefore no official information is procurable touching the temperatures experienced at different times in various parts of the country. It is well known that Dindigul is usually somewhat cooler than Râmnâd, and Pâmbam than Periyakolam; and it would be very gratifying to be able to ascertain exactly the normal variations in the temperatures of those and other localities.

Mr. Tracy, of the American Mission, has lived for very many years at Pasumalei, (close to Madura) and fortunately has always been in the habit of registering readings from a thermometer kept in a room open to the wind. And by his kindness I have been enabled to exhibit in Appendix B, certain statements of great interest. It appears from these, that the greatest heat ever registered in Mr. Tracy's brick-built bungalow is 100° at 5 P. M., on May afternoons; whilst the maximum at noon in the same month is 97°, and the average at noon 94°. The minimum registered is 70° at 7 A. M., on January days, when the thermometer does not ordinarily show more than 82° at noon and at 5 P. M. April and May are shown to be the two hottest months: December and January, the two coldest. So too many other facts may be gathered from these statements; but I must refer readers to the Appendix, and pass on to another subject. Before doing so I should perhaps observe, that the thermometer always shows three or four degrees less of heat at 4 A. M., than at 7 A. M.: and that in the hot months the heat is as great at 9 or 10 P. M., as at sunset, the earth requiring many hours to cool after drinking in the fierce rays of a cloudless sun from 6 A. M., to 6 P. M.

The rainfall is very uncertain and scanty even in the best of seasons; considering the excessive evaporation caused by the heat of the sun and the dryness of the winds. The District is popularly supposed to be visited by both monsoons, by the south-west during June and July, and by the north-east during October and November. But, in point of fact, this belief is probably quite unfounded. The rains of the south-west monsoon, which bursts with so great fury on the Malabar coast, are altogether intercepted by the primary and secondary ranges of the Western Ghauts; and whilst it blows, the Madura ryot does not look for more than a continuance of light showers, sufficiently smart to enable him to sow for dry crops. If he can only get so much, he is thoroughly contented. And the north-east monsoon which does so much for Madras, affects but very slightly the rainfall of Madura. Indeed it seems very doubtful, whether north-east winds ever bring rain with them.

There is rain in every month in the year. Up to the end of March the rain-fall is usually quite insignificant in amount. But in April the average number of inches is nearly three, and the rainy season may be said to begin. In May there is a trifle less rain: and in June the decrease is considerable, the average being perhaps about one inch. Then the July fall exceeds two inches: and the August four. September brings a trifle more, and then comes the October fall of seven and three-quarters, the most copious and important of the year. After this there is a decrease to less than five inches in November, and two and a quarter in December, when the season may be said to close.

Now there is certainly no indication in these averages of the rain-fall of the year being concentrated in two short periods, during which particular winds blow. But, on the contrary, a consideration of the monthly averages would rather lead to the supposition that Madura has a continuous rainy season of nine months' duration, which brings more and more rain until November, when it rapidly declines. And if the monthly falls of particular years be studied, it will be seen that there is nothing like regularity in their occurrence or amount. For example the Pasumalei Register, extracts from which will be found together with extracts from other registers in Appendix B, shows that in September 1848 there was a fall of 14·16 inches, whereas in October of the same year there was only 5·70, and in November only 2·21. In the next year the July fall was the heaviest and amounted to 5·59

inches; the August was rather less; in September 3·34 inches fell; in October there was only 4·13; and in November only 2·21. In the next year, 1850, July had 1·72 inch of rain; August had 6 inches; September 5·20; October 5·56; November 5·53. In 1851 August had less than two inches, September rather more, October 3⅓, and November 10¾ Next year had a very different distribution. July was very wet, and had a fall of 6·13 inches; August had less than an inch, September almost 4½; October just over seven; November 3·88, and December 3·53. But 1853 had a season widely different both from that of 1852 and that of 1851. There was no rain at all in July; August had 4·08 inches; September 9·80; October 9·64; and November only 1·40. In December there was no fall. Many other examples of this extreme irregularity may easily be found: but probably those already produced will be considered to be sufficient. So too, I think, the yearly reports of the Collectors prove in the clearest way (inferentially) that Madura is not visited by anything like monsoons. Every one of these reports differs considerably from that of the previous year, and from that of the succeeding: and it would be a work of insuperable difficulty to frame from them a consistent theory of the Madura seasons. Nothing seems certain about them, but their extreme uncertainty. And this is so remarkable, that I have thought it advisable to append to this chapter a short account of every season, about which anything can be learnt from the records of the District: and I trust that it will be found to be not altogether devoid of interest. It will be observed, that no mention is made in it of monsoons; but the rainy season is divided for convenience' sake into two parts, the earlier of which begins with April and ends on the 31st August. and the latter begins on September 1st and ends on the 31st December.

Of the total rainfall per annum, I must speak with great diffidence. Rain-guages are supplied to the Tâlûk officials, and have been used for the purpose of observation for some fourteen years. But it is quite certain that for a considerable time the results obtained were almost, if not quite valueless; and it is much to be feared, that any calculations based upon the Tahsildars' returns for a series of years would as yet be extremely incorrect and productive of misapprehension and harm. Nevertheless, it has been necessary to prepare from them statements showing the monthly rainfall for each Tâlûk from July 1856 to July 1866; and the average rainfall for the whole District for the same period. And, accepted with caution, they are not

without their use. For luckily Mr. Tracy has been kind enough to furnish materials, from which has been prepared a statement showing the monthly rain-fall at Pasumalei for a series of twenty years: and this and the Tahsildars' statements may be advantageously studied together. It will be seen at a glance, wherein they differ one from another; and how impossible it is from the configuration of the country that they can all be correct. It will also be observed that, whereas the Tahsildars' statements show extraordinarily different falls in different years, Mr. Tracy has noted a tolerably equable series of falls during the same period. Looking at the unfavorable circumstances under which the Tâlûk returns have been prepared, and at the probability of an amateur observer of so many years standing as Mr. Tracy observing correctly, I have no hesitation in rejecting the Tahsildars' statements in toto, wherever they differ from Mr. Tracy's very considerably.

Acting always on this principle, and assuming first that Mr. Tracy's figures cannot be very incorrect; secondly, that the rainfall of one part of the great Madura plain cannot materially differ year after year from that of any other, not immediately affected by the propinquity of mountain ranges, I have arrived at the conclusion that the rainfall for the whole Collectorate must average a little over thirty inches per annum. For the last ten years the Pasumalei average has been 34·06: and for the ten years preceding it was 33·24. The Tahsildars' average is 38·61 for the last ten years, and would seem at first sight not to differ more than might be expected from Mr. Tracy's. But a close examination of the data upon which it is based will at once give room for suspicion, that its approximation to the Pasumalei average is the effect of chance, rather than of correct observation on the part of the Tahsildars. The returns for the first five years would seem to be considerably in excess of the truth, those for the remaining five to fall short of it. And this supposition gains a considerable accession of probability from an inspection of the returns for the several Tâlûks; more particularly of those furnished by the Madura Tahsildar, who, taking one year with another, cannot but observe almost identically the same rainfall as does Mr. Tracy. There can be no question, I think, but that the Tahsildars' returns require the most careful scrutiny: and perhaps it would not be a waste of time, if one of the Collector's Assistants were made responsible in future for their general accuracy. If it is worth while reporting the rainfall every month to the Board of Revenue, it is certainly worth while reporting it correctly.

There is reason to suppose, and probably no Revenue Officer would feel the slightest hesitation in asserting, that some parts of the District enjoy wetter climates, than do others. But it would be a little hazardous to attempt to arrange the Tâlûks and Zamindâris in the order in which they stand in respect of abundance of rainfall. It is generally supposed that the western Tâlûks have a drier climate than the eastern; and that the Râmnâd Zamindâri has an extraordinarily uncertain and capricious climate. But nothing can be less depended upon than the mere opinions of residents with regard to meteorological phenomena: and possibly it may turn out in the course of time that the tracts near the mountains are more favored than the others.

According to the Tahsildars' reports, Mêlûr is the Tâlûk which has the most abundant rainfall; Madura comes next; then Dindigul; Tirumangalam is fourth; Periyakolam fifth; and Palani is the last of all. The average fall of Mêlûr for the last ten years appears to be 52 odd inches, whilst that of Palani is only 26, or exactly half that of the Mêlûr Tâlûk. Madura is drier than Mêlûr by only one inch. Dindigul can boast of 39 inches odd; Periyakolam of only 29; and Tirumangalam enjoys nearly 40. Assuming that the Pasumalei average is sufficiently correct for Madura, and that Mêlûr does not receive more rain than Madura, and that Palani receives a few inches more than its returns indicate, the rainfall of the six Tâlûks is pretty evenly distributed, and the average for the District given above must be very nearly correct. No information is forthcoming with regard to the Râmnâd and Sivagangei Zamindâris: but it is difficult to imagine, why either of them should have a very different rainfall from that of the central portion of the District; and in forming a rough estimate, their existence may well be ignored.

An account of the rainfall of Madura would be very incomplete, if unaccompanied by a few remarks on the manner and degree in which it affects the cultivation of the District. For the population is very poor and almost entirely agricultural: and the material prosperity of the country depends to a far greater extent upon the amount and regularity of the rainfall, than upon all the other circumstances which directly or indirectly affect it. So much so, that a temporary irregularity in the course of the seasons, such as in most countries would produce only slight inconvenience or hardship, is sufficient to overwhelm Madura with distress, and bring ruin and famine to the

uoors of thousands. When the October and November rains fail, dry crops are light and poor, or are lost altogether, and rice crops cease to grow properly, however well they may be supplied with water stored up in tanks; and should the want of rain earlier in the season have prevented the storing of water in tanks, the rice crop must within a few days utterly and entirely perish. Then the cattle lose their pasturage and die rapidly. And very soon the greatest distress overtakes the poorer cultivators, accompanied only too often by terrible epidemics.

Should both the early and late rains fail entirely, as not unfrequently happens, the ryots' sufferings are terrible, so terrible as to compel them to emigrate in whole armies.

In a favorable year there will be a good fall either in March, or April, or May, which will enable the husbandman to plough and prepare his dry lands, and also perhaps to plant out paddy for an early and extraordinary crop called the *Âdi kôdei* crop to be brought to maturity in July or August. Then, after the south-west monsoon of the Western Coast has ended, there must be pretty frequent showers in August and September, or the dry crops will not come on properly, and the necessary preparations for the principal *(kâlam)* paddy crop will be retarded and impeded. And this means, that the crop will not be first-rate. After the north-east monsoon has ended, there should be one or two showers in December and January, just to give a final impetus to the paddy crops, and to assist any dry crops that may yet be standing.

And if these showers be tolerably heavy, the ryot will take advantage of them to grow an additional crop of paddy called the "*Mâsi-kôdei,*" and will look forward with anxiety for a shower or two in February and March. In a first-rate season there will therefore be rain in almost every month of the year, and every fall will be of use to one or another of the many crops, which the intelligent cultivators of Madura have learnt to grow, provided always that it be not too heavy and protracted for the time of year in which it occurs. For, there can be too much rain as well as too little: and it happens sometimes that the District suffers great damage from excessive and inopportune rains.

Some years, again, rain will come in desirable abundance, but too late in the season. For instance, the June and July showers having failed, abundance of rain will fall in August and September: in

consequence of which the cultivating season will be, so to speak, all out of joint, and no efforts on the part of the ryots will make it possible to fully repair the injury done. The dry crops, or at least the more valuable kinds of them, will be very backward and poor, and the young paddy plants will be too weak for transplanting, when the north-east monsoon begins Or, rain may come too early and be exhausted after a short and heavy downpour. In such case a large acreage of land will be cultivated, and a very short crop got in

In point of fact, it would seem as though any and every deviation from the ordinary routine of the seasons must necessarily be fatal to some of the crops of the District; and that any considerable and violent confusion in the periodical falls of rain must inevitably lead to disastrous results, however copious and wholesome those falls may seem to be, and that it is owing in a great measure to the uncertainty of its seasons, that the District of Madura so constantly loses its crops There is doubtless a great tendency to drought in its climate; and most of the worst years on record were years, in which scarcely any rain fell from the beginning to the end of the season. But there certainly seems to be good ground for supposing, nevertheless, that as a rule, uncertainty operates quite powerfully as deficiency of rain-fall in bringing about the bad seasons, which so often cause wide-spread distress. At the beginning of the season the Madura ryot is always hopeful, and prepared to take advantage of every chance of success. And the first shower that falls is sure to bring him and his ploughing oxen into the field. But experience has taught him not to be over-sanguine, and when he sows he will probably think of the old Madura proverb, "Is this a ruinous rain, or a saving?" That is to say, "Will he lose his seed and labor, or will he be blessed with a decent crop?" The one event is quite as probable as the other, and his fate is indeed in the hands of God.

So remarkable has this uncertainty been, from the very earliest times about which we have authentic information until now, that I have thought it advisable, as stated before, to append a short account of each season from Mr. Hurdis' first to the present one. This account, although very rough and imperfect, will show some very curious results. From the beginning to the end it will show but one very good year, in which all kinds of crops were decidedly heavy, and the health of the people thoroughly good. And only nine years will appear to have been on the whole good. But twenty-one have

been indifferent; twenty-one decidedly bad on the whole; and no less than seven bad in every respect, in fact very bad. In only three years were both the early and the late rains at once seasonable and abundant; whilst in no less than nine they both failed altogether. In the case of the early rains the percentage of really good years is not more than about 10. in the case of the latter rains it is between 40 and 50. The early rains failed altogether about once in three years, and were very insufficient about as often. The latter rains failed altogether only about once in every four years and were insufficient about twice in seven years. Many other calculations may be based upon the account, but it will probably be more profitable to leave it to each individual reader to form his own conclusions respecting the climate of Madura, than to put forward statements for which my mere opinion would be the sole authority. Moreover it must not be forgotten, that my short notices of seasons are taken from a series of old reports, written by many different Collectors, upon no particular plan; and written, most of them, in times when accurate information respecting the seasons was not required by, or furnished to the Board of Revenue So that no more must be expected than the very roughest approximation to the truth.

After perusing this report of the cultivation seasons, the most cursory reader will perceive the importance to Madura of its rains falling at precisely the proper times and in proper quantities. And he will also have observed, how very seldom the District has been favored in this respect It is also easy to see, how often the freshes of the Veigei save paddy crops just perishing from drought. Indeed, the usefulness of this river can scarcely be over-estimated.

• The records of the Collector's Office contain no information whatever with respect to the force, duration and prevalence of particular winds, and (so far as I can learn) no scientific observations have ever been made in the District for the purpose of ascertaining these matters. It is not possible therefore to give any precise information on this head. It is said that violent winds very seldom blow in Madura, even during the prevalence of the monsoons; and that, as a rule, the air is seldom set in motion by other than the very gentlest breezes, blowing generally either from the east or from the west. Tempests and thunder-storms are uncommon inland But dust-storms and whirlwinds occur not infrequently: and gusty irritating winds blow from various quarters towards the end of March and the

beginning of April. Except at these times and during the monsoons, the state of the air is calm and undisturbed, occasionally in a painful degree. But at night there is almost always some movement and coolness in the air; and Europeans rarely, if ever, suffer from that terrible restlessness and difficulty in breathing so commonly felt in most parts of India. As compared with other Collectorates, Madura may fairly claim to be blessed with cool and gentle breezes, and to enjoy considerable immunity from rough, unwholesome and blighting winds. Occasionally the north wind causes some injury to the crops by blight: but this is only in exceptional seasons.

Judging from Mr. Tracy's register of winds observed at Pasumalei, and from an incomplete journal kept by the head Pilot at Pâmbam, the direction of the wind appears to vary as follows:—

In October the wind shifts rapidly from one quarter to another and brings variable and uncertain weather. In November the wind blows from the north, and the north-west, sometimes with great violence: and then getting round towards the east, blows more or less steadily from the north-east and east. In December its direction is more settled, and it has less leaning towards the east. In January and February the wind usually blows freshly and steadily from between the north and east, and occasionally from the north and north-west. In March it gradually leaves the north, and losing strength and steadiness veers round to the east and south-east. In April and May it is very light and variable with a leaning towards the south-west, and afterwards the west. In June and July the prevailing winds are light south-westerly breezes: but winds blow also from the south, south-east, and occasionally from other quarters. In August and September the wind is still in the south-west for the most part: but it is very variable at times, and has a faint leaning towards the north. These variations in the direction of the wind agree very well on the whole with those described by Dr. Ainslie in his report on the epidemic fever of 1809 and the two following years, published in 1816: and are probably not very incorrect for the District generally.

APPENDIX TO THE CHAPTER ON CLIMATE, &c., SHOWING THE SEASONS FROM THE YEAR 1802 TO 1865-66.

1	2	3	4
YEAR.	EARLY RAINS.	LATE RAINS.	REMARKS.
1802-3	An average fall.	Not abundant.	The latter rains were very late: but the season appears to have been pretty good, as no advances were made, and the whole of the Government demand was realized.
1803-4	A partial failure of early rains in Vêdasandûr and Nattam. Elsewhere a sufficiency.	Seasonable and abundant.	The season appears to have been good. There was a marked increase of revenue.
1806-7	Abundant.	Abundant in October · but failed in November.	The season promised well, but ended badly. The yield was poor.
1808-9	Partially failed in Nattam, Tirumangalam, &c., in June & July	Average.	The season appears to have been good on the whole. Cultivation increased, and the Government demand was realized.
1811-12	Total failure.	Total failure.	A fearful year. A deadly fever raged throughout the District. Cultivation was paralysed. The greatest distress prevailed.
1812-13	Failed entirely in Turumbûr, Mêlûr and Nattam. Elsewhere very scanty at first.	An average fall.	At its commencement the season was more unfavorable than even the preceding. But things mended towards the close of the year; and there was a decided increase of revenue.
1813-14	Most abundant.	Failed utterly.	In Tirumangalam, Âneiyûr, Turumbûr and Mêlûr, the tanks were all dried up. More than half the Nanjey crops perished. Slight freshes in the Veigei saved the crops of the villages near its banks. Great distress prevailed everywhere. Large advances had to be made for cultivation. Not only had the crops failed, but large numbers of cattle had died from drought and disease.

1	2.	3	4
YEAR.	EARLY RAINS.	LATE RAINS.	REMARKS
1814-15	Insufficient.	Tolerably abundant and seasonable.	The Veigei was well filled. The Punjey crops were rather light, the Nanjey crops good. A terrific storm from the direction of Ceylon swept over the neighbourhood of the town of Madura in November, and destroyed nearly 3,000 head of cattle and fifty herdsmen and on the coast destroyed the salt in many of the pans. Punjey crops were very light. The Nanjey crops average.
1815-16	Total failure.	An average fall.	The season was feverish at first, and deaths were numerous Disease was checked by the rains In parts of the District all the cattle perished by the *Kánei* disease.
1816-17	Failed · more particularly in Dindigul.	Indifferent.	Fever prevailed to some extent.
1817-18	Failed.	Rather abundant.	An average season. There was a considerable increase in Nanjey cultivation.
1818-19	Late and partial; quite insufficient for better sorts of Punjey crops	Copious.	There was a steady increase of cultivation, in spite of the continued prevalence of fever and of a most fearful out-break of Cholera in November throughout the District. The Sôlavandân Tâlûk suffered most.
1819-20	Failed.	Failed.	The people having suffered much from the Cholera epidemic of the preceding year had lost all energy; and only cultivated a small area of ground. And the out-turn thereon was very small. Cholera raged · the District was reduced to the greatest state of distress. The mortality was very great, and the ryots emigrated in large bodies.

1	2	3	4
YEAR.	EARLY RAINS	LATE RAINS.	REMARKS.
1820-21	Very partial In some parts of the District failed altogether.	Failed.	Fever and Cholera prevailed Cattle diseases caused great loss The Nattam Tâlûk was most unhealthy. There were slight freshes in the Veigei, and the villages near it got in a decent crop.
1821-22	Partial and insufficient.	Very insufficient.	All kinds of crops were light Nanjey crops would have perished, but for rains in the middle of January There was a little water in the Veigei from time to time. Fever and Cholera were less severe than in the preceding year· but the extreme heat proved very fatal to the cattle. The season was extremely dry, and the best wells and springs failed in many parts
1822-23	Seasonable, and an average amount	An average fall	This year was very different from the preceding Cholera and Fever had subsided. And the Ryots began to breathe again after their sufferings. The season on the whole was favorable, and the out-turn decent in amount
1823-24	Utterly failed.	Utterly failed.	The Veigei did not come down, and water was everywhere deficient. Great deductions had to be made on account of *shâvi*, and much of the wet cultivation was wholly destroyed
1824-25	Very late and scanty.	Scanty and insufficient.	There was not much disease The crops were light But there was a good deal of water in the Veigei, and Nanjey crops were thereby saved
1825-26	Late · but an average quantity.	Scanty, and did not last sufficiently long.	The season was a fair one, and the crops sufficiently heavy There was not much water in the Veigei, and so the Nanjey 2d crop suffered The general health was not bad, and there was less loss of cattle.

1	2	3	4
YEAR.	EARLY RAINS.	LATE RAINS.	REMARKS
1826-27	Abundant at first, but fell off.	Promised well at first; ceased after awhile; and fell abundantly very late in the season.	There was an average yield of grain. The season was more healthy than usual.
1827-28	Insufficient.	Insufficient.	The crops were very light. And the revenue was about 5 per cent. less than that of the preceding year.
1828-29	Failed.	Failed.	A bad season. The necessary remissions were very large.
1829-30	Failed.	Failed.	The season was rather worse than the last. The Nanjey crops in particular suffered from the non-filling of the Veigei in the early part of the season.
1830-31	Failed.	Abundant, and amply sufficient.	The season was on the whole not unfavorable. The Punjey crops were light: but not so the Nanjey.
1831-32	Failed.	Failed utterly.	This was a most unfavorable year, and people suffered great distress. Drought killed their cattle. Their numbers were reduced by the ravages of Cholera The reduction on account of *shâvi* was very large.
1832-33	Average.	Came down abundantly in the beginning of September The fall was heavy till the middle of October, after which it failed.	The out-turn exceeded that of the preceding year by very little and the *shâvi* remissions were even larger, but the Punjey crop was somewhat better Cholera prevailed in every part of the District.
1833-34	Too late for the superior dry crops, but afterwards abundant.	Unequally distributed In some parts heavy.	There were seasonable showers in April. And the second crop of Nanjey was large. The Punjey crop was on the whole a failure. Cholera prevailed in July and the next two months. Grasshoppers did much damage to the second crop. but were killed off by heavy showers.

1	2	3	4
YEAR.	EARLY RAINS	LATE RAINS.	REMARKS.
1834-35	None to speak of in any part of the District.	Heavy rains in September: afterwards none at all.	The season was bad, particularly in the Turumbûr and Mêlûr Divisions. The Veigei was filled only for two days, and its waters never reached the Zamindâris. But unusually heavy rain fell from March to the middle of June 1835, and produced a heavy second crop in Mâdakolam and Tirumangalam. These rains did not visit Mêlûr, where great distress prevailed In the adjoining District of Nattam however they fell very heavily· and there was great general prosperity. With the exception of Nattam, always more or less feverish, no part of the country suffered from epidemics. The revenue showed an increase under every head except that of "Punjey Garden."
1835-36	Abundant.	Abundant.	As far as rain was concerned the season was most favorable, and a larger area of land was cultivated, than had ever been cultivated before. The Punjey crop was abundant. But unfortunately for the Nanjey crops a blighting north wind blew all through December, and withered up the Paddy to such an extent, that only half an average crop was got in. The District was perfectly healthy. and no disease attacked the cattle. All classes enjoyed prosperity, with the exception of the Brâhman proprietors of wet lands And even they suffered no distress.
1836-37	Abundant.	Failed altogether.	The season opened well, but in October a long drought set in. The *shâvi* remissions amounted to no less than 40 per cent. on the Tîrvei. And the Punjey crops suffered terribly. There was no great sickness, except amongst cattle.

1	2	3	4
YEAR.	EARLY RAINS.	LATE RAINS.	REMARKS.
1837-38	Sufficient at the end of July, and in August.	Abundant and constant, but late, not setting in fairly till the end of October.	The season was unsatisfactory The Punjey crops were poor and wasted. The Nanjey crop was only saved by heavy rains on the 1st March. Much cattle died at the beginning of the Fasli from drought. And Cholera prevailed from August to March. Much distress prevailed up to November. Mêlûr suffered much.
1838-39	Partial and scanty.	Late. Heavy during the first half of November. None afterwards.	The crops were generally light. Early sown dry grains were sufficiently productive. All others suffered from want of rain. Pulse crops were all scanty The Veigei filled well and a small portion of its waters reached Râmnâd. A portion of the Nanjey crop was saved. *shâvi* remissions amounted to 19,000 Pagodas and odd. Mâdakolam suffered most. No sickness prevailed except in Nattam, the inhabitants of which were terribly affected by an epidemic of guinea-worm.
1839-40	Late, but abundant.	Heavy rain up to 10th of November.	The Veigei filled moderately well, and supplied Sivagangei; but its freshes were late. The Punjey crops were very heavy. The pulse crops suffered for want of rain in December, and were on the whole very poor. The Paddy crop suffered from the same cause, and where raised under small Tanks withered. Cholera prevailed to some extent throughout the year. A malignant Fever raged in parts of the Tâdikambu and Nilakôttei Tâlûks in December and January. A large proportion of the inhabitants of the Villages in which it broke out were attacked and of those attacked, about one-third died and the rest were greatly debilitated.

1	2	3	4
YEAR.	EARLY RAINS	LATE RAINS.	REMARKS.
1840-41	Insufficient.	Very abundant and continuous throughout October and November. None afterwards.	The Punjey crop was good, particularly in Ayampalli and Marangâpuri. The Veigei did not fill till the end of October. And its waters did not reach Sivagangei. The Nunjey crop suffered from want of water after November · and *shâvi* remissions reached the sum of 26,000 Pagodas odd. The Fever had not left the Villages attacked by it in the preceding year; but was less severe. The season was generally very healthy.
1841-42	Late, partial, and insufficient.	Average in amount: but ceased early in November.	The Veigei came down with an ample and steady flow of water on the 12th October, and with small freshes several times afterwards It filled all the Tanks along its whole course to the sea Consequently there was but little *shâvi* remission. But from want of rain in the early part of the season, and afterwards in November and December, all crops were light. The season was healthy.
1842-43	Late and scanty.	Abundant.	The season was on the whole favorable, and all crops tolerably abundant.
1843-44	Very late and insufficient.	Scanty. Ended in the middle of October.	In December there were very heavy rains and extraordinary freshes in the Veigei. Much harm was done by the breaching of Tanks. *Shâvi* remission was very inconsiderable. But all crops were light. There was but little fever; but Cholera raged throughout the District. In Madura Town 1,639 persons died between October and February.

1	2	3	4
YEAR.	EARLY RAINS.	LATE RAINS.	REMARKS.
1844-45	None worth speaking of. Came on at the end of September.	Failed entirely after September.	Some heavy rains at the end of September causing freshes in the Veigei, enabled the ryots to cultivate Nanjey to a small extent. There were partial showers in December; and at the end of the same month very heavy falls with great freshes in the Veigei. The Nanjey crop was thereby saved. But it was very light. The Punjey crop was most unsatisfactory. The *Kôdei* crop was assisted by two partial showers and by freshes in March. Great distress prevailed among the poorer classes, but Cholera and Fever were not more than ordinarily prevalent.
1845-46	Very scanty and insufficient.	Abundant.	The Veigei and Gundâr were well filled from time to time from the beginning of October to the middle of January. And an abundant Nanjey crop would have been got in, had not the early rains failed. As it was, the Nanjey out-turn was light, and but little superior to that of the previous Fasli. The Punjey crop was most indifferent. Cholera prevailed throughout the District: but of a mild form.
1846-47	Light and partial. In the Sub-Division more abundant.	Abundant in October. Afterwards failed. Somewhat better in Dindigul.	The Punjey crop was a failure except in the Sub-Division. The Nanjey crop was very deficient, more particularly in Mêlûr. The season generally was a disastrous one, and the losses of the ryots in general were not compensated for by the heavy *Kôdei* crop, which a few of the wealthier sort got in after the exceptionally great falls of rain and freshes in the Veigei during April and May. No sickness prevailed.

1	2	3	4
YEAR.	EARLY RAINS.	LATE RAINS.	REMARKS.
1847-48	Failed entirely.	Abundant.	This year was peculiarly favorable to Nanjey cultivation. Seasonable latter rains, accompanied by large freshes, and supplemented by showers and freshes in December and January and afterwards in April, brought to maturity by far the largest yield on record. The Punjey crop was a failure. Not only were the early rains unfavorable to it, but the late rains were so heavy as to destroy a great portion when nearly brought to maturity. Fever and Cholera prevailed to a slight extent, but the year was not unhealthy on the whole.
1848-49	Sufficient.	A good fall after the end of October; very scanty afterwards until January.	For Nanjey this season was not good. The latter rains were not heavy, and the freshes in the Veigei were inconsiderable, consequently the yield was poor. The Punjey crop was good. The season was healthy, with but little Cholera and Fever.
1849-50	Partial, and insufficient both in quantity and duration.	Failed entirely.	The season was bad, and the District generally suffered much from drought. The Punjey crops were moderately good. And Nanjey lands irrigated from rivers yielded a decent crop. But Paddy crops under rain-fed Tanks either were scanty or withered up entirely. There was not much disease. The cattle suffered to some extent.
1850-51	Rather scanty, until August. In that month and the next they were most abundant.	Abundant.	The season was very favorable until near the close. Rains in April and May brought on a good *Kôdei* crop. The Punjey crop was good on the whole. The Veigei filled well: and the Nanjey cultivation was considerable. But want of rain in December and subsequent months caused the Nunjey crop to be light; particularly in Mêlûr, Tirumangalam, and Mâdakolam. And there was some *shâvi*. Fever and Cholera prevailed in some parts. The cattle were healthy.

1	2	3	4
YEAR.	EARLY RAINS.	LATE RAINS.	REMARKS.
1851-52	Sufficient up to the end of July None afterwards.	A few showers in November. None afterwards.	All kinds of crops suffered from drought. And the general out-turn was light in the extreme Dry crops were raised over a large acreage, but failed to come to maturity except in the case of *Varagu* and pulse. Nanjey cultivation was carried on only to a small extent, and the crops raised were scanty. The Veigei never filled properly. The season was unhealthy. Cholera, Fever and murrain prevailed.
1852-53	Seasonable & sufficiently abundant.	Seasonable & sufficiently abundant.	This was a very favorable season. From April to the end of November there was plenty of rain, and from time to time good freshes in the Veigei. In December there was a heavy fall of rain, and the Veigei filled all the tanks dependent upon it. In January there was too much rain, and injury was done to some of the standing crops, particularly to cotton and pulse. From January 1853 to the end of the Fasli, Cholera and Fever prevailed to a considerable extent. And cattle also suffered from diverse diseases.
1853-54	Failed up to August. Afterwards sufficient in quantity	Sufficient during October Failed afterwards with the exception of very slight showers, the last of which fell on the 17th of November.	This year the weather was very variable. The season opened well with rain in April and May, cultivation was then checked until August, when it commenced over a large area of ground. In consequence of the drought which set in after October no kind of crop was very heavy, while many kinds were very light. This was especially the case with dry grains. By great care the Nanjey crop, such as it was, was saved. Its deficiency was not compensated for by a large *Kôdei* crop at the beginning of the season . for this crop had been somewhat light. On the whole the season was less unfavourable than might have been expected, *shâvi* remissions were inconsiderable. And no great distress prevailed.

1	2	3	4
YEAR.	EARLY RAINS.	LATE RAINS.	REMARKS.
1854-55	None till August; and then very scanty.	Seasonable and very abundant.	Owing to the lateness of the season the yield was indifferent, both as regards Nanjey and Punjey crops In some parts the Paddy never sprouted. The tanks were well filled by the latter rains, and great efforts were put forward to secure a large *Kôdei* crop but as no rain fell when required these efforts were wholly unsuccessful. Only a very small and poor crop was got in over a small acreage. In the Tenkarei Tâlûk a most extraordinary drought prevailed till near the close of the year Fever raged fearfully in Nattam. The rest of the District was healthy. In the Sub-Division the season was very favorable and healthy.
1855-56	Scanty till the beginning of August. After that and during September sufficient	Sufficient during October. None in November.	The season was good for dry cultivation, but not for wet. At the beginning of the season there was water in the tanks and lands were sown for an *Âdi-kôdei* crop, to be reaped in July and August. This failed for want of rain. The *Kâlam* crop looked well until weakened by the drought of November. It afterwards turned out light, and part of it was lost altogether. There was an ample supply of rain in December, but it came too late The Sub-division received more rain than the principal, and got in a larger crop. At the beginning of 1856 Cholera prevailed to an average amount; and a virulent Fever broke out in many parts of Dindigul, particularly near the Hills. The season generally was very unhealthy. The cattle suffered from want of pasturage, but did not die of disease.

1	2	3	4
YEAR	EARLY RAINS	LATE RAINS.	REMARKS.
1856-57	Scanty in June and July. After that none in most parts of the Sub-division. More abundant in the principal division.	Abundant in October; none worth speaking of afterwards.	The yield of this season was only about half the average. Everywhere there was a scarcity of water, when it was most required, and crops could not come to maturity. In many parts they failed altogether; particularly in the Sub-Division. Remissions were granted to the extent of over 25,000 Rs. No *Kôdei* cultivation was attempted. The season was not unhealthy Cholera and Fever appeared only in a modified form.
1857-58	Very scanty and insufficient.	Abundant in October. None afterwards.	A most unhappy season. The Punjey crop was scanty and withered, more particularly in the Sub-division which received even less rain than the principal. The drought after October prevented the Nanjey crop from coming to maturity and withered it up in most parts of the District. Large remissions became necessary, and the Collector considered the Fasli a much worse one than Fasli 1246. Prices ran up, and distress was very generally felt; but the people were not unhealthy.
1858-59	Scanty and partial, particularly in the Sub-division.	Abundant.	There was not enough rain in the early part of the season to bring on the crops well. The Punjey out-turn was very indifferent, and the Nanjey below the average. The heavy rains of April injured the Cotton then growing. And altogether the season was very unfavorable. Besides this Cholera raged throughout Dindigul, and a fatally virulent Fever. Sheep and cattle also suffered from disease during a portion of the year.

1	2	3	4
YEAR.	EARLY RAINS.	LATE RAINS	REMARKS.
1859-60	Seasonable and sufficient in June and July, good showers in the following months	Late, but heavy in November. None afterwards till June.	A very bad year except for the Sub-division, only one part of which, viz, Tâdikambu, suffered much The Punjey crops when nearly ripe were injured by the heavy rain in November. And the Nanjey crops failed from the drought of December and the following months. The out-turn was smaller than in the year preceding A virulent Fever raged, and was followed by Cholera The cattle suffered much from drought.
1860-61	Well distributed, but rather insufficient in quantity.	In October heavy, but not sufficiently continuous In November very scanty.	The season was unsatisfactory The Punjey cultivation covered but a small area. The crop was barely saved by the showers of December, and yielded but a poor out-turn. Wet cultivation also was not extensively carried on, and the yield was small. The year was not unhealthy. The cattle suffered, but only for want of pasturage.
1861-62	Too late; began at the end of July and lasted throughout August.	Failed altogether.	A most unfavorable season. Most of the dry crops failed utterly. And with regard to Nanjey, only those lands which were watered from rivers gave a decent crop after freshes in January. The rain fed tanks received no supplies during the continuance of the North-east monsoon, and the crops dependent on them failed entirely. Mêlûr suffered most. The year was not unhealthy. There was however Fever near the Hills, and Cholera raged in Râmnâd There was no Small-pox. The cattle suffered only from want of pasturage.

1	2	3	4
YEAR.	EARLY RAINS.	LATE RAINS.	REMARKS.
1862-63	Seasonable and abundant.	Seasonable and abundant.	This was a most extraordinarily favorable season for all kinds of crops except cotton. The dry crops came up well in the early part of the season; were brought along by timely showers, and were made sound and heavy by the slight falls of December and the following months. The Nanjey crops came on equally well, and the nature of the season admitted of a good *Kôdei* crop being raised. On the other hand, there was too much rain for cotton. The Veigei came down in continuous freshes, month after month, during the greater part of the year—a thing unknown to the oldest inhabitant. The year was also most healthy. And Fever, Cholera, and Small-pox prevailed only to a most moderate extent.
1863-64	Slight and insufficient.	Seasonable, and exceedingly abundant.	The season was on the whole very unfavorable. The Punjey crops did not get on fast at first · and were seriously injured by the excess of rain during the North-east monsoon, and subsequently by drought They gave therefore a most indifferent yield. Nanjey crops also suffered for want of timely showers after the monsoon, and yielded only half what they ought to have The yield of cotton was indifferent. In Dindigul things were even worse. and the Sub-Collector suggested special remissions for Punjey failures. The health of the people was bad. Fever raged about the Hills, and Cholera all over the District. Cholera was particularly virulent in January February and March. Small-pox too was severe. And cattle died in great numbers.

1	2	3	4
YEAR.	EARLY RAINS	LATE RAINS.	REMARKS.
1864-65	Good showers.	Insufficient: but heavy rains fell in certain parts of the District from November 1864 to February 1865.	The season was not good. The produce of the dry crops was short. The rains from November to February saved most of the wet crops. And the early rains were very favorable for cotton crops, which were raised over a large acreage and gave a decent yield. The year was not healthy Fever and Cholera made their appearance at their accustomed seasons, and were very virulent in some localities. And Small-pox appeared in the months of October November and December, but was not very bad. Cattle disease prevailed in some villages but the mortality was not great
1865-66	Partial and scanty in April & May Very little rain fell from June to September. In Palani there was not a single shower.	From October to April 1865 there was no rain in the District worth speaking of.	The season was most unfavorable The whole country was very much dried up, and the dry crops perished in many places Where the tanks were river-fed, the rice crops were far the most part good: but many of the crops under rain-fed tanks, especially in the Tâlûk of Mêlûr, totally failed. The yield of cotton was also any thing but good The health of the people was very bad. Cholera was prevalent throughout the District, and was very virulent in the months of November and December Small-pox appeared in the months of October November and December but was not very bad. The District was free from Fever till the month of June, when it began to rage in the Hill villages and tracts at the foot of the Hills. It lasted till the setting in of the South-west monsoon. The cattle suffered much from want of pasturage and water and from murrain and other diseases: but the mortality was not great.

CHAPTER IV.

DISEASES OF THE MADURA DISTRICT.

Insalubrity.—The Epidemics of the country.—Fever.—Its ravages in the early part of the century.—Its contagious nature.—Causes of its prevalence.—Epidemic Cholera, of two kinds.—Cholera well known in ancient times.—Five classes of diseases.—Their relative frequency of occurrence.—Extraordinary prevalence of indigestion and allied maladies.—The Madura foot.—Poisoning.—Climate not unhealthy for Europeans.—Places remarkable for salubrity and the reverse.—The diseases of Cattle.—Cause of the country breeds being so poor.

THE climate of Madura can scarcely be called salubrious. Year after year epidemic cholera and fever appear, each for a short season, and carry off numberless victims. And small-pox is always to be heard of, as being rife in one or another division of the District.

The Madura fever became proverbial after the fatal year 1811, in which it is said to have more than decimated the poor Madura ryots. During the twenty years beginning with 1812 and ending with 1831, there were no less than six severe fever epidemics In 1839 and 1840 an extraordinarily malignant and most fatal fever raged in Âttûr and other villages of the sub-division. From 1843 to 1866 there have been no less than eleven bad fever years: and in three of them namely 1855-56 1858-59 and 1859-60, the fever epidemic was very malignant. In 1854-55 there was a terrible outbreak in the Nattam country; and it is possible, that it was the disease there generated that subsequently spread itself over the entire District. But it would be dangerous to affirm positively that this was the case. For although fever of more or less malignant

types is almost for ever present in the Nattam valley and in the parts adjacent, it does not ordinarily leave its favorite localities And whereas a large proportion of the inhabitants of those parts carry about on their persons unmistakable traces of fever, of which the best known and most striking is a greatly enlarged spleen, the number of persons who visibly suffer from the effects of fever in the open country is not usually a very large percentage of the population.

Between 1811 and 1831 there were at least six bad cholera years Nothing is said about cholera in the great fever year. and probably but little attention was paid to its more moderate ravages, whilst its fellow-worker was covering the land with corpses. But there can be but little doubt it was severe in 1811, for it was severe in all the bad fever years up to 1821 In 1818 it was fearfully bad; and it was almost as bad in the next year. From 1821 to 1830 there was no cholera as also there was no fever. In 1831 epidemic cholera was very bad, and also in the two succeeding years, and in 1837 and 1839. From 1840 up to the present time there have been no less than nine years, in which cholera raged in a more or less virulent form. 1863 was a particularly bad year. These nine cholera years were all fever years also, with the single exception of 1845 This is very noticeable, and perhaps it would not be a waste of labor, if the medical authorities were to endeavour to ascertain to what extent, if any, in the Madura District, fever and cholera have common pre-disposing causes, such as malaria, drought, excess of rain, excess of electricity, scarcity of clothing and food, &c.

After fever and cholera perhaps the next greatest curse of the District is the constant recurrence of murrain among the cattle, by the help of which cultivation is mainly carried on, and the people supported. Nine years since 1814 are recorded to have been bad in this respect and two of them, 1815 and 1821, were terribly bad. It is somewhat remarkable, that only one of these murrains happened in a year free from disease amongst men. The three great scourges of the country would seem to be connected in some way, and to be all laid on together, as a rule, whenever the atmospheric constitution is more than usually favorable to the joint or successive propagation of these particular diseases. The following table of fever, cholera, and murrain years, though necessarily very roughly put together, may be of some use and interest.

Year.	Cholera.	Fever.	Murrain.	Remarks.
1811-12	...	Most virulent and fatal.	...	
1813-14	...	..	Severe.	
1815-16	Bad.......... ...	Bad	Terribly severe	
1816-17	...	Rather bad......	...	
1818-19	Fearfully bad .	Bad	...	
1819-20	Very bad	Bad........... .	...	
1820-21	Bad........	Bad	Bad	
1821-22	Rather bad.....	Rather bad.....	Terribly bad...	Great heat & drought prevailed.
1831-32	Very bad.......	...	Very bad.......	Great drought.
1832-33	Do.	...	...	...
1833-34	Do.	...	...	...
1837-38	Do.	...	Very bad..... ..	Great drought.
1838-39	...	...	...	An epidemic of guinea-worm caused great havoc in Nattam
1839-40	Bad.......	Very malignant	...	The fever was confined to Âttûr and its neighbourhood. It killed a large proportion of those attacked; and the survivors were terribly weakened.
1840-41	...	Do.	..	This was the fever of the preceding year, and soon died out.
1843-44	Very severe....	Rather bad.....	.	...
1845-56	...	Bad.	..	...
1850-51	Bad.............	Do.	.	...
1851-52	Do.	Do.	Bad..............	Great drought.
1852-53	Do.	..	..	...
1854-55	...	Fearfully malignant	...	Confined to Nattam.
1855-56	Very bad..... .	Very malignant	...	General health, very bad.
1856-57	Of a mild form.	Of a mild form.	..	...
1858-59	Very bad.......	Very malignant	Severe........ ..	The fever was confined to the Sub-Division.
1859-60	Bad.......	Virulent.........	...	Great drought.
1861-62	Very severe....	Bad........	..	Cholera was confined to Râmnâd: fever to the neighbourhood of the hills.
1863-64	Virulent.........	Bad.	...	..
1864-65	Very virulent .	Very virulent..	...	General health very bad.
1865-66	Do.	Bad......	Severe......	Fever was confined to the Hill villages and tracts at the foot of the Hills.

THE EPIDEMIC FEVER OF MADURA does not present any peculiar features. It appears ordinarily in an intermittent, occasionally in a remittent form; and its type varies infinitely. After the terrible visitations of the years 1809 1810 and 1811 had carried off a large proportion of the populations of the Coimbatore Madura and Tinnevelly Districts, a Committee consisting of Dr. W. Ainslie, Mr. A Smith, and Dr. M. Christie, were appointed to enquire into the origin propagation and pathology of the epidemic; and those gentlemen furnished Government with a report, printed in 1816, which throws some little light on the subjects investigated. From this it appears that in the opinion of the Committee the primal cause of the epidemic was a highly insalubrious condition of the atmosphere, generated by continued and extraordinary deviations from the regular order and course of the seasons. And the atmosphere generally having been brought into a highly insalubrious state, the miasmata arising from marshy grounds, from the thick jungles on the hill sides, and from the salt marshes on the sea coast, had acquired a potency far in excess of what they usually possessed. Moreover these miasmata had not only been exhaled, as in ordinary years, in the cold seasons, when they were comparatively speaking harmless: but also in the hot season, after very heavy rains had fallen at an improper time, and when there was a distressing and unnatural deficiency of free ventilation in the air. The seeds of disease were abundantly present in the atmosphere: and powerful evaporation during a sultry heat, accompanied by much electricity, assisted to make them germinate freely and rapidly. And there were not wanting those pre-disposing causes of fever which operate by producing debility, namely, a poor and insufficient diet, great fatigue, frequent exposure to cold and damp without proper covering, sorrow, anxiety, and fear. The wretched ryots were only too well prepared to imbibe the poison by their poor condition and careless habits of life. As a proof of this, it was only necessary to point to the fact that on one occasion, whilst the ryots were dying by thousands, soldiers convicts and others who were well-fed and attended to, scarcely suffered at all. Lastly, in the months of March and April 1811 the nights were very sultry and oppressive, and the natives were driven to sleep outside their houses, where they were exposed to the chilly fogs and damps of the early morning, and to heavy dews, which do not usually occur in those months. All these causes combined to produce a fatal disease, which will now be described.

The Committee say of it in the first place—" It does not differ in "its nature from the common endemic fever of this country (India) "which at certain seasons, and in peculiar situations, may be every "year met with; it having been rendered epidemic on the present "occasion, is altogether to be ascribed to the causes we have already "mentioned." In fact, it was simply jungle fever of the ordinary kind. Next, it was remittent or intermittent according to circumstances, and the manner in which it was treated. But happily, as a rule, it was the latter. People of weak constitution, or of irregular habit, were occasionally attacked by the disease in its remittent form, which proved either bilious or nervous, as the constitution inclined. Men of stronger frames, but of a phlogistic diathesis, fell victims to the severer form of disease, after being injudiciously treated for the milder kind; for instance, such as had bark administered to them in large doses before sufficient evacuations had been procured. Others again who were so unfortunate as to be attacked in the hot season suffered from the more severe disease, whilst in the cold season patients commonly escaped with intermittent fever. Curiously enough, males were observed to suffer more than females: the young and the middle-aged more than the old and the very young.

The symptoms of the remittent fever were thus described:—" The "epidemic fever, when it assumes the remittent form, sometimes comes "on very gradually: the patients, for two, or even three days before "being confined to bed, feels himself much out of sorts; his appetite "fails him; he has a slight squeamishness at stomach, particularly on "seeing animal food, he complains of a feeling of universal lassitude "and of alternate heats and chills; there is a stupid heaviness, if not a "pain, in the head: the eyes are clouded, the ears ring, and the bowels "are invariably costive. In other cases, the approach of the enemy "is more rapid, and rigors, great prostration of strength, vertigo, "sickness at stomach, or vomiting, sooner ensue, and never fail to "usher in the disease.

" The first paroxysm, which is often attended with delirium, and " sometimes in young people is accompanied by a bleeding at the nose, " after having continued for a certain period with symptoms varying " according to the strength of the habit and constitution of the sufferer, terminates in a sweat; not however of that profuse and fluent " kind which succeeds to the hot fit of a regular ague, but clammy, " and sometimes indistinct: it however has the effect of lowering

" the pulse, and cooling the body; but neither the natural feeling of " the skin, nor the proper state of pulse, are thereby induced; the " former gives a singular dry and uncomfortable sensation to the " touch, and the other is smaller and quicker than it ought to be, the " patient continues languid, and has but little appetite for food.

" If proper steps are not now taken to bring on a regular intermis- " sion, or if, from the violence of the disease, it cannot be done, this " first remission will not be of long duration, not usually longer than " five to eight hours. A paroxysm more severe in every respect soon " ensues, usually ushered in by vomiting (in some cases of bile,) and " quickly followed by excessive heat of skin, delirium, great thirst, " difficult respiration, and a most distressing febrile anxiety; and the " tongue, which at first was only white and foul, now begins to look " *parched* and *brownish*. The next remission, when it takes place, " is less perfect than the first, and brings still less relief; and in this " way, if a check cannot be given to the fever, or if (which they " sometimes do) natural bilious evacuations do not occur to supply the " place of diaphoresis, it will run its fatal course, each succeeding " attack proving worse than that which preceded it, till nature, " exhausted at last, begins to give way: the pulse gradually loses its " strength, the countenance shrinks and looks sallow, the eyes be- " come dim, the abdomen swells from visceral congestion, and the " stomach loathes every sort of food: shortly after this period, hic- " cup comes on and alarming stupor succeeds to low delirium, and death " quickly closes the scene. But such severe remittents have not been " very frequent in these provinces; and when they did occur, were, " we believe, mostly occasioned by neglect or unpardonable blunders " at the beginning of the disease."

The intermittent and more common form of fever was far more tractable. It commenced at once with rigor, or a shivering fit. Or it was first indicated by a febrile attack, more or less continued, and usually of about two days' duration. This yielded readily to ordinary treatment, and the patient was usually left tolerably well: but after a short interval the fever returned, and " observed the type, which was to distinguish it." The types observed were five in number, viz:—

1. The simple tertian.
2. The double tertian.
   The quotidian.
4. The quartan
5. The irregular.

By the "double tertian" was meant a type, "consisting of the "junction of two single tertians, that run each a separate and inde- "pendent course, with similar paroxysms on alternate days." The most common types at Dindigul were the first two The quotidian was undoubtedly met with, and seemed to attack principally persons of delicate constitutions, who were much distressed by reason of their having so little time within which to take their bark. The quartan type was rare. When it occurred it was exceedingly obstinate, and frequently brought on a morbid state of the spleen and consequent dropsy. The irregular disease, by observing no exact periods, was very troublesome, and seemed to correspond with the semi-tertian of Hoffman. Sometimes the types were changed during the course of the malady. Remittent fevers changed into tertian, and double tertians into single. And on the other hand, tertians were turned by mis-management into remittent irregular and continued fevers; and into double tertians quartans and quotidians. The Committee did not consider the fever to be contagious "in any of its natural forms," whatever might be the case where it was mis-managed and allowed to pass into low continued fevers, attended with the usual symptoms of putrescence. But no reasons of any kind are given for this opinion. and it certainly appears a little strange that a disease should spread gradually over every part of a large country, attacking indiscriminately all classes of people, and yet not be contagious. After describing the fever, the Committee explain at length their method of treatment. but here we need not follow them Curious readers must be referred to the report for information on this head.

The epidemics of the years 1809 1810 and 1811 appear to have been assumed by the Committee to have together formed one single continuous epidemic. But it seems to be doubtful, whether they were justified in so assuming They speak of fever having prevailed in 1808; there was fever during the beginning of 1812; and the Collectors' reports show that there were fresh outbreaks in the years 1816, 1818, 1819, and 1820: and I think there is every reason to suppose, that the epidemic of each of the three years was a separate and independent attack, unconnected with its predecessor or successor except by the intervention of a few sporadic cases. That of 1809 was not very noticeable, at all events in the Madura District. But in the first half of 1810 the fever raged in every part of the country and attacked indiscriminately rich and poor, Europeans and Natives

During the months February March and April of 1811, which were remarkable for heavy and unseasonable falls of rain, there was a still more severe and fatal outbreak. And so much alarm was caused by its ravages, that Dindigul was of necessity abandoned as a military station, and not re-occupied until the end of 1813.

With regard to the contagious nature of the epidemic, it is to be observed that in Volume III, page 171, of the Madras Journal of Medical Science, Dr. Cornish appears to have given it as his opinion, that the above report supplies abundant evidence of the fever having been contagious, although the Committee declared their belief that it was not. And it seems that when the Medical Board of the period sent up the report to Government, they made the following rather sarcastic remark .—" In countries without the tropics there would " have been no hesitation in attributing infection to an epidemic " spreading as the one in the southern provinces has done, it is only " in the torrid zone, that such a cause is doubtful" And in offering some suggestions as to the best mode of grappling with the enemy on its first approach they declared, that it would be highly advisable to " assume a certain influence from contagion." Proceeding on this assumption, and remembering that these terrific epidemics did not vary in type from the ordinary fevers which periodically sweep over the country, it would be well if the Medical Officers of Madura insisted a little more strongly than they do, on the observation of the simpler laws of sanitation. The condition of the crowded villages and still more crowded towns of the District is, in a sanitary point of view, something so fearfully bad, that the departure of an epidemic must always be a matter of far greater surprise than its advent; the survival of the greater proportion of the population than the sweeping away of the minority

The next account of an epidemic fever which I have been able to discover, is a very brief notice of a virulent outbreak which occurred in the year 1856 It appears from Civil Surgeon Colebrooke's report of the 1st January 1857, that fever broke out in May and continued till June It visited most parts of the District but the principal sufferers were the inhabitants of the plains which surround the bases of the primary and secondary ranges of mountains. Some of the villages in those localities were decimated in a few days: some were almost depopulated But in June there were some showers of rain, and soon afterwards the malady all but disappeared. The Civil

Surgeon ascribed the outbreak to the prevalence of drought throughout the two years immediately preceding its commencement: and its disappearance to the purifying of the atmosphere by rain. Whether or not he was right in these opinions, it is of course impossible to determine. But it seems strange, that rain should have caused the epidemics of 1809, 10, and 11, and should have removed that of 1856: and the more so, seeing that the rain of 1856 fell in the very hottest time of the year, and ought therefore according to Dr. Ainslie's theory to have greatly stimulated the evil energies of the marshy and jungly miasmata of the District.

The type of fever observed in 1856 was generally quotidian: but, as it progressed, it in many instances turned into a tertian, and became moderately amenable to treatment, where cases had not been spoilt by ignorant native practitioners. Although however the fever itself generally proved curable, its sequelæ were of the most serious and alarming kinds, ending in dropsy, dysentery, diarrhœa, and atrophy These were probably superinduced by the inability of the patients to rally, owing to their having been half-starved and having lived in a miserably destitute condition during the long season of drought, and consequent scarcity, which preceded the attack.

The fever of 1859 was most severe in the Dindigul sub-division: and its type was the tertian. The outbreak was ascribed to a lengthened drought followed by unusually heavy rains in October and November, and afterwards by hot weather. And the Civil Surgeon observes in his report dated July 22nd, 1859, " An immense quantity " of decayed vegetable matter was washed by the mountain torrents " into the plains and valleys of Dindigul, which being acted upon by " the powerful sun's rays emitted an amount of malaria most des- " tructive to life and health " Moreover the year 1858 had been one of great scarcity.

In 1860, quotidian fever prevailed very generally throughout the District, although the crops had been very abundant, and there was nothing extraordinary in the weather. The epidemic was most severe in the early months of the year, particularly in March.

In 1861 the District generally was remarkably free from all kinds of miasmatic diseases: and the Civil Surgeon ascribed the fact to the scantiness of the rainfall of that year. Only 26 inches had fallen in all, and the late rains had failed entirely. Hence there was " an absence of that condition, which is considered most likely to give rise to

malaria." He considered it to be an undoubted fact, that "intermittent fevers and bowel complaints prevail in the same ratio as the rainfall." But he believed that the reverse was the case on the lower ranges of hills, including the lower Palanis; for, at the very time when he was writing, namely, on the 1st January 1862, the inhabitants of the lower Palanis were suffering terribly from remittent fever of a fatal type. It seemed not unlikely, he thought, that the hills were unhealthy, unless purified by plenty of rain: and that when plenty of rain fell on them, the germs of disease contained in decaying organized matter were washed down into the plains, and there fructified.

In 1862 there was a most unusually plentiful rainfall in the autumn, and great scarcity caused by the failure of the late rains in the preceding year; but there was no fever epidemic

In 1863 there was no fever epidemic after the very heavy rains at the end of the year preceding, succeeded of course by the burning heat of April and May.

Judging from the notices of the weather and rainfall contained in the annual reports of the Collectors from 1802 to the present time, it appears very doubtful whether any one of the medical opinions touching the primal causes of fever epidemics, has any very great value. None of the Zillah Surgeons seem to have studied the subject of fever epidemics, and the suggestions they have thrown out are, all of them, based on most crude and imperfect observations It remains for some future enquirer to publish a more definite theory: and it was partly to help investigations of this kind, that I drew up a statement showing briefly the state of the weather in every year since the British took possession of the country. See ante Appendix in page 53. And it will perhaps be of some use to record a remark of the Reverend W. Rendall, who has lived for a very long time in Madura. and being a Missionary, has had many opportunities of observing sickness amongst the natives. He tells me, that he has again and again noticed the appearance of fever in February and March, shortly after the paddy crop has been harvested, and when the mud in which it grows has been exposed for a few days to drying winds and a fierce sun. Lastly, I may add that, although the home of the epidemic, the country round Nattam, abounds in rapidly decomposing granitic rocks of all kinds, the possibility of an active miasma being occasionally generated by the decay of these minerals does not appear to have been at any time taken into consideration.

Epidemic Cholera.—The records of the Civil Hospital do not throw any light on the propagation, pathology, or treatment of cholera. And it would seem as though this terrible disease had occupied but little the attention of Madura medical men, owing possibly to it being so constantly and fatally prevalent as to be regarded by all classes, European as well as native, in the light of a malady alike unavoidable and incurable.

I am given however to understand, that the cases of cholera observed and treated in the town of Madura appear always to fall under two heads :—

1. The cases of the ordinary type (C. Biliosa ?) in which more or less severe vomiting and purging, accompanied usually by cramps excessive thirst and debility, induce a state of collapse and a struggle for life, the result of which is affected but little by medicine and treatment.

2. Cases of "sinking cholera," (C. Spasmodica ?) in which the patient sinks almost instantaneously after two or three evacuations, does not vomit, and dies in two or three hours without a struggle. The stomach being powerless to act, the exhibition of medicine is absolutely useless, and all that the Doctor can do, is to render his patient's last sufferings a trifle more endurable

It is not supposed that the severer type is generated by any peculiarity in the constitution of the atmosphere. And it has not been observed that "sinking cholera" prevails more extensively in some years, than in others. Its development would appear to depend in each case rather upon the bodily and mental state of the individual patient attacked, than on any thing in the general conditions, the combination of which enables the epidemic to continue its course

But it has been repeatedly observed that the epidemic is much more virulent and fatal at its commencement, than at any subsequent period; and that the latest cases of any one visitation exhibit comparatively mild features, and are usually amenable in some degree to treatment.

The epidemic appears at different seasons in different localities. In some places the hot weather seems to favor its generation. In some others, for instance in the town of Madura, there is an annual outbreak in the cold weather, which begins usually in December

when the N. and N.E. winds blow, and ends in January or early in February: and when outbreaks occur at other times in the year, they are looked upon as exceptional and due to accidental causes. As some of the dry crops are ordinarily harvested in November and the beginning of December, and at once sold for food, it is popularly supposed that the December cholera is caused by eating grain that has not yet become properly dry and fit for food. But this idea requires corroboration. Grain of the same sort is eaten at the same time in all parts of the District, but its consumption does not appear to be everywhere followed by outbreaks of cholera.

In Madura town, and indeed in all the old towns and villages of the District, there is an ever-present cause of disease, to which attention has not, I think, been sufficiently directed, namely, a surface soil often several feet in thickness, consisting for the most part of constant accretions of fecal matter, decomposed vegetable and animal substances, and dirt of every possible description. It is well known that vitiated soil will retain its injurious qualities and powers for long terms of years And that the emanations from this abominable upper-crust are fraught with the germs of diseases of every kind, there can be, I imagine, but very little doubt. Add to this primal cause the keeping of everflowing cesspools in every garden, the daily deposition of human and other excrements in every lane alley and open space; the poisoning of the wells by never-failing streams of impurities, of which choleraic discharges are one; the crowding together at night of large numbers of more or less diseased and dirty human beings poultry sheep and cattle in small apartments wholly unventilated, the practice of eating the flesh of pigs and poultry fed mainly on dirt, and encouraged as scavengers even during the prevalence of epidemics, the contamination caused by swarms of flies and by crows, add to all these causes the irregular and indescribably filthy habits of the numerous pariahs and low-caste people who dwell in the towns and villages; and there will, probably, be little occasion to seek for the cause of cholera in the consumption of grain, a trifle too crude for digestion.

When this fatal disease first made its appearance in the Madura District, it is of course impossible to say. But it is certain that it was well known before the celebrated outbreak in Jessore of 1817-18, which is erroneously supposed by many to have been the first properly authenticated instance of a cholera epidemic in

India. For the Collector's report for the year 1815-16 show, that in that year cholera had been raging in the District, and was not a new disease. And it appears to be almost equally certain, that cholera was well known in the Madura kingdom so early as in the year 1609.

A letter of Robert de Nobilibus dated Madura, the 22nd April 1609, mentions the prevalence of a virulent epidemic disease called the *mordechin*. And in later letters written by Madura Jesuit Missionaries fatal outbreaks of the *mordechin* disease are spoken of in such terms, as could hardly apply to any other disease than cholera appearing from time to time in an epidemic form. For instance, Father Martin writing in 1701 describes an attack of *mordechin*, which all but killed one of his catechists in the following manner :—

" Il arriva alors à un des catechistes que le Père avait envoyès vers " le prince, un accident dont nous fumes alarmès. Il avait marchè " durant la plus grande chaleur du jour, et, se trouvant fort altèré, il " eut l'imprudence de boire sans prendre les precautions ordinaires. " Dès le moment il se trouva attaqué de cette grande indigestion " qu'on appelle aux Indes *mordechin*, et que quelques-uns de nos " Francais ont appellée *mort de chien*, s'imaginant qu'elle se nomme " ainsi parce qu'elle cause une mort violente et cruelle. En effet, " elle se fait sentir par les douleurs les plus aigues et qui forcent " la nature avec tant de violence, qu'il est rare qu'on n'y succombe " pas, si l'on n'use d'un remède qui est fort en usage sur la côte, " mais qui est moins connu dans les terres. Ce remède est si efficace, " que de cent personnes attaquées de cette espèce de colique de " *miserere*, il n'y en aura pas deux qu'il n'arrache des portes de " la mort. Ce mal est bien plus fréquent aux Indes qu'en Europe; " la continuelle dissipation des esprits, causée par les ardeurs d'un " climat brulant, affaiblit si fort la chaleur naturelle, que l'estomac " est souvent hors d'état de faire la coction des aliments. Le " catéchiste donc, réduit à ne pouvoir plus se trainer, s'arreta dans " une peuplade à une lieue environ d'Aour, et nous envoya avertir " du triste état oú il se trouvait.

"Cette nouvelle ne vint qu'a neuf heures du soir; je volai sur-le- " champ au secours du malade, je le trouvai etendu à terre presque " sans connaissance et agité des plus violentes convulsions."

Probably few would be disposed to doubt that this *mordechin* was cholera, even if there were no authority for affirming that it was. But there is authority. It appears clearly from an interesting article on the "Cholera Conference," contained in the *Quarterly Review of January* 1867, that the Portuguese of Goa called cholera by the name of *Mordechin* so early as 1563; and that thence the word found its way to various parts of Northern and Central India, and even to other countries, for instance Batavia. And there can be no doubt, I think, that Robert de Nobilibus, or some other European who visited Goa, must have learnt this Portuguese name for cholera in that city, and brought it with him to Madura. It is, however, not known to, or at all events not used, by Madura natives of the present day in the sense of cholera. As the writer of the article abovementioned stated that *mordechin* was a corruption of the Mahratta word *môdshi,* and that the latter meant cholera, I enquired of an intelligent Mahratta Brâhman of Madura, whether he knew the word *môdshi,* and was informed by him that he and his kinsmen commonly used the word in the sense of indigestion of a comparatively mild character, never in the sense of cholera, which they called by the Sanskrit name *visúchi* and by other names.

After showing in the passage quoted above the wretched state to which the poor catechist was reduced, the good Missionary goes on to describe his method of treatment, which was certainly open to doubt, if almost invariably successful.

When the patient was in a state of collapse, Father Martin simply applied the back of a heated sickle to the soles of his feet, until "le "fer pénétrant ces peaux moites qui sont dans les Noirs extrêmement "dures, parvînt jusqu au vif et se fît sentir au malade." and the patient having felt the hot iron forthwith began to recover. But, as the Missionary naively remarks, in some cases patients do not feel the hot iron: and such cases are generally almost hopeless.

The *mordechin* seems to have been far more common on the sea coast than in the interior. For the application of a hot iron is said to have been commonly used along the former, whilst its almost miraculous effects were but little known in the latter.

It is just possible, therefore, that the disease was periodically generated on the coast during the annual pearl-fisheries. Father Martin writes as follows in June 1700:—

"Je vous dirai seulement qu'il régne pour l'ordinaire de grandes
"maladies sur cette côte au temps de la pêche, soit à cause de la
"multitude extraordinaire de peuple qui s'y rend de toutes parts
"et qui n'habite pas fort à l'aise, soit parce que plusieurs se nourrissent
"de la chair des huîtres, qui est indigeste et malfaisante, soit enfin
"à cause de l'infection de l'air: car la chair des huîtres, étant
"exposée à l'ardeur du soleil, se corrompt eu peu de jours, et exhale
"une puanteur qui peut toute seule causer des maladies con-
"tagieuses."

The herding together of vast multitudes of very poor people, the awful effluvium arising from the decomposition of millions of oysters, and the eating of these when decomposing, would certainly be very favorable to the development of cholera. And it would seem to be at least as probable that cholera morbus was thus generated, as that it should have spontaneously sprung up in the delta of the Ganges under far less favorable circumstances than those above described. In searching for the earliest seat of cholera the coast from Cape Comorin to Râmêshwaram, ought not, I think, to be entirely disregarded. Though it would seem to be by no means improbable, that cholera has been for ages both endemic and epidemic in most parts of India.

SMALL-POX is always more or less prevalent as a sporadic disease in the Madura District: and is very fatal in its effects. In favorable states of the atmosphere it rapidly begins to rage in an epidemic form. The usual confluent and distinct varieties are known. It is observable that it very often, particularly in the cases of children, causes purulent deposition in the joints of recovering patients, and so brings about unsightly swellings, which disappear naturally, or yield more or less reluctantly to treatment. or the deposition permanently stiffens the joints affected, and so renders them more or less useless. In other respects the variola of Madura, though it leads to horrible complications and most disastrous results, does not appear to differ in type and sequelæ from that which ordinarily prevails in European countries. The natives, from religious prejudices, object to the exhibition of medicines to small-pox patients: and hence very few admissions under this head occur in this Civil Dispensary.

Having passed a few general remarks on the three most common and fatal diseases of the Madura District, I must now notice the prevailing diseases of the country *seriatim*. The only source from which

valuable information concerning this subject can be derived is the "Historical Register of the Civil Hospital." And the statistics obtainable therefrom must be very cautiously dealt with. For it must be always borne in mind, that there is only one Hospital for the whole District, that patients afflicted with certain kinds of diseases are, owing to native prejudices, rarely, if ever, brought to the Civil Hospital for treatment; that thousands of sufferers from cholera are carried off before they reach the friendly doors of that institution; that natives have a far greater faith in our knowledge of surgery, than in our knowledge of medicine; and that, in fact, the number of admissions depends upon accident rather than upon the prevalence of particular maladies Bearing these facts in mind, the reader will hesitate before he builds up any theories on the basis afforded him by the statistical information about to be given.

It should be observed, that the classification of diseases here adopted is that which was two or three years ago prescribed for adoption by all Civil Surgeons in the Madras Presidency; and proceeds upon the principle that diseases of all kinds may be placed in one of the following five classes, viz .—

1 Zymotic diseases.
2 Constitutional diseases.
3 Local diseases
4. Developmental diseases
5. Violent deaths.

The first four of these classes are sub-divided into the following orders, viz —

No 1 into miasmatic, enthetic, dietic and parasitic diseases.

No. 2 into diathetic and tubercular diseases.

No. 3 into diseases of the nervous system, of the circulatory, respiratory, digestive, urinary, generative, locomotive, and integumentary systems.

No. 4 into developmental diseases of children, women, and old people, and diseases of nutrition.

Such is the classification adopted, and my statistics are derived from the Hospital Returns of admissions for a series of ten years, ending in the official year 1865-6, during which period the total number of admissions was as follows, viz .—

In-patients.....	4,288
Out-patients................	68,127
Total...	72,415

THE 1ST CLASS, OR ZYMOTIC DISEASES

MIASMATIC DISEASES form the most numerous order in the first class.

To these are attributable rather more than one-fourth of all the admissions of the period abovementioned.

The miasmatic diseases which most commonly occur are, febris intermittens, ophthalmia, diarrhœa, and rheumatismus.

Febris intermittens caused no less than 6,595 admissions, whilst febris recurrens, caused only 12, febris remittens only 4; and febris continua but 33. The type usually observed is quotidian. Tertians are infrequent, and the other types almost unknown in ordinary seasons The time of the year during which this kind of fever is most prevalent in Madura appears to be March and April, when light and variable winds blow from the E and the S E., and afterwards for the most part from the S.W. and W. But whether this is true only for the neighbourhood of the town of Madura, or also for the out-lying tracts, such as Nattam, Palani, Kambam, Varshanâd, &c, it is at present impossible to tell. But probably enough has already been said about the characteristics of this disease.

Variola, though universally and at all seasons prevalent, causes hardly a single admission, and hence a casual perusal of the Hospital Registers would lead to the erroneous idea, that its influence on the well-being of the people must be almost inappreciable. whereas in truth it periodically commits frightful ravages, and at all times most seriously affects the general health. Vaccination is but little attended to · and lymph is very sparsely distributed.

Varicella causes so few admissions that nothing need be said about it. And so too with regard to *morbilli, tonsillitis, parotitis, pertussis, erythema* and *furunculus*, of which the last only caused a noticeable number of admissions, viz., 254 or about 25 per annum.

Ophthalmia is exceedingly prevalent, and in ten years caused no less than 3,292 admissions. An epidemic form of catarrhal ophthalmia and conjunctivitis prevail very generally in the hottest months, especially after long droughts They attack indiscriminately Europeans and natives of all classes · but more particularly the young, and the infirm, or weakly. Doctor Wilson has put on record the fact, that he found it yielded very readily to a simple lotion of nitras argenti.

But it would appear to be questionable, whether this mode of treatment is sufficiently effective in obstinate cases It is not uncommon to see carefully tended European children suffer from successive attacks of "country sore-eyes" during periods of six months and even more · whilst amongst natives the disease assumes often a most malignant type The cause of the disease seems to be as yet unknown: but the swarms of little eye-flies, which infest the town of Madura in the dry hot weather, are believed by many to spread the contagion of ophthalmia, if they do not actually cause the disease in the first instance. And the glare and dust of the summer are probably answerable for a large amount of diseases of this kind.

Diarrhœa and Dysenteria together caused no less than 2,224 admissions. As a rule, they assume the asthenic character. They prevail more or less frequently at all times in the year. but the cool and damp months appear to be most favorable to their active development. All classes of natives suffer from them. Bad and insufficient food, insufficient clothing, filthy habits of life, and many other causes undoubtedly help to bring about and propagate these diseases · but no one seems to be able to account for their appearance at times in an epidemic form, or to draw the line accurately between the two maladies. The following remarks in Mr. Day's article on the Medical Topography of Cochin in the *Madras Journal of Medical Science*, is probably perfectly applicable to these diseases as occurrent in Madura, namely: "Cases are often brought to the Dispensary moribund others, hopelessly affected. The line of demarcation between "dysentery and diarrhœa cannot be drawn—one passing into the "other with the greatest rapidity Dysentery often merges into slimy "diarrhœa, which is a very fatal type. Cases of acute uncomplicated dysentery, in otherwise strong individuals, usually rapidly "improve after the exhibition of one grain of opium, followed by a "scruple of ipecacuanha repeated in twelve hours, if necessary."

In certain parts of the country the only water obtainable for drinking purposes is said to be almost sure to produce an immediate attack of dysentery in strangers, and to cause great intestinal disturbance to habitual drinkers.

Cholera caused altogether 197 admissions: but it must be borne in mind, that this terrible disease ordinarily acts with so great rapidity, and natives are so dilatory in applying for medical assistance, that in the great majority of cases the patients whom relations would be

willing to carry to the Civil Hospital, die or recover before the propriety of taking them to that institution has been fully decided upon. Hence the number of admissions recorded by no means forms an index to the frequency with which cases occur. As all that can be gathered, with respect to the observed characteristics of this disease, has been already recorded, it will be unnecessary to say anything more here than that of the two forms, c. biliosa and c. spasmodica, the former caused nearly twice as many admissions as the latter. It may perhaps however be worth while to remark, that the natives who live in the back slums of the town of Madura are often panic-struck at the first appearance of cholera amongst them; and that it has been observed in many instances, that the occurrence of a sporadic case in a particular quarter has led to a marvellously sudden and fatal outbreak amongst the persons resident in the immediate neighbourhood, and that after a day or two the outbreak ceased with the same suddenness with which it commenced.

Rheumatismus, both muscular and neuralgic, is rather prevalent in Madura. During ten years it caused as many as 5,020 admissions. It occurs most commonly in the cold season, and is attributed to sudden chills, consequent on habitual exposure to cold and damp, in the case of ill-clad and ill-fed persons. Natives are accustomed to sleep out in the open air and on the damp ground: and this practice no doubt helps greatly to bring on acute rheumatic attacks, and ultimately chronic rheumatism.

ENTHETIC DISEASES afford a considerable amount of occupation to the Hospital Dressers.

Syphilis primaria and *s. secondaria* caused together 1,680 admissions. They occur in every variety of type.

Gonorrhœa caused 851 admissions.

Phymosis caused 199; and *paraphymosis, bubo, orchitis,* and *strictura urethræ,* altogether 921 more.

Judging from the numbers here stated, and from the well-known fact that native patients are so indifferent to ailments of this nature, that they will rarely take the trouble to apply for treatment until reduced to a pitiable state of disease, one may well suppose that venereal complaints are extremely common in Madura. In several of the Civil Surgeons' reports are to be found complaints of the lamentable prevalence of prostitution in the town of Madura, and of disgusting

diseases caused thereby: and no doubt the complaints were not ill-founded. The venereal taint is constantly observable in patients admitted on account of diseases other than venereal: and, in combination with scrofula, causes at times most hideous complications.

Lepra anæsthesia is happily not very common in the Madura District: and elephantiasis is all but unknown. Admissions under these heads amounted to only 291 in ten years. The records of the Civil Hospital do not throw any light upon the causes or characteristics of lepra. Although the disease is not common in an active form, a leprous taint is observeable in considerable numbers of people, whose skin is discolored and covered with white and pink spots, particularly about the extremities of the body.

Rabies is very uncommon in spite of the heat of the climate, and the number of curs which infest the country.

DIETIC DISEASES caused so few admissions, that they require no notice.

PARASITIC DISEASES caused 1,521 admissions: and are extremely common.

Aphthæ and *porrigo* caused between them thirty admissions.

Scabies, vulgaris and of the scaly form, caused 736, and is very common, particularly amongst the lowest castes. Its prevalence is clearly apparent to the eye of the most careless observer. Patients, as a rule, desire no other remedy than that afforded by the constant exercise of uncut nails: and usually severe cases alone are treated in the hospital.

Vermes are of nearly equally common occurrence. Admissions under this head numbered 705.

Dracunculus caused fifty admissions. It is very prevalent in certain parts of the District, for instance Râmnâd; and occurs occasionally in an epidemic form.

CLASS II.—CONSTITUTIONAL DISEASES.

These caused comparatively few admissions: and several of them were almost non-occurrent.

DIATHETIC DISEASES.—Of these, *anæmia* and *lupus* together caused only eighty admissions. The former, however, is believed to

occur with tolerable frequency amongst the lower castes, and particularly amongst those who have suffered from epidemic fever, diarrhœa, dysentery, &c., and amongst the aged and infirm

Anasarca is of most constant occurrence, and oftentimes complicated with disease of the kidneys. It is a sequela in many cases of the prevailing diseases of the country, attacking such as have been reduced to a highly anæmic condition. And the insufficient food of the poorer classes probably tends greatly to the development of this disease: as also do exposure to cold and damp, old age, and debility. It is usually passive in character: and yields readily to diuretics combined with tonics.

Carcinoma and *schirrhoma* caused together 340 admissions.

TUBERCULAR DISEASES, with one exception, are not common in the Madura District.

Scrofula caused 613 admissions, and is exceedingly prevalent amongst all classes. Scrofulous and venereal taints are perceptible in a large proportion of admissions: and in combination with abscesses and ulcers bring about the most distressing results.

Tuberculosis mesenterica caused only sixteen admissions; *phthisis pulmonica* only 29; and *hœmoptysis* only seven. The paucity of cases of these kinds of disease is attributed to the general equability of the temperature of the country.

CLASS III.—LOCAL DISEASES.

DISEASES OF THE NERVOUS SYSTEM.—These are not well represented with the exception of two or three, which alone will be noticed.

Paralysis caused 315 admissions: and occurs with some frequency.

Dementia, mania, and *chorea* are of very frequent occurrence, but rarely in the violent forms so commonly observed in Europe. Insane persons are not in any way provided for by the State; but are left to the care of their relations, who are able, as a rule, to prevent them doing harm to themselves and others At times, however, patients unhappily afflicted with these diseases break out into excesses of all kinds, and do most fearful deeds. The admissions under these heads were only 54 in all.

Cephalœa caused 1,450 admissions, and is very prevalent. Civil Surgeon Wilson was of opinion that it ought properly to be classed

amongst diseases of the bowels, on the ground, I presume, that it proceeded from indigestion, with which the natives of the country are exceedingly afflicted. Females are often afflicted with cephalalgia and neuralgia, brought on by hyper-lactation. They suckle infants for periods of two and three years, and even more; and this, combined with bad and insufficient food and a malarious climate, often produces these and kindred diseases of most aggravated types.

Otitis is wonderfully common, and caused no less than 2,798 admissions. It has been in many instances attributed to scrofula, in others to neglected colds. It constantly occurs amongst children, being brought on by them playing tricks with their ears, such as introducing sharp-pointed substances into them, and the like. And there exists a most stupid practice of filling the ear, when inflamed and painful, with rancid gingelly oil, by which disease of the part is supposed to be caused in many cases.

DISEASES OF THE CIRCULATORY SYSTEM are almost unknown. They furnished in all only fourteen cases in the ten years.

DISEASES OF THE RESPIRATORY SYSTEM are most of them very common: while some of them are almost unknown. They caused in all 1,632 admissions, of which *Bronchitis* caused 1,268.

Asthma caused 335 It is rather prevalent in the cold season, but is seldom of a very aggravated type. Elderly natives are occasionally troubled with chronic asthma of a rather obstinate kind.

DISEASES OF THE DIGESTIVE SYSTEM are of extraordinary prevalence in the Madura District. The earlier reports of the Civil Surgeons contain repeated notices of the sufferings of the native population, caused by gluttony and constant indulgence in various kinds of exciting and unwholesome food. The following extract, selected at random, will show clearly the causes to which diseases of this nature are usually attributed. It is taken from the Annual Report for the year 1854, in which the Civil Surgeon remarks:—

"It will be observed that, as in former years, by far the most "numerous cases treated came under dyspepsia. And doubtless this "affection will always be the most prevalent till the light of education "has penetrated the dark mists which now obscure the native mind, "and renders it obedient to those laws of dietetics, which modern "chemistry inculcates, and common sense dictates. Irregularity in "the hours of taking food, the frequent use of hot condiments,

"causing an excessive secretion of gastric juice, the sedentary lives "of the people, and gluttonous habits of many, are, and must be, "strong pre-disposing causes of dyspepsia. And, although, doubtless "many such cases are greatly benefited by medicine; the Physician, "I conceive, dares not hope for much permanent good, till, as I have "said before, the whole habits of the natives are changed, and one "of the most salutary reforms would be the partial substitution of "an animal for a vegetable diet"

The total admissions under this head amounted to no less than 16,502. And, when it is remembered, that not one native in a hundred, probably not one in a thousand, would take the trouble to come into Madura from a distant village, in order to obtain relief from an ailment so trifling as obstipatio or dyspepsia; and that only a small minority of sufferers in Madura itself ordinarily apply to the hospital for relief from even serious complaints; it will easily be understood, that diseases of the digestive organs must be uncommonly prevalent, as compared with all other diseases.

Gastritis caused 296 admissions.

Obstipatio caused 8,754.

Dyspepsia 5,379: and *Colica* 1,104.

The other diseases of this order did not cause very many admissions.

Ascites caused 207.

DISEASES OF THE URINARY SYSTEM are not prevalent, with one exception. They caused in all 118 admissions, of which

Diabetes contributed fifty-two It is of rather frequent occurrence amongst the well-to-do classes; and is probably brought on to a great extent by excesses in eating and by general irregularity

One case of urinary calculus is mentioned in the Historical Register of the Civil Hospital.

DISEASES OF THE GENERATIVE SYSTEM are believed to occur with considerable frequency. but they caused only seventy-eight admissions, of which *Hydrocele* contributed seventy-one.

DISEASES OF THE LOCOMOTIVE SYSTEM caused 337 admissions, of which *Atrophia musc* caused 198. and *Ostitis* forty-eight.

DISEASES OF THE INTEGUMENTARY SYSTEM are extremely prevalent.

Herpes caused 193 admissions, of which only one required confinement within the hospital walls.

Psoriasis, venereal and non-venereal, caused no less than 6,774;

Phlegmon caused 5,172; and

Paronychia caused 249.

Abscesses and *ulcus* caused, the former 447 admissions, the latter no less than 9,114.

Diseases of this kind in combination with scrofula and syphilis sometimes produce the most frightful results; but, as a rule, they yield readily to treatment, particularly when supplemented by a generous diet

One terrible and exceedingly curious kind of ulcus, which formerly used to be distinguished by the inane epithet "grave," requires special notice, as exhibiting certain phenomena not often met with. Its classical name is *morbus pedis entophyticus:* but it is better known in this District by the name of "the Madura foot." It is very prevalent in certain parts of the District: and leads to the performance of a goodly number of capital operations. The following rough pathological description of the disease was given by Civil Surgeon Wilson in his Annual Report, dated January 1st, 1861.

"I here concisely state the appearance of the disease, which has "come under my observation. In this disease the foot loses all "shape and form, the toes are frequently not apparent, the foot as "far as the ankle being one mass of disease, having a great number "of fungus tubercles situated over the surface from which it takes its "name. These tubercles discharge a thin, sanious, fœtid discharge. "In some part of the tubercle, generally the centre or most prominent "part, there is one or more minute fistulous openings, communicating "with the interior diseased mass. On cutting into the foot, the "areolar tissue and interstices of the muscles seem converted into a "soft fibrous-looking substance, thickly studded throughout with "spherical yellow particles or granules, varying in size from a point "to a pea. These particles are soft between the fingers, and much "resemble pulmonary tuberculous matter: upon cutting into the soft "parts exit is given to a quantity of straw-colored fluid: the flow of "this fluid can be increased by pressing the mass between the fingers. "The muscles are pale, soft, gelatinous, and their fibres indistinct. "The tendons and ligaments are softened, spongy, and appear enlarged "I have not observed these yellow particles in either the muscles, "tendons, or ligaments. The bones are also much diseased. Their "earthy constituents being nearly all removed, they can be easily cut

"into and separated with an ordinary scalpel. The cancellated "structure is removed in a great number of places, both on the surface "and in the substance of the bone, and the place filled up by this "yellow granular matter, similar in every respect to that of the soft "parts."

"The disease is of slow growth, requiring years (from four to eight) "to arrive at this condition; the pain is described as severe, prevent- "ing sleep, and ultimately tells upon the patients' general health. The "patients nearly always apply during the last stage of the disease. "I have seen but one case of this disease in the early stage, having "existed a year, when two small tubercles, slightly raised above the "cuticle, had formed upon the plantar surface of the left foot, giving "discharge to a small quantity of icorous fluid (not offensive): there "was some surrounding thickening confined to the cutis and subja- "cent areolar tissue, and pain upon pressure. The patient, a youth "of 17 years of good constitution."

The primal cause of this fungoid disease appears to be still involved in the greatest obscurity. Dr. Gill thought it originated in the unskilful treatment of simple ulcers by native quacks. And Dr. Colebrook thought the same at first. But after making many observations and enquiries, that gentleman at last came to the conclusion that the disease was peculiar to cultivators of black cotton soil; and that there must be something in that sticky and tenacious kind of clay, which tended to set up inflammatory action of an extraordinary nature in flesh accidentally laid bare by slight wounds, such as those commonly caused by the thorns of the mimosa, a tree found in the greatest abundance in the black cotton districts. And he was strengthened in this conviction by learning from Dr. Ballingall of Bombay, that a disease presenting almost identically the same appearance prevailed in the black cotton districts of Guzerat; Dr. Colebrook found the disease not to be malignant, as was the fungus hœmatodes, which it greatly resembled in its main features; but it was invariably cured by amputation of the foot affected. And it was generally believed that it never attacked both feet.

But this black cotton soil theory was held to be quite untenable by Civil Surgeon Wilson (see his Report of January 1861): and he felt certain, that he had treated patients who came from red sandy loam districts, and had worked on no other soils. He could make nothing of the disease; and would not attempt to theorize about it.

He had forwarded portions of a diseased foot to Dr. Carter of Bombay for microscopic examination, and had been informed by that Officer that "it was the true fungus disease; and that between the "small apertures in the tubercles, he detected the true granules, "lying between the epidermis and cutis vera, and also in the subja-"cent cellular tissue."

From a pamphlet on the Fungus disease of India, written by the abovementioned Dr. Carter, and reviewed in Vol. IV of the *Madras Journal of Medical Science,* which see, it appears that a specimen forwarded to him by Dr. Wilson of Madura presented the following.—

" *External appearance.*—The whole foot is enormously enlarged, " spread out or flattened. It is not enlarged about the ankle joint so " much as towards the front part, it is everywhere enormously spread " out and thickened; and the soft parts beneath the toes are so " affected that the latter are imbedded and nearly hidden. Scattered " over the dorsum of the foot, on the sides, and also in the sole, are " numerous apertures, so characteristic of this affection. In their " immediate neighbourhood the skin is white, and frequently the " white patches join. The openings are placed on small tubercles or " soft swellings, similar to those before described."

" *Sectional appearance*"—" No distinction of parts evident on a " glance; the small bones of the foot seem to be almost destroyed, " leaving a paleish sloughy tissue, or, as it is in front, reddish-colored " and of similar consistence. The tibia is atrophied and softened, " and the astragalus still more affected in the same way, and the " other remaining bones are almost destroyed, being scooped out or " excavated as it were on all sides by the new growth. The *soft* " *parts* are also very obscurely indicated. The skin is hypertro-" phied. In it, the other soft parts, and in the bones cylindrical tun-" nels and spherical cavities are to be seen, in which is imbedded the " sloughy-looking tissue; this is very abundant towards the front, and " as stated before of a pinkish color."

It appears from the review of the pamphlet, that, to the best of the reviewer's knowledge, the real nature of the fungus particles had not as yet been satisfactorily ascertained. Dr. Carter seemed to believe that ordinarily the fungi found in diseased human feet belonged to the order myscosporæ, in fungi of which order the pores arise in the midst of a mucilaginous substance resembling the

mycelium and having no distinct organization. The order of myscosporæ includes amongst other fungi the "smut" or "ergot" of cereals.

Further on in the review it is stated, that "there is no evidence of both feet being attacked in the same individual:" and an argument is based upon this supposed fact. It should therefore be observed that it appears from Dr. Wilson's Annual Report, dated January 1st, 1862, that one Sangarappa Nayakkan, æt. 42, was admitted into hospital on the 13th October 1861 *with both feet diseased.* One of them was removed; but as the patient was an elderly man, and objected to having the other removed, and as it was not as yet in a very bad state, Dr. Wilson permitted him to retain it. The case was very clearly marked, and the Civil Surgeon invited special attention to its occurrence.

The fact should also be recorded here, that in 1857 there was admitted into the Madura hospital (see the Report dated January 1st, 1858) a case, in which the hand appeared to have been attacked by by the morbus entophyticus. The whole of the patient's right hand, and especially its dorsum, was covered with "fungoid excrescences, "which communicated with the bones, and bearing a strong affinity "to the Madura disease of the foot." The disease was of three years' standing: and the patient came from a black cotton soil district. After amputation of the part affected, he was discharged cured.

Developmental Diseases appear to be of comparatively rare occurrence. They caused only 170 admissions in all: and require no special notice.

Paramenia caused 141 of the 170.

CLASS V.—VIOLENT DEATHS.

This class requires but little notice.

Ambustio caused 294 admissions, which were attributable for the most part to carelessness. Children are greatly neglected by natives, and fall into fires: and accidents of a like nature are very common.

Vulnus incisum is a kind of accident apparently exceedingly common: and caused no less than 679 admissions. Many serious wounds are caused by angry bullocks and buffaloes. Ryots are apt to lose their temper and wound one another with sickles. And various accidents occur from the careless use of edged tools by carpenters, masons, and others. But the high rate of admissions under

this head is doubtless owing principally to the great respect in which European Surgery is regarded by natives, as compared with European Medicine. Probably a dozen natives will come to the hospital to have a wound dressed for every one who will come for medical treatment.

Morsus serpentis caused only four admissions. But little information as to the frequency of snake-bites can be gathered from this fact. For of course in most cases of this kind there is no time to bring in patients from outlying districts: and even in the country parts round Madura victims are carried off long before medical aid can be made available. Snakes abound in most parts of the district: and there is reason to suppose that they cause a great many deaths

Venenatio caused the same number of admissions as the preceding cause of violent deaths: and the remarks made about snake-bites will apply *mutatis mutandis*, to cases of poisoning. I am informed that there is every reason to suppose that the crime of poisoning is of very frequent occurrence, and particularly during the prevalence of epidemic cholera. Arsenic is said to be frequently administered at those times. because as it produces almost identically the same symptoms as cholera morbus, detection of the crime committed by its means is then almost impossible. Deadly drugs of various sorts are everywhere easily procurable: and it would be indeed extraordinary, were they not often employed by so excitable and passionate a race as are the natives of the Madura District.

Suicide caused only two admissions. It is believed to be of infrequent occurrence, with the exception of one form, namely suicide by drowning. The wells are generally unprotected: and it is a not uncommon thing for desperate females to throw themselves down them.

Having done my best to show what is recorded and known with regard to the prevailing diseases of the District, I should much like to add a statement exhibiting the causes of ascertained deaths during the past ten or twelve years. But unfortunately there are only returns for two or three years available: and these were prepared from returns given in by careless and ignorant village officers, and not corrected or even scrutinized by Medical Officers. The practice of registering deaths has only very lately been adopted: and it will probably be a very long time before satisfactory results can be obtained in this direction. The greater proportion of deaths however caused are

supposed by natives to be attributable to fever: and suspicious deaths are, as a rule, concealed and hushed up with impunity. And it would seem to be almost impossible to check this concealment of crime in a country, where in many cases decomposition follows death almost immediately, and will have made great progress in ten or twelve hours. Possibly the general use of charcoal with a view to arrest decomposition in suspicious cases may, at some future time, be attended with useful results: but at present there seems to be but little hope of improvement in detecting cases of poisoning.

For Europeans the climate would not appear to be very unhealthy. The midday heat not being excessive, and, as remarked before, the nights being generally cool and agreeable, there is not that fatal waste of tissue which tells so fearfully on most Anglo-Indians. And the liver is not overworked to the same extent as in other parts of the Peninsula. Deaths are rare amongst the Civilians of the District; and it seldom happens that one of them is compelled to leave his work suddenly and flee for his life to England. Several Collectors and Judges have lived in Madura for long terms of years, apparently without feeling the climate. And the burial-ground does not tell a very dismal tale. On the other hand, Europeans do not consider a protracted residence in Madura to be conducive to mental and physical vigour. The heat is severe enough at all times to produce marked effects; and the utter absence of a cold season is a great impediment in the way of getting exhausted energies restored. It has been the fashion of late years to endeavour to recover lost health by paying a visit to the upper range of the Palani mountains, the well-known sanitarium of the District. And there can be but little doubt that in ordinary and not far advanced cases of failing health, a short trip to Kodeikarnel is often of the greatest advantage. The temperature there in a closed room is rarely much above 60° at noon, and during many months of the year cold and bracing winds blow across the plateau on which the settlement is built. And the comparative coldness of the climate is not accompanied, as at Ootacamund, by a raw and treacherous moisture.

Formerly the Madura officials used to go for change of air to the sea coast; but they do so no longer, and the summer bungalows which they used have been suffered to go to ruin. Occasionally a visit is paid to the island of Pâmbam, which, during part of the year, enjoys a somewhat mild climate, being exposed on all sides to sea

breezes. It is considered to be very salubrious, as the Convicts stationed upon it would seem to enjoy uninterrupted good health, and to attain a plumpness not usually observable in men of their condition.

As compared with the town of Madura, Dindigul, the head-quarters of the Sub-Collector, is a somewhat cool and pleasant place of residence. It stands at a considerable height above the level of the sea, and its temperature is said to be at all times a few degrees below that of the plains in general. But of all parts of the District, with the exception of course of the Palani mountains, the Kambam valley is said to be the pleasantest. Cool winds sweep down it from the direction of the Malabar Coast, and it is kept well wooded and green by the perennial streams which flow down its slopes, and carry off the drainage of the mountains to the Madura country.

The most unhealthy parts are the jungles around Gûdalûr Varshanâd, the Nattam valley, and Râmnâd. The villages situated round and about the bases of the mountain ranges are all more or less feverish at times, and are occasionally desolated by frightful epidemics. But in the Nattam country fever of a malignant type is believed to be endemic.

Râmnâd is notorious for cholera. Pilgrims are perpetually passing through it on their way to the great temple of Râmêshwaram in the island of Pâmbam; and by their filthy habits and irregular mode of life they do much to keep alive this fearful disease from January to December. Every now and then, the condition of the air being favorable, the disease grows rapidly into an epidemic: and hundreds, perhaps thousands of people will fall victims within a few weeks. In how many directions and to how many healthful cities the seeds of cholera are annually carried from this hot-bed and nursery, it is impossible for any one to say: but it may be safely conjectured, that in many years when cholera would not break out spontaneously in the Madura District, it is introduced and propagated by some of those who have lately visited the infected country round Râmnâd. As one of the great cholera nidi of India, Râmnâd should certainly be placed under sanitary supervision and control.

Having described briefly the diseases prevalent amongst human beings in the Madura District, I must now show what is known about the diseases of cattle.

The murrain has not been described by any scientific observer: and I am unable to state in what form it usually appears. The very scanty information available is contained in a report of the Collector to the Board of Revenue, dated the 15th December 1863. It appears from this, that the ryots profess to know of no less than seventeen different diseases to which their cattle are subject, and four diseases of sheep. The cattle diseases are the following, viz:—

1. *Ammei*, a kind of small-pox. The skin of the animal attacked becomes covered with blotches; food is refused; the hair stands on end; and saliva streams copiously from the mouth. The disease is attended with inflammation of the lungs.

2. *Selei-nôvu* consists of pains in the chest. Is it pneumonia?

3. *Pulamutti-nôvu* is a kind of "staggers," accompanied by temporary loss of sight and general insensibility.

4 *Kolei-mutti-nôvu* is a disease of the liver, which becomes enlarged. Saliva flows freely from the mouth

5. *Kunthu-nôvu.* This disease is marked by rigor and total loss of appetite. The head drops; saliva streams from the mouth, and the legs of the sufferer become too weak to support it.

6. *Vây-kânei and Kâl-kânei* is inflammation of the mouth and bowels, attended with soreness of the hoofs. Food is refused: the mouth is filled with sores. and the animal becomes sore-footed. The disease appears as well in wet as in dry seasons.

7. *Veppu* is a disease brought on by excessive heat of the body. Blood is ejected from the mouth

8 *Mûkkadeiyappân* shows itself in the nostrils, which become obstructed with mucus, and causes difficult respiration.

9 *Picchunatti* affects the nose by distorting it, causes shivering fits; and makes the hair to stand erect

10. *Kârakalicchal* is a kind of diarrhœa The motions are watery, and contain lumps of solid matter resembling flesh in appearance and consistency. The animal attacked by it loses flesh rapidly, and has a harassed look. The disease is said to be caused by eating too freely young grass that has sprung up suddenly after a protracted drought.

11 *Kândûr-nôvu* is also a kind of diarrhœa. The evacuations are watery, and contain clots of blood. Great debility is produced by it.

12. *Mâttadeiyappân* is recognized by the puffed out appearance of the body, constipation, and retention of urine. The nose becomes dry and hard, and saliva runs from the mouth.

13. *Uthunatti* is a swelling of the belly, produced by eating saline earth in dry seasons It is accompanied by diarrhœa.

14. *Tavalei-nôvu* consists of swellings in the joints, and an unnatural growth of hoof. It attacks cattle when in a low condition.

15. *Picchakutti* is a swelling of the body brought on by a surfeit of horse-gram husks

16. *Payir-tinni-shokku* is a state of giddiness and stupor brought on by eating the tender shoots of certain plants, more especially of cholam and castor-oil plant.

17. *Kirukku* is a kind of staggers, produced by exposure to the latter rains after eating a particular kind of plant during a previous drought.

The diseases of sheep are the following, viz.—

1. *Tallumâri,* brought on by eating too much young grass.
2. *Diarrhœa,* brought on in the same way as No 1.
3. *Kuluppei,* or leucophlegmatia, produced by exposure to rain and afterwards to a hot sun.
4. *Kokku,* worms, which come during the rains.

From the above descriptions of the various diseases which attack the cattle and sheep of the Madura District, it would not be very easy probably to determine with any great degree of nicety what those diseases really are. And moreover we are not told which of them are of most frequent occurrence and most fatal. But still the list, such as it is, is not altogether without interest. It will be observed, that only three of the seventeen cattle diseases are diarrhœic, and only one is attended with constipation. Most are purely local diseases, which affect severally the chest, lungs, mouth, liver, bowels, nostrils, &c. Two or three are kinds of staggers. The rest are of unintelligible types. The remedies prescribed by native cattle-doctors are many of them obviously of the most absurd and useless kinds. For instance, for one a mixture of human excrement and frog's fat is recommended! For another the recitation of magical words! Other remedies appear to be more reasonable; but the Collector had no opinion of their efficacy. And yet murrain among the cattle is so very common, that the ryots ought to know how to treat it.

The Board of Revenue were induced to call on the Collector of Madura for the abovenamed report by the supposition that the loss of cattle in Madura had been unusually great during a series of five years. But the Collector reported that he had made enquiries in every direction, and saw no reason to believe that any unusual losses had in fact been suffered during the period between 1858 and 1863; and twenty years' experience of southern districts led him to feel satisfied with this conclusion. The murrain of 1863 had, however, been very severe. It had raged in all parts of the District, as well in the plains as on the highest tops of the Palani mountains: and had caused innumerable deaths. The disease most commonly observed in that year was of the following type. The attack commenced with loss of appetite, followed by purging. The mouth became one mass of sores; and the whole body became covered with a blotchy eruption. An animal once attacked seldom recovered: and there could be no doubt that the disease was contagious as well as fatal Mr. Levinge (the Collector) had frequently observed cattle disease to break out when a fall of rain had brought up young grass and tendrils after a long drought. At such times the cattle would gorge themselves with green food, and after a long season of semi-starvation their systems were of course unable to bear the sudden strain. Grazing cattle certainly suffered more than stalled beasts: and the reason seemed to be that given. The Collector was of opinion, that no connection subsisted between murrain and human sickness. 1863 had been a remarkably healthy year for the people, whilst the cattle were killed by disease in thousands. Judging from the Collector's report, and from such information as is incidentally afforded by the annual season reports, it seems probable that,

1. Murrain is usually brought on by rain succeeding drought, and producing in abundance food not digestible by starved stomachs. or, where this is not the case, by the mere continuance of drought and excessive heat.

2. Deficiency of pasturage is undoubtedly the reason of the cattle of Madura being the wretched breed they are, and attention to breeding alone would never make things better. What is wanted is abundance of food grown solely for the use of cattle.

PART II.

ETHNOLOGY, FAUNA AND FLORA.

CHAPTER I.

Castes numerous and various.—Chiefly Tamil—Senses in which the word caste is used.—Caste feeling.—The two hands.—Origin of the feud.—Population in 1850-51.—Ninety-four castes.—The four great classes probably unrepresented in Madura.—Impurity of the Brâhman stock.—Distinction of color.—The term Sûdra to be discarded.—Four divisions.—Characteristics of the population.—Color.—Hair.—The eye.—The features.—Stature and physique—Comparative bodily proportions.—Intelligence.—Character and disposition.—Religions.—Manners and customs.—Food and drink.—Dress.—Habitations.—Sports.—Tamil Brâhmans.—Their origin.—Their livelihood.—Foreign Brâhmans.—Their customs.

THE several castes which together make up the population of the Madura District are exceedingly numerous; and appear to be very various in origin, language, and characteristics. Most of them perhaps may be said to belong to the great Tamil nation But many are composed of families of foreigners whose ancestors settled in the country at different times, having been led thither in search of subsistence by Râjas and petty chiefs, or having been driven out of their own countries by invasions, revolutions, famines and epidemics; and a still greater number of them would seem to belong to aboriginal Indian races, of which the sources are no longer traceable.

Before enumerating and describing these several castes, it will be well to explain the sense in which it is proposed to use the Portuguese word "caste." Writers and officials differ so widely in their

application of this term that numberless mistakes are daily caused by misconception of the particular sense in which each uses it One writer describes a man as being of the Gentoo caste, meaning that he belongs to the Telugu nation; another speaks of an individual of the Barber caste, intending to indicate his occupation; a third describes the customs of the Pariah caste, whilst it is commonly held that a Pariah belongs to no caste; and yet another talks of a caste when he means a religion. It is proposed to use the term in this work in the following senses, viz:—

1. A large or small community of men of one race and language who are knit together by common interests and by common social laws and customs peculiar to such community, and are in a greater or less degree dissociated from the rest of the population of which they form a part by the circumstance of them having such interests and following such laws and customs.

2. The active principle of segregation which keeps these several communities in a perpetual state of disunion; and at the same time causes the units who compose them to recognize each in his own community a commonwealth, to the good of which it is incumbent on him to contribute by every means in his power.

3. The state of belonging to a particular caste

With regard to the first and more important of these definitions, it is observable that it is so framed as to be applicable in some cases to an entire tribe or people, *e. g.*, the Marava; whilst in other cases it is equally applicable to a minute subdivision of a tribe consisting of perhaps only forty or fifty individuals, *e. g*, the Muchis. And the applicability of the term to any given body of men will, as a rule depend upon the question, do the social laws and customs of that body differ from those of other bodies of natives to such an extent as to involve segregation and isolation? If so, then that body is a distinct caste. Thus for example, there are two or three distinct Tamil castes located in Madura which live by weaving: and they are apparently constituted distinct castes by the single circumstance of them following different social laws and customs. Very possibly they belonged originally to quite different tribes or races, but at the present time the fact of the existence of such diversity of origin is unknown to the world; and the sole perceptible difference between these bodies of weavers is that of caste, originating as far as appears in incompatibility of social laws and customs. On the other

hand where precisely the same social laws and customs are followed by two individuals of the same race, it will be found as a rule that they belong to one and the same caste, even though their employments and positions in society may be widely different. Thus of two individuals belonging to the caste known as the Vellàla, one may be a soldier · another a Guru or priest. And again difference of religion does not necessarily involve difference of caste, since of two men of the Vallamba caste, one may be a Saivite and another a Vaishnavite And it is well known that many Roman Catholic converts preserve their caste intact after conversion.

The meaning of the term caste when used in the sense given in the second of the above definitions is very clearly explained in the following passage taken from the introductory part of the Mission du Maduré.—

"Le sentiment de la caste chez l' Indien domine et absorbe tous les autres, ou, si l'on veut, supplée ces autres sentiments dont sa nature serait peu susceptible. Ainsi l'amour de la caste remplace en lui l'amour de la patrie, qui est presque nul ; sa langue elle-même n'a pas de mot qui exprime le vrai sens des mots *patrie, patriotisme* L'Inde, dans chacune de ses provinces, présente un assemblage de ces nombreuses catégories d'habitants, qui dans le meme village forment autant de petites républiques, toujours divisées de mœurs, d'interêts et d'affections, et souvent animées les unes contre les autres par les antipathies et les rivalités Cet Indien si indifférent pour son voisin voit-il passer un homme qui arrive de cinquante ou cent lieues de distance, qu'il n'a jamais connu mais qui est de sa caste, à l'instant tout ce qu'il a d'entrailles se remue ; cet homme n'est plus pour lui un étranger, c'est un frère ; il le salue, il l'accueille chez lui, et s'il a quel que peu de fortune, il le traite avec générosité Un peu nomade par sa nature et ses habitudes, l'Indien ne s'attache pas au sol qui l'a vu naître ; sa patrie, c'est sa caste

Sa caste est aussi sa famille, et souvent l'esprit de la caste absorbe ce que nous appelons le sentiment de la famille Quand on voit l'amour tendre et passionné des parents indiens pour leurs petits enfants, on se persuade que les liens du sang sout très forts chez eux , mais si l'on observe de plus près, on sera souvent tenté de croire que tout se réduit pres-que á un pur instinct de la nature , et l'on sera confirmé dans cette opinion en voyant que cet instinct diminuė ou s'évanouit totalement à lé'poque où cessent les rapports de nécessité

physique entre les parents et les enfants, à peu près comme il arrive entre l'oiseau et ses petits S'il reste quelque chose de cet esprit de famille, on est sûr de le voir céder toutes les fois qu'il se trouve en opposition avec l'esprit de la caste.

De son côté la caste tient lieu de famille, ou du moins s'en arroge les droits, elle tient lieu aussi du conseil communal ou départmental, qui devient impossible, d'après ce que nous avous dit de la composition des villages Ce conseil de la caste, formé des membres les plus influents, désignés par leur position sociale ou par le choix général, exerce une très grande autorité. Il établit des lois, applique celles qui existent, donne des ordres, réprime les délits vrais ou imaginaires, inflige des paines plus ou moins graves, et dans certaines castes il a le droit de condamner á mort. C'est un régime assez semblable à ce que nous appelous gouvernement aristocratique ou représentatif, et il en a le vice, le plus souvent tout se réduît a quelques gros personnages bouffis d'orgueil qui s'engraissent aux dépens des pauvres contribuables. Cependant la décision de la caste devient une loi sacrée, et quand on a dit à l'Indien. *La caste l'a décidé, la caste l'ordonne;* il n'a plus rien à répondre, il obéit, et le juge civil lui—même confirme la sentence. Ceci doit s'entendre des Indiens laissés à leur propre législation; car aujourd'hui les Anglais out introduit bien des modifications dans les contrées immediatement soumises à leur autorité."

The well-known division of the several castes into "castes of the right hand" and "castes of the left hand" should here be noticed. It is difficult to say to what extent native society is affected in Madura at the present day by the existence of this mysterious distinction, and the circumstances in which it arose have been altogether lost sight of in the course of time But there can be little doubt that its influence is still appreciably felt, and that many of the petty commotions and disturbances which call for the intervention of the magistracy, originate in the factious jealousies of the rival "hands"

The *Valangei* or "right hand" faction comprises almost all the more respectable castes together with the Pariahs who are called the Valangei *mattâr* or friends; the *Idangei* or "left hand" faction comprises the Pânchâla or five sorts of Smiths, the Chakkilians or leather-workers, the Pallans, and certain others of the lowest castes The Brâhmans, Mahometans, Vellâlans and a few other respectable castes are neutral.

A few generations back the antagonism of these two factions was so violent as to cause from time to time most serious and alarming conflicts, accompanied in some cases by much bloodshed. But the strong arm of the British Government has changed all this, and for many years there has not been a single tumult of any importance in the Madura District springing out of "hand" quarrels. The following passage occurring at page 8 of the translation of the Abbé Dubois' work shows to what lengths the inhabitants of Mysore were sometimes carried by their angry passions, and the state of things therein described was no doubt existent in Madura at the end of the last century, though hardly in the same degree. The passage runs as follows:—

"The opposition between the *Right-hand* and the *Left-hand* arises "from certain privileges to which they both lay claim, and when any "encroachment is made by either it is instantly followed by tumults "which frequently spread over whole provinces, accompanied with "every excess, and generally with bloody contests. Gentlest of all "creatures, timid under all other circumstances, here only the Hindû "seems to change his nature.

"There is no danger that he fears to encounter in maintaining "what he terms his right, and rather than yield it he is ready to "make any sacrifice, and even to hazard his life

"I have repeatedly witnessed instances of these popular insurrec-"tions excited by the disputes between the two *Hands*, and pushed "to such an extreme of fury that the presence of a military force "under arms had no effect to quiet them, nor even to allay their "clamours, or stop their outrageous course in what they conceive "the rightful cause.

"I have known instances of attempts made by the magistrates to "sooth these uproars by remonstrances and other means of conciliation, "and when these have produced no effect they have been obliged to "resort to measures of compulsion. Some shots of musquetry would "then be tried, but neither this nor the certainty of its being followed "up with stronger measures, has the slightest effect in abating their "insolence Even when an overwhelming military force has fully "put them down, it is only for the moment; and whenever an "opportunity occurs they are instantly up again, without reflecting "on the evils they formerly suffered, or showing the smallest tendency "to moderate their impetuous violence.

"Such are the excesses to which the timid, the peaceable Hindû, "sometimes abandons himself; whilst his bloody contests spring out "of motives which, to an European at least, would appear frivolous "and trifling Perhaps the sole cause of the contest is about his "right to wear pantoufles; or whether he may parade in a palanquin "or on horse-back, on the day of his marriage. Sometimes it is the "privilege of being escorted by armed men; sometimes that of having "a trumpet sounding before him, or the distinction of being accom- "panied by the country music at public ceremonies. Perhaps it is "the ambition of having flags of certain colors, or with the resem- "blances of certain deities displayed about his person on such great "occasions. These are some of the important privileges, amongst "many others not less so, in asserting which the Indians do not "scruple occasionally to shed each other's blood.

"As it not unfrequently happens that one of the *Hands* makes an "attack on the privileges of the other this occasions a quarrel "which soon spreads and becomes general, unless it be appeased at "its commencement by the prudence or the vigour of the magistrate"

The observant Abbé has not attempted to give us any explanation of the origin of this remarkable feud He merely states that "it appears to be but a recent invention, as it is not mentioned in any of the ancient books of the country" No doubt this may be so. but one would be glad to know nevertheless to what cause the "invention" is due Possibly we should seek for it in the obstinacy with which the Pânchâla have always disputed the supremacy of the Brâhmans. The circumstance of the smiths wearing the sacred thread and commonly assuming the titles of Âchâri or master and of Âyyar or lord, must have angered the Brâhmans very considerably and it is by no means improbable that they cunningly persuaded other castes to combine against the Pânchâla by promising to allow them a larger share of dignity and privilege than they had previously enjoyed. The combination once entered upon, the permanence of the feud would follow almost as a matter of course Perhaps too the immigration of Vellâlans into the country, and the assumption by that caste of superiority over others, added strength and vitality to the contest. However this may have been, one thing appears to be tolerably certain, namely that religious differences have nothing to do with the matter. The distinction is attributable to jealousy regarding social rank, and to nothing else.

With what the Abbé says of the "hands" in Mysore we may profitably compare what the Madura Missionaries have said of them in this District. The following passage occurs in the Mission du **Maduré**:—

"Il est difficile de se faire une idée de l'attachement aveugle et fanatique qu'ont les Indiens pour leur caste et pour tout ce qui s'y rapporte. Dès qu'il s'agit de la caste, de la défense de son honneur, de ses droits et de ses prérogatives, l'Indien sort de son caractère timide et pusillanime, affronte tous les dangers, se devoue à tous les sacrifices et brave la mort même. Il n'est pas rare de voir à cette occasion des guerres qui répandent le trouble et la consternation dans des provinces entières; et la force armée du gouvernement peut à peine ramener à la paix les milliers de combattants furieux qui se poursuivent avec acharnement. C'est surtout dans ces combats que l'ou voit figurer les deux armées rivales dites *la main droite et la main* gauche. Les causes de ces colères tragiques sont pour l'ordinaire des priviléges puérils, tels que le droit de chausser une pantoufle de telle forme ou de telle manière, de s'orner la tête de certaines fleurs, de porter un parasol, de monter un cheval ou un éléphant, de se faire précéder d'une trompette, de faire battre devant soi telle espèce de tambour, etc Il n'est aucune de ces niaiseries qui n'ait été le sujet de plusieurs batailles atroces et mis en compagne dix, quinze et vingt mille combattants; et nous pourrions en citer beaucoup d'exemples, même très recents, arrivés sous nos yeux."

It is a curious fact that in Madura the Chakkili women belong to the right hand, whilst the men belong to and are most energetic supporters of the left. It is even said that during the entire period of a factious quarrel the Chakkili women keep aloof from their husbands and deny them their marital rights.

It appears from the Census returns for the year 1850-51 the only returns which show the castes as well as the numbers of the people, that in that year the total population amounted to 17,44,587, of whom nearly 3,00,000 were foreigners, exclusive of Brâhmans, Labbeis, Christians and others, many of whom were not Tamils. These returns were not prepared with any great degree of care: and it is to be feared that the results deducible from them cannot be implicitly relied upon. But none better are available: and there can be no question but that they show roughly the ratios which the various castes bear one to another. The 1st and 2nd columns of the sub-

joined tabular statement have been filled in from them, and the languages spoken by these various castes have been as far as possible ascertained by enquiry.

Tabular statement showing the numbers and languages of castes various inhabiting the Madura District in the year 1850-51, alphabetically arranged:—

Name of caste.	Number of members in 1850-51.	Language commonly spoken by them.
Ahambadiyan... ...	77,299	Tamil.
Alavan... ...	346	Do.
Ambattan.... ...	15,069	Tamil and Telugu.
Anappan... ...	6,516	Kanarese.
Andi... ...	10,035	Do.
Arasa-palli... ...	505	Tamil.
Brâhman... ...	32,593	Various
Chakkilian... ...	44,994	Tamil and also Telugu and Kanarese
Dalavây... ...	230	Kanarese (?)
Dâsi... ...	1,963	Tamil.
Domban... ...	174	Telugu.
Elamakan... ...	5,947	Tamil.
Ideiyan... ...	102,370	Do.
Iluvakan... ...	8,487	Do.
Jangam... ...	43	Mahratta.
Jetti... ...	81	Telugu.
Kallan... ...	123,244	Tamil.
Kallavalasai... ...	598	Do.
Kalvêli... ...	2,550	Do.
Kammâlan... ...	53,451	Do.
Kammava Vadukan	4,400	Telugu.
Kanaêriâthan... ...	95	Tamil.
Kanarese... ...	1,623	Kanarese
Kâppiliyan	27,641	Do.
Karambarathan... ...	5,428	Tamil
Kareiyân... ...	453	Do.
Karikâran... ...	21	Do.
Kavarei... ...	66,050	Telugu.
Keikkôlan... ...	14,687	Tamil.
Kômatti... ...	3,531	Telugu.
Kovalayan... ...	155	Tamil.
Kudivan... ...	2,618	Do.
Kuravan... ...	3,293	Do.
Kurumban... ...	10,934	Tamil and Telugu
Kusavan... ...	18,463	Tamil.
Kûtthâdi... ...	45	Do.

Name of caste	Number of members in 1850-51	Languages commonly spoken by them
Labbei... ...	73,426	Tamil and Dekkani
Mahometan ..	34,165	Dekkani, &c.
Mahratta. ...	194	Mahratta.
Mâlimân. . .	1,516	Tamil.
Maravan... ..	79,896	Do.
Mêthakâran. ..	791	Do
Mûchi.. ...	44	Telugu
Muthali... ...	3,863	Tamil
Nattambâdiyan	11,486	Do
Nâttân	140	Do.
Nâttu-kôttei Setti	3,262	Do
Padeiyâtchi... .	1,855	Do
Pallan... ...	154,022	Do
Pallavirayan	1,099	Do
Palliyan	2	Do
Pânân... ...	772	Do
Pandâram	2,879	Do
Paniyan	168	Do
Paravan	35	Do
Pareiyan .	100,902	Do
Pattunûlkâran	21,546	Surâtti
Poleiyan... .	2,000	Tamil
Potharavannân ..	664	Do.
Protestant	1,726	Tamil, &c.
Râja .. .	2,652	Mahratta
Râjput . .	312	Do and Tamil
Reddi.. ...	23,835	Telugu
Roman Catholic .. .	53,543	Tamil, &c
Sâliyan .	4,555	Tamil.
Saluppan.. ..	19,142	Do.
Sânân... ...	48,305	Do.
Sâtthâni	1,430	Telugu.
Savalakâran	650	Tamil
Sêdan	16,638	Telugu
Sembadavan	86	Tamil
Semmân	526	Do
Sêniyan	3,189	Telugu
Sepahiyan	204	Tamil
Setti .	47,845	Do
Sikilkâran	31	Do
Thammadiyan	19	Do
Thâthan	2,723	Do
Thavasi	80	Do
Tottiyan	47,880	Tamil and Telugu.
Uppiliyan.	2,220	Tamil

Name of caste.	Number of members in 1850-51.	Languages commonly spoken by them.
Urâli. .	25,705	Tamil.
Urimikâran . ..	438	Do.
Uvachan	289	Do.
Vala-elân... ...	425	Do.
Valiyan ..	86,459	Do.
Vallamban	6,897	Do
Valluvan... . .	1,347	Do.
Vâniyan... ...	9,220	Do
Vannân... ...	19,558	Tamil and Telugu
Vanniyan... ..	5,257	Tamil
Vêdan... ...	5,860	Do.
Vellâlan . ..	164,801	Do
Vîrakudiyan ..	81	Tamil and Telugu
Ninety-four tribes or castes.... ...	17,44,587	Various

Of these ninety-four castes, some which are said to speak languages other than Tamil, are aggregates of tribes or castes, or of tribes and castes, rather than castes proper. For instance the Mahratta caste is composed of individuals belonging to various families castes and tribes belonging to the great Mahratta nation. And the Mahometans are of course a mixed race consisting of numberless tribes and families Then again some of the tribes or castes are merely aggregates of individuals professing the same religion. but belonging to various tribes and nations The Brâhmans are some of them Tamils, some Telugus, some Kanarese, and so forth And the Roman Catholics are partly Madura Tamils, partly foreigners.

To trace out satisfactorily all these tribes and castes to their original sources, and to separate and arrange them in clearly connected groups, would be, if possible, a most tedious task, and one too requiring both great ability and great antiquarian knowledge. I shall therefore not attempt it. but shall content myself with endeavouring to give such a brief account of each of the principal castes, as will suffice at all events to show roughly whether it is Tamil or foreign, aboriginal or Hindû, in what respects it is distinguishable from others, and also some of its leading characteristics

In making this attempt I shall venture to ignore the time honored, stereotyped system of arranging all Hindûs in four classes, viz:— 1, Brâhmans; 2, Kshatriyas, 3, Vaisyas; 4, Sûdras, inasmuch as it appears to be extremely doubtful whether true representatives of any one of those classes exist, or ever have existed in the Madura country. The few so-called Brâhmans to be found in the District at the present time are all of more or less doubtful origin. The oldest existing clan, the Sôhâi or Chôla Brâhmans, are allowed on all sides to be of mixed descent, the Brâhmans who officiate in the great Pagodas at and near Madura are reported to be of very impure blood, whilst those of Râmêshwara are said to be the result of connections such as Manu could scarcely have contemplated in his most desponding moods, and the remaining families of Brâhmans are for the most part families of foreigners whose ancestors came southwards in comparatively modern times, and whose claims to be considered genuine and direct descendants of the seven great Rishis are, to say the least of it, open to great suspicion.

I am informed that the ancient books of the Hindûs represent the Ârya Brâhmans to have been originally a white race, and if it be true that they were this, it can only be supposed that they intermingled more or less freely with the Indian races which they conquered, and so lost their distinctive color and purity of blood and morals, those tribes who were least scrupulous in the matter of miscegenation becoming of course more and more dark-skinned, until in the course of ages the whiteness of the Âryan was in many cases completely merged in the dark brown of the aboriginal Tamil

In the Môtcha Dharma of the Shântiparva, Chapter 188, B'hrigu says to B'harad'hwaja [illegible]

"Oh! excellent Brâhman, (God) created Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, "Vaisyas, Sûdras, and other beings, amongst the creatures which can "be distinguished by their color. The color of Brâhmans is white, of "Kshatriyas red, of Vaishyas yellow or turmeric color, and of Sûdras "it is black."

And then being asked by B'harad'hwaja, how it was possible to distinguish the Brâhmans and others simply by color, when such differences are to be observed in many other things, B'hrigu answers to the effect that in the beginning, there was no difference of caste among mankind, all having gone under the general name of Brama,

as being created by God; and that these differences arose in the course of time from the varieties of their color and actions He says —

"Those Brâhmans who became addicted to lust and pleasure, being "habitually cruel, angry and enterprising, who performed their duties "and were red in color, passed as Kshatriyas."

"Those Brâhmans who passed their life in cultivation and pastur- "ing cattle, without observing their duties, and who were of a yellow "or turmeric color, passed as Vaisyas."

"Those Brâhmans who were addicted to harm-doing and falsehood, "who were covetous and lived doing (wrongful) acts, and who were "black in their color and destitute of all principles of purity, passed "for Sûdras"

"Thus the distinction has been established by reason of color and "acts"

It is doubtful therefore whether there are any true Brâhmans in the District. Then, that Madura can boast of numbering Kshatriyas and Vaisyas amongst her sons, few I suppose would be rash enough to affirm. And lastly the existence of true Sûdras in the country between the Palani mountains and the sea would appear to be exceedingly improbable I have heard of no satisfactory grounds for a belief that the Kallans, Maravans, Ahambadiyans, Pallans and other rude aboriginal tribes of black men adopted at any time the laws and complex political system of the fair-skinned settlers on the banks of the Ganges; and probably there is but little reason for believing that the hordes of Vellâlans, Vadukans, Ideiyans and others who at various times came into conflict with those tribes, were ever formally incorporated with the Ârya Brâhmans into one great Hindû people The presumption arising from the probabilities of the case is certainly in favor of the position, that the Gangetic system was never extended into the extreme south of India; and direct evidence that it was so extended being altogether wanting, I shall venture to assume the non-existence of the fact in speaking of the Madura tribes and castes

Of course it will be necessary to speak of Brâhmans: for if that expression be cast aside, it will be difficult to find another to use in its stead Moreover the term "Brâhmanan" is still occasionally used by Brâhmans and educated natives generally. But there is no like necessity to use the term "Sûdra." If known too, it is never used by ordinary natives, who speak of one another as being members of particular tribes, castes and families, as Maravans, Kallans, Ayyangârs

and others: or as merchants, barbers, schoolmasters and others; never as Sûdras in opposition to Brâhmans. In fact the term Sûdra would appear to be used by Brâhmans alone in speaking contemptuously of persons of low condition

Hoping that this course will not be deemed presumptuous, I shall proceed to describe in order the principal castes, separating the Tamil from the foreign, and grouping together such as follow for the most part the same occupations and trades under four heads, viz —

1 Brâhmans
2. Agricultural and rural castes
3 Merchants and traders
4 Manufacturing and laboring castes

But before entering into particulars, it will perhaps be well to pass a few general remarks on the characteristics of the population taken as a whole

Its first and most striking characteristic is of course its color This varies infinitely, not only amongst different castes but amongst individuals of the same caste, and even of the same family: and almost every shade of brown from whitey-brown to brown-black may be said to occur amongst inhabitants of the Madura District But certainly the prevailing color appears to be blackish-brown, running into what may be called invisible brown over the joints and on the nape of the neck The lighter shades occur almost exclusively amongst the foreign Brâhmans, the Tamil Brâhmans being for the most part very dark, and amongst foreigners generally. I do not recollect having observed at any time the circumstance of a light-colored skin occurring in the case of an individual belonging to any one of the Tamil castes which have been for a long period of time established in the country.

The hair is almost always jet black in color, long, copious, coarse, and straight or flowing. Crisped and curly varieties of hair occur but rarely, and woolly varieties, so far as I know, never. Occasionally, amongst individuals of the lower castes, the hair assumes in some cases a decidedly reddish tinge, in others a sickly and unpleasant sandy hue. In the cases of one or two Mahometans I have observed a rich dark-brown red The beard appears to be decidedly sparse as a rule: but shaving the lower part of the face and the cheeks is so commonly practised that it is difficult to form an opinion upon this point Fine flowing beards are found sometimes amongst Mahome-

tans. But the Labbeis, who are partly Mahometan partly Indian, cannot ordinarily be congratulated upon the handsome appearance of their facial ornaments.

The eye is almost invariably of a very dark-brown color, the white having a more or less distinguishable light-brown tinge, which amongst laborers in the sun is usually merged in a bright red color produced by suffusion of blood under the surface. Occasionally, but very rarely, the eye is of an indistinct greenish hue. It is ordinarily not full and rather sunken

The features are for the most part strongly marked. The forehead is usually rather low, narrow and receding; the nose is rather large, with a well defined bridge and open nostrils; the cheek-bones high, often with the skin drawn rather tightly over them; the lips thickish and coarse, the teeth large, irregular and discolored; the chin inclined to be pointed, the jaw heavy and animal. The head is almost invariably small.

The hands and feet are commonly large and coarse, with the palms and soles of a pinkish hue: the legs thin but muscular

In stature and physique the castes vary but little. The lowest of them have as a rule miserably small and weak frames, with small bones and scarcely any muscle. But men of the cultivating classes are not very deficient in thews and sinews, and often exhibit bodies well-knit and but little if at all undersized: and here and there tall and powerful specimens may be met with amongst them. Men of all castes seem to be well supplied with locomotive power, and carry their heads well in walking

The comparative bodily proportions of men of some of the principal castes will appear from the subjoined statement, which is an abstract of several statements kindly furnished to me by Doctor Joseph, Doctor Rule's successor as Civil Surgeon and Superintendent of the Jail. The measurements and weights were most if not all of them taken inside the walls of the Jail, and it will probably be objected that the inmates of a Jail do not fairly represent the general population. It must however be remembered that in India, only a small proportion of the persons confined at any one time in a prison belong to the classes who live by the commission of offences against the law and are therefore of a low and degraded type of humanity. In the Madura Jail as in most of the Jails of the Madras Presidency, out of every hundred inmates, some ten or more are

usually civil debtors; perhaps five are prisoners under trial and not necessarily guilty of any crime; and of the remainder the great majority will be prisoners convicted for perhaps the first time in their lives of comparatively light and petty offences. Altogether perhaps not ten per cent will be old and hardened offenders who live habitually on the produce of heinous crimes. And such being the case, the objection above noticed should not carry too much weight with it.

Statement showing the average measurements and weights of men of certain castes, taken by Doctor Joseph.

No.	Caste.	Height		Circumference of Head.		Neck.		Chest.		Arms.		Thigh.		Weight.	Remarks.
		Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches	Feet.	Inches.	Feet	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.		
1	Brâhman......	5	$3\frac{9}{20}$	1	$8\frac{3}{20}$	0	$11\frac{19}{20}$	2	$5\frac{1}{10}$	0	$8\frac{9}{20}$	1	$2\frac{19}{20}$	$97\frac{7}{8}$	Nationality not known
2	Gentoo . ..	5	$4\frac{7}{10}$	1	$6\frac{1}{2}$	0	$11\frac{1}{20}$	2	$7\frac{1}{2}$	0	$8\frac{1}{20}$	1	$3\frac{1}{10}$	$102\frac{19}{20}$	Telugu.
3	Ideiyan	5	$3\frac{3}{8}$	1	$8\frac{1}{4}$	0	$11\frac{35}{48}$	2	$6\frac{19}{24}$	0	$8\frac{17}{48}$	1	$3\frac{17}{48}$	98	
4	Weaver . .	5	$3\frac{55}{48}$	1	$8\frac{5}{24}$	0	$11\frac{15}{16}$	2	$7\frac{11}{48}$	0	$8\frac{19}{48}$	1	$3\frac{23}{24}$	$103\frac{23}{44}$	Nationality not known
5	Vellâlan	5	$5\frac{5}{12}$	1	$8\frac{2}{3}$	1	$0\frac{9}{16}$	2	$8\frac{5}{48}$	0	$8\frac{35}{48}$	1	$4\frac{5}{12}$	$111\frac{7}{24}$	
6	Ahambadiyan	5	$4\frac{43}{48}$	1	$8\frac{19}{24}$	1	$0\frac{35}{48}$	2	$8\frac{9}{16}$	0	$8\frac{13}{16}$	1	$4\frac{11}{16}$	$110\frac{19}{48}$	
7	Pariah......... ..	5	$3\frac{7}{16}$	1	$7\frac{47}{48}$	0	$11\frac{5}{24}$	2	$6\frac{13}{16}$	0	$8\frac{3}{16}$	1	$4\frac{1}{24}$	$102\frac{29}{48}$	
8	Maravan..	5	$5\frac{19}{44}$	1	$8\frac{17}{22}$	1	$0\frac{1}{2}$	2	$8\frac{9}{44}$	0	$8\frac{15}{22}$	1	$4\frac{29}{44}$	$114\frac{7}{44}$	
9	Pallan.	5	$3\frac{13}{16}$	1	$8\frac{1}{3}$	0	$11\frac{11}{12}$	2	$6\frac{23}{24}$	0	$8\frac{19}{48}$	1	4	$106\frac{2}{3}$	
10	Kallan...	5	$3\frac{31}{48}$	1	$8\frac{33}{48}$	0	$11\frac{15}{16}$	2	$6\frac{19}{24}$	0	$8\frac{2}{8}$	1	$3\frac{13}{24}$	$97\frac{11}{16}$	
11	Sânân...	5	$5\frac{7}{32}$	1	$8\frac{9}{16}$	1	$0\frac{19}{32}$	2	$7\frac{5}{8}$	0	$8\frac{15}{32}$	1	$4\frac{1}{4}$	$106\frac{25}{32}$	
12	Smith	5	$3\frac{17}{36}$	1	$8\frac{1}{2}$	1	$0\frac{1}{9}$	2	$6\frac{17}{18}$	0	$8\frac{2}{3}$	1	$3\frac{11}{36}$	99	Pânchâla

In intelligence the people generally appear to be naturally by no means deficient Education is at so low an ebb that very few can read or write; many cannot count up to ten, and have no idea of time or space; but the greater proportion are sufficiently observant of events, have tolerably good memories, and are apt to learn Artisans of all sorts are deft workmen, and considering the rude and few tools they possess, their performances are such as would make London

men envious of their skill. Indeed some of the beautiful statuary in the Pagodas and Mantapas, produced by the help of two or three broad-pointed nails and a mallet, is simply marvellous as specimens of ingenuity and art.

In character and disposition the several castes and tribes differ one from another very considerably. The Pharisaical Brâhman, the lawless Maravan, the mean Chetti, the selfish Vellâlan, the dull Nâyakkan, the skulking Kallan, the restless Kurayán, the licentious Pariah, these and a score of other castes are distinguishable each by peculiar traits of character and modes of conduct. I have neither time nor space enough to describe these traits and modes at length, nor would it be profitable to undertake such a task: but in noticing each of the principal castes I shall be able to pass a few brief remarks here and there on the salient points in its caste character.

The religious creeds of the District do not appear to be very numerous or very well defined. Buddhism is I believe unknown . and I have heard of only two small temples in which the Jaina worship survives. The Saiva and Vaishnava religions are extensively professed, more particularly the former; but the masses generally appear to be wedded to the invocation and adoration of local numina and demons. The Brâhmans have no doubt succeeded in persuading large numbers to adopt the external symbols of Hindûism: but the aboriginal castes, and in a less degree other castes also, have declined to put away from them their old-fashioned superstitions upon adopting the use of the *námam* or of the sacred ashes, and still worship the devils peculiar to their native country. In many instances the Brâhmans have thought proper to acquiesce in this obstinacy, and have compromised matters by giving high-sounding names to the old idols. Thus a certain devil of peculiar potency, widely worshipped, is well known by the name of Karuppanna-swâmi, another is called B'hadra Kâli, and so forth The Kallans, Maravans, Ahambadiyans and other aboriginal castes are almost to a man professing Saivites but their lives and customs in no one way correspond with those of ordinary Siva-worshippers, and there can be little doubt I think that they are in reality mere devil-worshippers

The manners and customs of the several castes and tribes vary infinitely. Some of the more striking will be noticed briefly in the proper place, but it should be here stated that there is a very marked difference between the manners and customs of the comparatively

few castes which have adopted Hindûism in its integrity, and of those which have received but a thin veneer of Hindûism on the surface of rough, aboriginal natures. Whilst the Puritanical Vellâlans refuse to allow even a virgin widow to re-marry, the Maravans and many others permit all widows to re-marry as often as they please, and wives to divorce themselves at will from their husbands and seek fresh partners. Whilst the Vellâlan refuses even to look at toddy in public, a Maravan will get sottishly drunk on festive occasions, and indeed whenever he feels inclined. Whilst the Vellâlans burn their dead, the Maravans bury their dead. And so in a hundred ways the Hindû differs *toto cœlo* from the non-Hindû.

The food of the great mass of the people is a very moderate amount of porridge, which is most commonly made of a species of grain called *râgi*, or of another species called by the Tamils *kambu*. *Chôlam* is also eaten to some extent. The porridge is usually made very thin, and eaten cold, flavoured with salt and with a kind of *chatni* made of tamarind, turmeric, chillies and garlic. Fuel being expensive, food is cooked only once in three or four days, and often turns a little sour before it is fully consumed.

The middle classes are accustomed to a rather better kind of diet. Their porridge is thicker and they eat more liberally. And they can afford to make curries occasionally of dholl, gram, eggs, brinjals, or country greens; or of salt-fish, of which Tamils are very fond, and now and then of some mutton or fresh fish or a fowl; provided always that they be not strictly forbidden indulgence in flesh-meats by the rules of their caste. Then they drink "pepper-water" (Anglicé mulligatawny); mix ghee with their food; drink milk and buttermilk in moderation; and eat curds, and occasionally rice-bread, cakes, and sweetmeats. Watermelons, pumpkins, gourds, sweet potatoes, onions, cucumbers and various kinds of leguminous products are largely eaten by all who can afford them; and various kinds of fruits, such as jack fruits, plantains, oranges, pumplemases, and custard-apples.

The wealthy classes eat much the same kinds of food as the middle, but of course have them prepared more richly and tastily. And of many kinds they eat immoderately. Ghee, buttermilk and sugar are consumed by them in so large quantities that dyspepsia in various forms constantly harasses them, and in many cases makes life a burden. Even boys at school often suffer from this intolerable malady.

The wealthy alone eat rice as a rule. This grain has grown so expensive of late years (in 1866 it was nearly two pence a pound) that in spite of its great popularity, none but those who can afford to live somewhat luxuriously, think of buying it. Formerly, I believe, rice was the staple article of food with all classes alike, and the term *chôr* (boiled rice) is still used in much the same way as we use the term food.

The usual drink of the people is water. No decoctions of any kind resembling tea or coffee are known as yet to any class but the Pariah servants of Europeans, who of course eat and drink everything they can procure without payment. All classes are fond of the water in which rice or other grain has been boiled, *kanji*: but I fancy it is drunk because it is supposed to be strengthening and wholesome rather than because it is considered to be palatable.

It is difficult however to learn precisely what the tastes of the people really are All castes I believe will drink cows' urine in order to remove impurity contracted accidentally by contact with Pariahs and other unclean beings. And truly devout Hindûs do not object to swallow the excrement of their Gurus at such times as their religion prescribes.

Intoxicating liquors are freely drunk by most castes; toddy being the kind most generally sumed on account of its cheapness. But European drinks are best liked by those who can afford them, and more particularly brandy, gin, rum and other ardent spirits. I have heard strange stories of the amounts consumed by individuals, and can hardly believe most of them. One however was told me in a manner which impressed my mind with the belief that it was true. And if it be true, it goes some way to show that the Indian is not incapable of vying with the greatest topers of Europe. It was to the effect that a certain Brâhman drank in the presence of three or four friends, of whom my informant was one, three bottles of brandy in two hours without becoming intoxicated; and would have drunk more if permitted!

The dress of the people generally consists in the case of men of two pieces of white cloth, coarse or fine according to the means of the individual, each from two to ten yards in length and from three quarters of a yard to a yard and a half wide. Of these one is wrapped round the body, and if it be sufficiently long, one end is passed

between the legs from behind and arranged in heavy but not ungraceful folds in front. The other is used chiefly out of doors as a spare cloth to throw on the shoulders or head, and in the latter case is usually folded loosely in the form of a turban. Men of the lowest castes however very commonly dispense with the cloth round the body, and are content to wear in its place a small apron of white cloth, often of ludicrously small dimensions, supported by a string tied round the waist.

The turban of the Mahometans has been very generally adopted, and is always worn by respectable natives when visiting or doing business with Europeans. Muslin, long-cloth, silk, alpaca, merino, satin and other kinds of coats and waistcoats, and jackets of chintz, colored flannel, satin and other materials; and gay scarves and handkerchiefs, are becoming very popular amongst the upper ten thousand. In fact native fashions in dress as in every thing else are being revolutionised, and it is difficult to say what is not or may not be worn by wealthy persons. Even trowsers and boots are occasionally worn by Indians who cannot be accused of Christian proclivities by their enemies

Massive rings and expensive earrings are much affected by the rich, and also watches and chains and a few other articles of European manufacture. But the ancient practice of wearing quantities of heavy and clumsy jewels is now almost obsolete, even amongst the Poligars, who are of all classes the most conservative and stupid. Children, however, are loaded with jewels by foolish parents.

The dress of the women very clearly resembles that of the men. But instead of wearing two pieces of cloth they wear only one, which varies in length from six to perhaps twenty yards, and in width from a yard to a yard and half. It is worn in the following manner:—One end having been gathered up into folds is held to the left side, and the other is then passed tightly several times round the body from the waist to the middle of the leg or lower, and at last brought up over the right shoulder and down to the left side, where it is tucked in so as to fall in front in ample folds. This is the general arrangement: but several modes of folding and tucking and twisting the cloth have been adopted by women of different castes, and a woman's caste may often be accurately guessed from her fashion of "tying the cloth" Some gather up huge folds of equal breadth round the loins, and present a most ungainly appearance. Others carefully preserve or

improve the outline of the form, and might be advantageously imitated by European ladies. Others again pass one end loosely between the legs, in much the same way as the men, and so as to expose the leg up to the knee and occasionally even as high as the thigh. Many pass the upper end over the head so as to form a hood and shawl in one.

By the usual mode of arrangement above described the breasts are usually almost completely covered: but it is considered highly indecent for respectable women to wear a *ravikkei* or half-jacket. Indeed only little girls and prostitutes wear this article of dress. But in some parts of the country, inhabited chiefly by foreigners, the upper part of the body is left entirely uncovered. Amongst Tamil castes this unpleasant custom is not prevalent.

Innumerable kinds of ear-ornaments, head-plates and combs, tassels for the hair, bracelets, armlets, rings for fingers and toes, and nose-ornaments, are worn by all castes indifferently. Heavy bangles of silver are worn by foreign and Brâhman women, but not often by Tamil. Different castes wear different ornaments; and it is impossible to describe them all except in the most general terms.

The houses in which ordinary people live, are small huts having mud walls and thatched with a coarse kind of rush or with tiles. But the richer classes are beginning to perceive the advantage and comfort of substantial dwellings; and roomy brick houses with strong stone foundations are springing up in every direction. In the town of Madura, there may be seen many hundreds of well-built dwelling-houses, and not a few with some slight pretensions to beauty. Properly a Hindû dwelling-house should have no windows or ornaments of any kind, and consist of a few small low rooms enclosed on the outside by a perfectly blank wall and opening inside into a sort of court-yard. It should in a word be not unlike a Pompeian Villa unfinished and undecorated. But nowadays the narrow windows of the Mahometans are becoming fashionable; houses are built lofty and sometimes two-storied; and ornamentation is not infrequently indulged in. In towns thatched roofs are forbidden on account of the great danger arising from fires, which are often caused by a rat stealing the wick from a lamp and running off with it into the roof; and by various accidents of daily occurrence.

The furniture of the houses is exceedingly primitive and consists generally of a few culinary utensils of brass and earthenware, some

sleeping mats, a wooden box or two, and if the owner be in easy circumstances, perhaps one or two plain wooden cots. Of late years however the wealthy families and more particularly those resident in the town of Madura have begun to use many articles of the kinds common amongst Europeans, such as sofas, chairs, tables, cup-boards and other simple contrivances: and no doubt the use of these will be quite common within the next twenty or thirty years.

The sports and amusements of the people are very few in number. Those who are in tolerably easy circumstances spend much time in attending weddings and other ceremonies; and appear to derive ever-new pleasure from observing for ten or twelve hours at a stretch the performance of the bawdy nautch, and chewing the while enormous quantities of betel-nut mixed with a particular kind of green leaf, quick-lime and a few other nauseous ingredients. The nautch and feasting are without doubt the two main amusements of all classes. Those of the Râjas and Poligars are nearly what they were two centuries ago, and the description of them which will be found in Chapter VII of Part III of this work, is probably as true for the present day as it is for the times of the great Tirumala.

The one manly sport which requires notice, and which indeed is the only manly sport of the existence of which I have heard, is the *jellikattu* or bull-baiting practised chiefly by the Marava and kindred castes. This is a game worthy of a bold and free people, and it is to be regretted that certain Collectors should have discouraged it under the idea that it was somewhat dangerous. The *jellikattu* is conducted in the following manner:—On a certain day in the year large crowds of people, chiefly males, assemble together in the morning in some extensive open space, the dry bed of a river perhaps, or of a tank, and many of them may be seen leading ploughing bullocks of which the sleek bodies and rather wicked eyes afford clear evidence of the extra diet they have received for some days in anticipation of the great event. The owners of these animals soon begin to brag of their strength and speed, and to challenge all and any to catch and hold them. and in a short time one of the best beasts is selected to open the day's proceedings. A new cloth is made fast round his horns, to be the prize of his captor, and he is then led out into the midst of the arena by his owner, and there left to himself surrounded by a throng of shouting and excited strangers. Unaccustomed to this sort of treatment, and excited by the gestures of those who have

undertaken to catch him, the bullock usually lowers his head at once and charges wildly into the midst of the crowd, who nimbly run off on either side to make way for him. His speed being much greater than that of the men, he soon overtakes one of his enemies and makes at him to toss him, savagely. Upon this the man drops on the sand like a stone, and the bullock instead of goring him leaps over his body and rushes after another. The second man drops in his turn, and is passed like the first; and after repeating this operation several times the beast either succeeds in breaking the ring and galloping off to his village, charging every person he meets on the way, or is at last caught and held by the most vigorous of his pursuers.

Strange as it may seem, the bullocks never by any chance toss or gore any one who throws himself down on their approach; and the only danger arises from their accidentally reaching unseen and unheard some one who remains standing.

After the first two or three animals have been let loose one after the other, two or three or even half a dozen are let loose at a time: and the scene quickly becomes most exciting. The crowd sways violently to and fro in various directions in frantic efforts to escape being knocked over; the air is filled with shouts, screams and laughter; and the bullocks thunder over the plain as fiercely as if blood and slaughter were their sole occupation. In this way perhaps two or three hundred animals are run in the course of a day; and when all go home towards evening, a few cuts and bruises, borne with the utmost cheerfulness, are the only evil results of an amusement which requires great courage and agility on the part of the competitors for the prizes—that is for the cloths and other things tied to the bullocks' horns—and not a little on the part of the mere by-standers. The only time I saw this sport (from a place of safety) I was highly delighted with the entertainment, and no accident occurred to mar my pleasure. One man indeed was slightly wounded in the buttock: but he was quite able to walk and seemed to be as happy as his friends.

TAMIL BRÂHMANS are probably more numerous than the foreign. According to the form of religion which they severally profess they are commonly said to belong to two main classes—the Saiva and Vaishnava.

THE SAIVA CLASS consists of several divisions, of which the following appear to be the principal, viz —

1. The Vadabâl.
2. The Brahatcharana.
3. The Ashtasahasra.
4. The Thilli-Mûvâyiratthâl.
5. The Savaiyân
6. The Mukkâniyar
7. The Nambûriyar.
8. The Vâtthiyamâl.
9. The Kâniyâlar.
10. The Kêsiyar

And of these the *Vadabâl* division is subdivided into the Vadadêsa Vadabâl family, the Chôladêsa, the Tendubi, the Tannâyira, the Iyyuni, the Mârgati, the Karuvîra, and other families.

The Brahatcharana division is subdivided into .—

The Kandaramânika family.
The Malaganûr.
The Mulagasûr.
The Mângudi.
The Maruthan-chêri.
The Sattiyamangala, and other families

The Ashtasahasra division is subdivided into :—

The Aruva-padai.
The Attiyûr, and other families

The Thilli-Mûvâyiratthâl and other divisions are also subdivided into families, the names of which I have not had sufficient leisure to ascertain.

THE VAISHNAVA CLASS is divided into several divisions, of which the following are the principal, viz :—

The Vadagalei.
The Thengalei
The Sôliâr.

And these divisions are also subdivided into many families.

The Tamil Brâhmans, or at least some of them, affect to believe that they belong to some one or other, though they cannot say which, of the five great Brâhman tribes which were in ancient times located north of the river Narmada. Tradition throws but little light on the question, when they first came and settled in the

Madura country. But it seems to be generally believed that the Sôliârş came only a few years after the commencement of the present Yuga: and that other families came and settled in the Pândya *mandala* or country in more modern times. It appears however from the local Purâna of Madura, that the King who founded Madura sent for Brâhmans from Kâsi (Benares) in order to institute the worship of Siva, and if such was the case, the first settlement of Brâhmans in the country must have taken place probably about five or six centuries before the commencement of the Christian era.

That many other settlements of small bodies of Brâhmans took place whilst the Pândya dynasty continued to flourish, seems probable enough: but I have not been able to gather from tradition that such was the fact. On the other hand, there seems to be good reason to believe that the greater part of the so-called Brâhmans now living in the Madura District, are descendants of families who immigrated at various periods subsequent to the early Mahometan invasions of the South. I confess however that I am unable to deal with this subject satisfactorily: and must move on to safer ground.

The Tamil Brâhmans subsist most of them on the profits of cultivation; owning lands in most of the more fertile parts of the District which are cultivated either by their hired servants, or by perpetual tenants, or tenants for terms of years, or tenants at will. It is considered to be highly disgraceful for one of them to plough, or indeed to do any kind of work except writing with his own hands; and it is perhaps only of late years, that a few of the very poorest of them have taken to manual labor for their subsistence. But the first step in this direction having been taken, it is impossible to say, where the movement will end, now that the merest necessaries of life have become so dear, and the charity of the natives has grown so cold. Of the Tamil Brâhmans who are not farmers, many find employment in the numerous Pagodas and religious and charitable institutions of the country; others are spiritual advisers (Gurus), masters of ceremonies (Purôhitas), composers of almanacs, schoolmasters, and the like; others are employed as servants of Government; others are the paid servants of Zamindârs, keeping their accounts, superintending their estates and transacting general business for them; others take service under merchants as clerks; many are cooks; and a small but happily decreasing number live by begging and hanging about rich men's houses.

THE FOREIGN BRÂHMANS, are chiefly Telugus but some of them are Brâhmans from Kanara, some from Mysore, some have come from Guzerât and some from the Mahratta countries Many of them are employed as servants of Government and of Zamindârs and others, but they are generally landholders, living mainly on the profits of cultivation, whether employed as officials or not. A few live by begging and in other disreputable ways but as a rule they are in a better position, I think, and do more for themselves than their Tamil brethren They appear to be better bred, and to belong to superior tribes

Many families of Brâhmans fled southwards and sought protection from the rulers of Madura in the troublous times which followed the irruptions of Mahometans into Southern India Many followed the Mysorean Generals, others the Vijayanagar Viceroys, and others again came first to Tanjore with Râja Ekoji, and thence immigrated into the Madura country in search of employment And many Mahratta Brâhmans were brought to Madura by the early English Collectors, as being remarkably skilful clerks and accountants

In public all these foreigners speak Tamil with great fluency, though with an impure accent and perhaps not quite idiomatically, but at home each, as a rule, speaks his own language only, and all preserve the customs of their ancestors intact. None of them intermarry with Tamils, or indeed with any people not of their own particular tribes or families. and there seems to be no possibility at present of them becoming merged in the Tamil nation.

With regard to the customs and religious observances of the Brâhmans, Tamil and foreign, I shall content myself with saying that whilst the more important of them are similar to those practised by Brâhmans generally, every subdivision, every family almost has a few peculiar customs and ceremonies of its own. To describe all these with particularity would fill many volumes, to describe them briefly and yet intelligibly would be impossible And moreover the subject is after all one of comparatively but little importance The Abbé Dubois has told the world almost all that is necessary to be known with regard to the practices and daily life of the Brâhmans, and very little would be gained by showing in what particulars his exhaustive description is inapplicable to the Brâhmans now settled in the Madura country

Five Brâhmans were measured and weighed by Doctor Joseph, and the following were the results obtained, viz.—

No.	Age.	Height Feet	Height Inches.	Circumference of Head. Feet.	Head. Inches.	Neck. Feet.	Neck. Inches.	Chest. Feet	Chest. Inches.	Arms. Feet	Arms. Inches.	Thigh. Feet.	Thigh. Inches.	Weight in pounds.	Remarks
1	25	5	1	1	7½	0	10¼	2	5½	0	8	1	3¼	87½	Smaller in
2	27	5	5	1	8½	1	0½	2	5	0	8¼	1	4½	99	the head than
3	23	5	3	1	8¾	1	0	2	6	0	9	1	3½	109	men of low
4	36	5	5¼	1	8	1	0	2	4	0	8	1	2½	96	castes. Pro-
5	40	5	3	1	8	1	1	2	5	0	9	1	1	,,	bably bad
Total...		26	5¼	8	4¾	4	11¾	12	1½	3	6¼	6	2¾	391½	specimens
Average..		5	3 9/20	1	8 3/20	0	11 19/20	2	5 1/10	0	8 9/20	1	2 19/20	97⅞	

CHAPTER II.

Tamil agricultural castes.—The Vellâlans.—Their immigration, expulsion, restoration.—Origin of the name.—Their occupation.—Subdivisions amongst them.—Hill Vellâlans.—The Muthalis.—The Maravans.—Their origin.—Description of their customs, &c.—The Ahambadiyans.—The Kallans.—Their origin and history.—Two main divisions of them.—Their manners and customs.—Traditions.—The Vanniyans.—Vallambans.—Padeiyâtchis. — Arasa-Pallis. — Pallans. — Nattambâdiyans. — Urâlis. —Tamil rural castes.—Ideiyans.—Valiyans.—Vêdans.—Kurumbans.—Poleiyans.—Palliyans.

WE now come to the Tamil agricultural castes, namely the Vellâlans, Muthalis, Maravans, Ahambadiyans, Kallans and others. I have felt considerable difficulty in many instances in deciding whether a particular tribe ought, or ought not to be included in this class: and I am far from satisfied as to the propriety of the classification finally arrived at. But if I have erred in some respects, I trust that the manifold difficulties in the way of obtaining correct information on any point in this country, and the number and diversity of the subjects necessarily treated in this work will be taken into consideration: and that a lenient judgment will be passed on my shortcomings.

THE VELLÂLANS are the most numerous, and perhaps on the whole the most respected amongst the Madura Tamil castes of the present day. Tradition uniformly declares them to be the descendants of foreign immigrants who were introduced by the Pândyas. and it appears to be extremely probable that they are, and that an extensive Vellâla immigration took place at a rather remote period, perhaps a little before or after the colonization of the Tonda-mandala by Adondai Chakravarti. The Vellâlans speak a pure dialect of

Tamil, and no other language: I have not heard of anything extraordinary in the customs prevailing amongst them, or of any peculiarities pointing to a non-Tamil origin.

The clearest and most satisfactory tradition with regard to the settlement of Vellâlans in the Madura country is the following, made known to me by the Magistrate of Tiruppattûr.

Ugra Pândya, who as will be shown hereafter was one of the earliest and most famous of the Pândya Kings, sent for Vellâlans from the neighbourhood of the town of Kâvêri-pattanam to people and cultivate his country, which was then in a wild and poor state. A body of 48,000 Vellâlans accepted his invitation; came to the Madura country in seven divisions; and cultivated both irrigated and unirrigated lands, paying a fixed tax to the King of one-sixth part of the produce raised by them. The names of the seven divisions, preserved in a stanza of poetry were the following, viz:—

1. The Siru Malalei *Kûttam* or division.
2. The Ukantha Muttûr do.
3. The Patthiyâna Arumbûr do.
4. The Parama Thokuvûr do.
5. The Muttamilsêra Kodamalûr do.
6. The Muthumei Thirukkâna do.
7. The Selugei do.

After a time, the tradition goes on to say, hordes of Vallambans who had been ousted from their own country, the Vallama *Nâdu* or district in Tanjore, together with a body of Kallans came southwards, fought with and overcame the Vellâlans; and having succeeded in driving them away, usurped their villages. Of those who escaped, some of the 1st division settled in Tiruppattûr; some of the 2nd in Tiruvâdâni; some of the 3rd in Kodamalûr in Tiruchuli; and some of the 7th called also *Kôttei* or Fort Vellâlans, emigrated to the Tinnevelly District and settled near Srîvigundam.

The memory of the fact of Ugra Pândya sending for the Vellâlans is preserved in the following stanza —

"It was with great difficulty Ugra Pândya sent for 48,000 inhabitants, and settled them here."

The town of Kâvêri-pattanam appears to have been the town situated on the ancient debouchure of the Kâvêri river which is described in a MS abstracted at page 386 of Mr. Taylor's Catalogue

Raisonné of the Madras MSS. It is stated therein that Kâvêri-pattanam was built about nine hundred years ago; became very large and flourishing through extensive commerce by sea; and was destroyed by an inroad of the sea, together with the mouth of the river, about four hundred years after its foundation. And if the date assigned be correct, the Vellâla settlement cannot have been earlier than the ninth century of our era.

With regard to that part of the tradition which makes Vellâlans to have occupied and opened up the country at a very much earlier date than that of the invasion of the Vallambans and Kallans, there can be no question I think that it is erroneous; and that the Kallans, Ahambadiyans, Maravans and other cognate tribes, if they were not actually the aborigines of the Madura country, were at all events its occupants and lords long before any Vellâlans came and settled within its limits. And the tradition itself seems to show on its face that this was so. Ugra, or whichever of the Pândyas sent for Vellâlans, must have had a large number of subjects occupying a considerable extent of territory, and if only 48,000 souls were introduced by him, of whom perhaps 7 or 8,000 were men capable of bearing arms, they could not have occupied more than a fractional part of the kingdom, and must have formed a very small minority of its inhabitants. And if the Vallambans, after being driven out of their own country, were strong enough to oust them though living under the immediate protection of the Pândyas, it seems to be incredible than the Vellâlans could have been in any sense of the word the dominant cultivating caste then settled in the country. Looking to the clue furnished by the MS. above referred to, and to the fact that Adondai Chakravarti in all probability colonized the Tonda-mandala with Vellâlans from the old Kanara country about the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century, it will perhaps be not very unsafe to suggest that the Vellâla settlement in the Pândya-mandala took place about 900 A.D: and that it was not Ugra, but another and much later Pândya who introduced these foreigners into the country.

It is observable that the name of the 1st division given above, the Malalei or Milalei *Kûttam,* occurs in an inscription of the time of Kûn Pândya, which will be found translated in the 2nd Chapter of the Historical portion of this manual and it occurs in such a manner as to lead to the presumption that in the eleventh century the Vellâlans of Madura were one of the principal castes. But in the course

of time they were apparently completely thrown into the shade by the Telugus, who immigrated into the Madura country in large bodies in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: and the Jesuits of Madura if they have mentioned the Vellâlans at all, which is doubtful, certainly have not mentioned them as holding a prominent position amongst the castes of the times in which they wrote. It is possible that they lost a great portion of wealth and influence in the troublous period which succeeded the breaking up of the ancient Pândaya kingdom, at the end of the eleventh century or beginning of the twelfth · and that it was then that the Kallans and Vallambans found themselves in a position to attack and oust them. Under the benign influence of British rule their peaceful and industrious habits have raised them once more to their proper position: and as stated above the Vellâlans are now probably the most respected agricultural caste in the whole District.

The Vellâlans now found in the District are said to belong to the following clans, viz .—

1. *The Arumbu-kutti,* which name would seem to be a corruption of Arumbûr Kûttam, see ante page 28. The men of this clan are said to be living in the two great Zamindâris.

2. *The Kârakattu.*—A few only are said to be living in the Madura tâlûk, and on the Palani hills.

3. *The Konga.*—Nothing is known apparently about this clan, except that individuals thereof are to be found only in the western parts of the District.

4. *The Chôla.*—They are said to be found chiefly in the two great Zamindâris.

5. *The Kodikkâl* or betel-vine clan, so called from its peculiar occupation, that of cultivating the Kodikkâl. Members of this clan are to be found in all parts of the District; and it is said to be more numerous than any of the others. I have not been able to ascertain when these Vellâlans first came to the District.

Most Vellâlans support themselves by husbandry, which according to native ideas is their only proper means of livelihood. But they will not touch the plough, if they can help it; and ordinarily they do everything by means of hired servants and prædial slaves

In the *Sathaga* of Nârâyanan may be found a description of their duties and position in society of which the following translation appears in Mr. Taylor's work the Oriental H. MSS. :—

"The Vellâlans by the effect of their ploughing (or cultivation) "maintain the prayers of the Brâhmans, the strength of kings, the "profits of merchants, the welfare of all. Charity, donations, the "enjoyments of domestic life, and connubial happiness, homage to the "gods, the Sâstras, the Vêdas, the Purânas, and all other books, "truth, reputation, renown, the very being of the gods, things of "good report or integrity, the good order of castes, and (manual) "skill, all these things come to pass by the merit (or efficacy) of the "Vellâlan's plough."

The Tamil mode of spelling the word Vellâlan is வெள்ளாளன், and as Vellânmei வெள்ளாண்மை, is the word commonly used to express the act of cultivating (strictly, ruling or managing irrigation), it is but natural to infer that Vellâlan means a cultivator or irrigator of rice fields, rather than a man of a particular tribe or country. And if this be so, it may also be that the Vellâlans who settled in the Madura country were not connected by blood with the Vellâlans of more northerly countries, but were aboriginal inhabitants of the country immediately north of the Madura country. In speculating on their origin, this possibility I think should be borne in mind With regard to the assertion so commonly made that the Pândyas belonged to the Vellâla caste, it is observable that tradition is at issue with it, and declares that the Pândyas proper were Kshatriyas: but they were accustomed to marry wives of inferior castes as well as and in addition to wives of their own caste; and some of their descendants born of the inferior and irregularly married wives were Vellâlans, and after the death of Kûn or Sundara Pândya formed a new dynasty, known as that of the pseudo-Pândyas. Tradition also says that Arya Nâyaga Muthali, the great General of the sixteenth century was dissuaded by his family priest from making himself a King, on the ground that he was a Vellâlan, and no Vellâlan ought to be a King. And looking at all the facts of the case, it is somewhat difficult perhaps to avoid coming to the conclusion that the reason assigned for him not assuming the crown was the true one This however is a question, the settlement of which requires great antiquarian learning: and it must be settled hereafter.

Those Vellâlans who are not farmers, husbandmen, or gardeners, are employed in various ways more or less respectable: but none of them will condescend to do work of a degrading nature. Some of them are merchants, some shop-keepers, some Government servants,

some Sepoys, some domestic servants, some clerks, and so forth They are never artisans, or barbers, or tanners, or tom-tom beaters, or fishermen, or hunters, or jugglers.

Vellâlans so generally adopt the title of Pillei, that in the Madura District the terms Vellâlan and Pillei are almost interchangeable. The title of Pillei appears to have been generally adopted by these and other castes at a comparatively recent period, probably about three or four centuries ago. Before that time, it is said, Brâhmans alone called themselves "Pilleis" or sons of the Gods Râma, Krishna and others, on the same principle as that on which the God Vig'h-nêshwara was and is still called Pilleiyâr or the honorable son, namely of Siva and Pârvati.

Of the customs and religion of the Vellâlans I have not much to say, except that they are reputed to be for the most part strict and self-denying followers of the Saiva faith · and to carefully abstain from eating flesh-meats, and drinking intoxicating liquors. They burn their dead. Early marriages are usual amongst them Their widows do not re-marry. Polygamy is unknown. And the chastity of their females is jealously guarded.

In connection with the devotedness of the Vellâlans to the Saiva faith, there is a curious tradition existent to the effect that they came to Madura from Benares, in the reign of Kula Shêk'hara Pândya, with the sole object of establishing there the *Sivâgama Sidd'hânta*, or Saiva rule of faith Perhaps they were amongst the earliest and most faithful converts of Mânikya Vâchaka: and came to Madura shortly after their conversion See the 2nd Chapter of the Historical portion of this manual

The Kârakat Vellâlans who live on the Palani mountains are stated in a memoir written by Lieutenant Ward in 1824 to be the primitive inhabitants of that portion of the range which belongs to the Travancore Government, and is known by the name of the Five Nâdus or counties. It appears however that no more was meant by the expression than that these people settled on the hills a long time ago They were probably taken thither by one of the Poligars who held lands in the vicinity of the mountains. Their manners and customs are described by the same authority in terms which show that they differed very considerably from other Vellâlans, and yet apparently had not altogether forgotten the traditions of their fore-fathers.

They are said to be abstemious in their diet, but to be not averse to flesh meats, to chew opium and tobacco, to smoke, to anoint themselves with ghee instead of with oil; to wear the same dress as their brethren in the plains, to abstain from the use of sandals, and to invariably ornament their ears with rings The men are said to bore the cartilage between the nostrils and pass a ring through it for ornament. and the women to wear numerous silver or brass bracelets on their arms. Their ceremonies, it is said, are performed by Pandârams; although Brâhmans usually officiate as priests in their temples. They associate freely with the Kunnuvans and can eat food dressed by them, as also the latter can eat food dressed by a Kârakat Vellâlan But if a Kunnuvan is invited to the house of Kârakat Vellâlan, he must not touch the cooking utensils or enter the cooking room

Where his wife proves to be barren, a man may with her consent marry a second wife and practically she cannot in such case withhold consent. But in no other case is a plurality of wives permissible Widows however are free to re-marry. And wives are accustomed, it is supposed, to grant the last favor to their husband's relations Adultery outside the husband's family entails expulsion from caste but the punishment is practically not very severe inasmuch as a Kunnuvan can always be found ready to afford protection and a home to the divorcée A man who disgraces himself by an illicit connection with a woman of a lower caste than his own is punished in a similar manner Formerly the punishment was in either case death.

The wedding ceremony is performed at the house of the bride, in a booth erected for that purpose before the house-door. At the proper time the bride and the bridegroom "undergo oblation" in the booth, and then enter the house and seat themselves on the floor, which is previously garnished with cow-dung, with their faces turned towards the east. A lamp is kept burning on a stool placed near where they sit, and a measure of paddy and a rude symbol of *Vighnêshwara* made of cow-dung in which are stuck a couple of blades of the *Aruhan* grass are also placed near them After both have prostrated themselves before the symbol, the bridegroom receives the golden *Tâli* or marriage emblem from his and the bride's relatives, and ties it round the bride's neck At the same time a basin of milk is brought in which have been steeped a few leaves of the *Ficus Religiosa* and the heads of the pair are sprinkled from it by the relatives on both sides. The newly married couple then prostrate

themselves before their several relatives and the day's ceremony is concluded either with a general entertainment or a formal distribution of betel-nut. The bride and bridegroom then return to the house of the latter Next day the bridegroom invites all the company to a grand feast, and the *Pariyam* or marriage gift consisting of thirty fanams which must be applied to the purchase of jewels for the wife and a cloth, is presented by the husband to the wife's relatives.

In 1824 the Kârakât Vellâlans were accustomed to purchase and keep prædial slaves of the Poleiya caste, giving thirty fanams for a male and fifty for a female. The latter was held to be the more valuable, as being likely to produce children for the benefit of her owner

A caste consisting of a very few families, and which is not entered in the census returns, should now be noticed.

THE KUNNUVANS, or as they are also called Kunnuva Vellâlans, perhaps from the word *Kunru* a hillock, are supposed to be a caste of lowland cultivators, who came up from the Coimbatoor plains some three or four centuries ago and settled upon the Palani mountains as has been shown in page 32 ante. They associate freely with the Kârakat Vellâlans and therefore must have something in common with them, but the customs of the two castes are widely different And again the Kunnuvans of the western parts of the range differ in many of their customs from those of the eastern

With both divisions incompatibility of temper is a sufficient ground for divorce: and a husband can at any time get rid of his wife by taking her to her parents together with a pair of oxen if he be an eastern Kunnuvan, and a *Vatti* or round metal dish if he be a western On the other hand, if the wife dislikes her partner, she may leave him upon giving up her golden jewels—the silvern she retains in such case—and may according to her pleasure, either go back to her father's house or marry another man. In the west however she takes with her only such property as she may have possessed at the time of her marriage. Her children must all be made over to the deserted husband: and if she be pregnant when she goes away and a child be born whilst she is living with her second husband, it must nevertheless be given up to the first, upon payment of the expense of rearing it if in the east, upon mere demand in the west. In this way a woman may legally marry any number of men in succession, though she may not have two husbands at one and the same time She may however bestow favors on paramours without

hindrance, provided they be of equal caste with her On the other hand a man may indulge in polygamy to any extent he pleases, and the wealthier Kunnuvans keep several wives as servants, particularly for agricultural purposes

Amongst the western Kunnuvans a very curious custom is said to prevail. When an estate is likely to descend to a female on default of male issue, she is forbidden to marry an adult, but goes through the ceremony of marriage with some young male child, or in some cases with a portion of her father's dwelling-house, on the understanding that she shall be at liberty to amuse herself with any man of her caste, to whom she may take a fancy and her issue, so begotten, inherits the property; which is thus retained in the woman's family. Numerous disputes originate in this singular custom, and Madura Collectors have sometimes been puzzled not a little by evidence adduced to show that a child of three or four years was the son or daughter of a child of ten or twelve.

The women of the western parts wear a profusion of silver or brass or iron bangles on their arms and legs; and rings through the dividing cartilage of the nose; and tie their cloths in a peculiar manner, knotting it over the breast and fastening it with a bandage round the waist

The religion of the Kunnuvans appears to be the *Saiva*, but they worship their mountain God Valapan with far more devotedness than any other.

Lieutenant Ward observes with regard to the origin of this caste that:—"they may with propriety be brought in a parallel with the "Baddagars or northern people of the Neilgherry mountains, as the "origin of both is derived from the Vallalans, and several of their "customs assimilate so near as to support this observation In both "the choice of the women predominates in forming a conjugal alliance, "and a woman is allowed to have her husband and act as above "described." It seems to be doubtful however, whether this observation is correct As Lieutenant Ward observes, the name *Badagan* points distinctly to immigration from the north, and is only another mode of spelling Vadukan the name by which Telugus are usually called in Madura at the present day. Whether the Badagans of the Nilagiris are or are not of Telugu extraction, I have no means of ascertaining. but it certainly seems strange, if they be not, that they should be called northern people. It is possible however, as Mr.

Taylor has suggested, that the Vellâlans introduced into the Tonda Mandalam by Adondai Chakravarti, came south from the "Old Kanara" country, and if so they might afterwards with propriety be called northerners The mere coincidence in point of customs pointed out by Lieutenant Ward cannot be allowed very much weight by itself, inasmuch as where the general manners and customs of scores of semi-barbarous castes vary infinitely, agreement in the case of two or more on one or two particular points, may well be the result of accident.

The prædial slaves of the Kunnuvans are the Poleiyans

As there has always been from time to time considerable intercourse between Ceylon and the mainland, it will be well perhaps to show the position of Vellâlans in Ceylon at the present day The following passage is taken from Upham's Mahâvansi, &c —

"1 —The Vellâlas, because they lived by agriculture, were called Kettan Jiewakayo the word signifies livers by the field"

"Because they ploughed the land, they were called Kassakayo-ploughers, because they sowed or cultivated rice, they were called Goyankaranno, sowers or cultivators of rice"

"Because they cultivated other grains, herbs, and vegetables, they were called Goiyo, or Goigama Etto, cultivators"

"Because they were not guilty of destroying the creatures, but lived by agriculture alone, they were called Goi Bamuno, cultivating bramins."

"Because they descended from ancestors who were cultivators of the soil, they were called Goikulayo, *i e*, of the cultivating caste"

"In the cultivation of their lands they were subject to the scoffs and abuse of their ill-disposed neighbours, and because they bore such insults with patience, and did not retort, they were called Sanduruwo, *i e.*, the Pacific, or Sons of Peace."

"Sanduruwo and Kanduruwo are the same"

It appears that in Ceylon there are three noble classes the Brâhmans, the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas, and that the Vellâlans are undoubtedly the first of the Sûdra or servile castes, though their claim to pre-eminence has often been disputed by the Chalias or weavers of gold and silver thread.

Twelve Vellâlans were measured and weighed by Doctor Joseph, and the following were the results obtained, viz —

No.	Age.	Height		Circumference of										Weight in pounds	Remarks
				Head		Neck.		Chest		Arms		Thigh			
		Feet	Inches	Feet.	Inches	Feet	Inches	Feet	Inches	Feet	Inches	Feet	Inches		
1	60	5	4	1	$8\frac{1}{4}$	1	$0\frac{1}{2}$	2	$7\frac{3}{4}$	0	$8\frac{1}{2}$	1	3	$106\frac{1}{4}$	
2	35	5	8	1	9	1	1	2	$8\frac{3}{4}$	0	$8\frac{1}{4}$	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$	110	
3	35	5	6	1	8	1	$1\frac{1}{2}$	2	$8\frac{1}{4}$	0	10	1	5	$117\frac{1}{2}$	
4	40	5	3	1	9	1	$0\frac{1}{2}$	2	7	0	$8\frac{3}{4}$	1	$3\frac{3}{4}$	$92\frac{1}{2}$	
5	65	5	$4\frac{3}{4}$	1	9	1	0	2	$8\frac{3}{4}$	0	9	1	$4\frac{1}{4}$	111	
6	20	5	4	1	$7\frac{3}{4}$	1	$0\frac{1}{2}$	2	8	0	$8\frac{1}{4}$	1	$2\frac{3}{4}$	110	
7	25	5	2	1	$8\frac{1}{2}$	1	$1\frac{1}{4}$	2	8	0	9	1	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$97\frac{1}{2}$	
8	38	5	$4\frac{1}{4}$	1	$8\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	2	$8\frac{1}{2}$	0	9	1	$5\frac{1}{4}$	$118\frac{1}{2}$	
9	37	5	$10\frac{1}{2}$	1	10	1	1	2	10	0	$9\frac{1}{4}$	1	$6\frac{1}{2}$	140	
10	30	5	3	1	$8\frac{1}{2}$	0	$11\frac{1}{4}$	2	$6\frac{1}{4}$	0	$7\frac{1}{2}$	1	$4\frac{1}{4}$	103	
11	40	5	9	1	9	1	$0\frac{3}{4}$	2	$7\frac{3}{4}$	0	$8\frac{1}{4}$	1	$4\frac{1}{4}$	$110\frac{1}{4}$	
12	42	5	$6\frac{1}{2}$	1	$8\frac{1}{2}$	1	$0\frac{1}{2}$	2	$8\frac{1}{4}$	0	9	1	$6\frac{3}{4}$	119	
Total...		66	5	20	8	12	$6\frac{3}{4}$	32	$1\frac{1}{4}$	8	$8\frac{3}{4}$	16	5	$1{,}335\frac{1}{2}$	
Average		5	$5\frac{5}{12}$	1	$8\frac{2}{3}$	1	$0\frac{9}{16}$	2	$8\frac{5}{48}$	0	$8\frac{35}{48}$	1	$4\frac{5}{12}$	$111\frac{7}{24}$	

THE MUTHALIS are a small, but highly respectable and influential agricultural caste I think there is some ground for supposing them to be an offshoot of the Vellâla caste. They are strict followers of the Saiva faith . and appear to have come into the country in very recent times Very probably Arya Nâyaga Muthali was the first man of the caste who settled in Madura. An account of him, and of the circumstances in which he planted colonies of his caste-folk in some of the best villages of the District, will be given hereafter

I am not aware that there is any appreciable difference between the customs of the Muthalis and those of the Vellâlans: and it will therefore be unnecessary for me to say anything about Muthali customs. The term *Muthali* means leading or principal man . and perhaps it will be found to have been a little borne not very long ago by a single individual, possibly Arya Nâyaga, and to have been generally adopted by his relations and friends after his death; and afterwards by all their descendants.

An old Madura proverb says, "a Kallan became an Ahambadiyan, the Ahambadiyan became a Maravan, the Maravan became a Vellâ-

lan ;" meaning I believe that the above are the four generally recognised grades in the agricultural social scale in the most southerly part of India. and as I have disposed of the Vellâlans to the best of my ability, I shall now proceed to describe the three castes associated with them in the proverb. I may first however give a short legend touching their origin It is believed that once upon a time the Rishi Gautama left his house, and went abroad upon some business Dêvêndra took advantage of his absence to debauch his wife; and three male children were the result. When the Rishi returned, one of the three was frightened and hid himself behind the door. He was thenceforward called Kallan, for did he not act like a Kallan or robber? Another climbed up a tree, and he was called Maravan from *mara* a tree. But the third put on a bold defiant look, and held his ground · hence the name Ahamudeiyân, or the possessor of pride This last name was corrupted by the vulgar, as it well might be, into Ahambadiyan

THE MARAVANS or inhabitants of the two Zamindâris, and perhaps the oldest caste in the country, are nowadays only about half as numerous as the Vellâlans: whereas two or three hundred years ago they must have been by far the most numerous, as they were undoubtedly the most powerful of all the castes in the Pândya country. History shows clearly that the Kings of Râmnâd in the seventeenth century held a very good position amongst the potentates of the south; and a letter of a Jesuit missionary, which will be referred to in the proper place, shows that at that time the King of Râmnâd could assemble an army of as many as 40,000 Maravans within one or two days' time. How comes it then that in 1850-51 there were only something less than 80,000 Maravans in the whole District? I think the race must have been almost killed off by perpetually recurring famines. In 1814 Mr. Turnbull, a Surveyor, reported officially that in consequence of terrible distress 150,000 souls, it was calculated, had emigrated from the Râmnâd and Sivagangei countries in the three or four years preceding: whilst Colonel Fullarton, in his Report dated 7th January 1785, only thirty years before, described the country as being both well cultivated and well peopled. Whatever may have been the reason, there can be no doubt of the fact that the numbers of the Maravans have been woefully reduced; and that they are no longer what they once were, a fine and numerous race

With regard to the origin of the Maravans, it is to be observed that there exists amongst them a picturesque tradition to the effect, that in consequence of them assisting Râma in his war against the demon Râvana, that deity gratefully exclaimed in good Tamil *maravên* or "I will never forget," and that they have ever since been called Maravans But with more probability the name may be connected with the word *maram* (மறம்) which means killing, ferocity, bravery and the like, as pointing clearly to their unpleasant profession, that of robbing and slaying their neighbours.

The Maravans inhabit the great Zamindâris, and particularly the tracts lying near the sea coast. History shows that in old times they were a fierce and turbulent race, and the terror of their neighbours; and they gave the British much trouble at the end of the last century and the beginning of this. But their habits have much changed in the last sixty years: and they are now much like other ryots, though perhaps somewhat more bold and lawless. They live almost entirely by cultivation, and are considered to be one of the lowest of the respectable castes, although the Sêthupatis of Râmnâd and the Râjas of Sivagangei have always been men of the Marava caste. The Jesuits at one time made many converts amongst them, and appear to have regarded them as a very promising race: but they seem to have found out that their opinion was erroneous

The most full description extant of the Maravans appears to be that contained in the Marava-Jathi Vernanam (*sic*) translated by the indefatigable Mr. Taylor at page 354 of the 4th Volume of the Madras Journal; and it will be well to give here a few particulars gathered principally therefrom.

It seems that there are seven well-marked subdivisions of the caste, viz :—

1.	The Sembu-nâttu	Maravans
2.	The Kondayan-kôttei	do
3.	The Apanûr-nâttu	do.
4.	The Agatâ	do.
5.	The Ôrûr (? Oreiyûr) nâttu	do.
6.	The Upu-kôttei	do.
7	The Kurichi-kattu	do.

And amongst these subdivisions the first is the principal. There are also other and minor subdivisions, which it is unnecessary to specify.

The religion of the Maravans is nominally the Saiva · but they worship with zeal and fervour only their own peculiar demons, Karuppana-Sâmi, B'hadra-kâli, Mathurei Vîran, and others, which they habitually propitiate with offerings of liquor, flesh, and fruits And they themselves freely eat flesh and drink liquor, in direct opposition to the precepts of the Saiva faith. Their customs differ fundamentally from those of ordinary Hindûs in many important matters In the first place they permit intermarriage between cousins whose two fathers are brothers. Then except in the case of the women of the Sembu-nâttu division, it is customary for widows to re-marry, and for wives who cannot agree with their husbands to procure divorce from them and marry again. It was customary for the widows of the Sêthupati and of the Sembu-nâttu Maravans generally to practise Satî, until prevented by the British Government; but not for those of any of the other divisions

The manner of performing the marriage ceremony is very peculiar After a marriage has been agreed to by the principal members of two families, a few of the relations of the intended bridegroom go to the house of the bride, and there with or without the bridegroom and bride's consent tie upon her neck the *tâli*, the *insigne* of matrimonial union, whilst conch shells are being loudly blown outside. After this they escort her to the house of the bridegroom, who usually but not necessarily awaits their coming. A feast is then given to the friends of both parties, which lasts for a few days according to the means of the giver; processions are formed through the town; a cocoanut is broken before Vig'hnêshwara, and certain ceremonies are performed under a marriage *pandal* or booth. If however the parties be too poor to afford all these rites and entertainments, the tying of the *tâli* alone is performed at first; and the man and woman begin to cohabit forthwith: but at some time the other ceremonies must certainly be performed, and as the phrase goes "the defect must be cured." Sometimes the ancillary ceremonies will take place after the wife has borne three or four children. And should the husband happen to die before he can afford to cure the defect, his friends and relations will at once borrow some money, and the marriage will be duly completed in the presence and in behalf of the corpse, which must be placed on one seat with the woman and be made to represent a bridegroom The *tâli* is then taken off, and the widow is free to marry again as soon as she may please

All Maravans bear the title of Têvan, which I suppose corresponds with the Dêva and Dêwa of more northern countries.

The relative position of the Sêthupati, or head of the Maravans and hereditary ruler of Râmnâd, as respects caste and birth, appears from the following rules of court etiquette. The Râja Tondiman of Puthu-kôttei, the Râja of Sivagangei, and the eighteen chiefs of the Tanjore country must stand before him with the palms of their hands joined together and stretched out towards the presence The chiefs of Tinnevelly, such as Katabôma Nâyakkan of Panjâla-Kuricchi, Serumali Nâyakkan of Kadal-kudei, and the Tokkala Tottiyans, being all of inferior caste, should prostrate themselves full length before the Sêthupati; and after rising must stand and not be seated. But the Sillavas and others of Ettiyâpuram, and the Marava chiefs of Vadagarei, Shokkampatti, Uttumalei, Settûru, Sarandei and other tracts; and the Vanniya chiefs of Sivagiri of seven thousand fields, and of Dalavan-kôttei; all these make no obeisance of any kind to the ruler of Râmnâd.

The dress of the Maravans is peculiar in some respects They wear the hair very long. With the exception of the chiefs, both men and women lengthen the lobes of their ears to the extent of several inches, by hanging weights in them; and wear attached to them wonderfully large and heavy metal ornaments. The men generally wear handkerchiefs round the head, and never tie turbands The rulers of the tribes on special occasions wear turbands, handsome silk robes, and gorgeous jewels, according to the ordinary customs of Hindûs.

Properly speaking every Maravan should be a warrior, and should hold lands on a Military tenure At the time when the MS. from which the above description is taken was written, the following was the scale upon which lands were granted by the Sêthupati and other chiefs to their dependants. An ordinary foot soldier carrying a sword and spear was granted a piece of land capable of yielding him per annum five *kalams* of rice; a musketeer was granted land yielding seven *kalams;* a *Sarboji* bearer land yielding nine; and a captain of a hundred men land yielding fifty. Out of the produce of these lands a tribute of five fanams was payable to the chief for each kalam of produce raised.

Of the Maravans who are not soldiers by profession, a portion ought properly to serve in the Palace and Public Offices, enjoying a remission of tribute as remuneration for their services; the remainder should live by cultivating lands, paying the tax universally prevalent

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throughout the Zamindâris until late years, namely the *vârisei-vâram* or amount of grain payable in good and bad seasons alike, and calculated on the ascertained average yield of the land held.

Many other interesting particulars might be given touching the manners and customs of this primitive tribe: but I have already exceeded my available space, and must pass on to another tribe

Eleven Maravans were measured and weighed by Doctor Joseph, and the following were the results obtained, viz :—

No.	Age	Height.		Circumference of — Head		Neck.		Chest.		Arms.		Thigh.		Weight in pounds.	Remarks.
		Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches	Feet	Inches	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.		
1	52	5	$8\frac{1}{4}$	1	9	1	$1\frac{1}{2}$	2	$10\frac{1}{2}$	0	$10\frac{1}{2}$	1	$6\frac{1}{2}$	147	Taller and
2	22	5	$4\frac{1}{2}$	1	9	1	0	2	$8\frac{3}{4}$	0	$8\frac{1}{4}$	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$	99	heavier than
3	25	5	5	1	$9\frac{1}{4}$	1	1	2	10	0	$9\frac{1}{4}$	1	$5\frac{1}{2}$	118	most of the
4	35	6	0	1	$8\frac{3}{4}$	1	0	2	$8\frac{3}{4}$	0	$8\frac{1}{4}$	1	$3\frac{3}{4}$	$117\frac{1}{2}$	castes.
5	30	5	$4\frac{1}{2}$	1	$9\frac{1}{2}$	1	$0\frac{1}{2}$	2	$8\frac{1}{4}$	0	9	1	5	110	
6	35	5	$7\frac{1}{2}$	1	$9\frac{1}{2}$	1	$0\frac{3}{4}$	2	$7\frac{1}{2}$	0	$9\frac{1}{4}$	1	$4\frac{3}{4}$	121	
7	45	5	5	1	$8\frac{3}{4}$	1	$0\frac{1}{2}$	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$	0	$8\frac{1}{2}$	1	5	112	
8	20	5	$3\frac{1}{2}$	1	$8\frac{1}{2}$	1	$0\frac{1}{2}$	2	8	0	$8\frac{1}{2}$	1	$4\frac{3}{4}$	121	
9	30	5	3	1	8	1	1	2	8	0	$8\frac{1}{2}$	1	6	$115\frac{1}{2}$	
10	30	5	2	1	8	0	$11\frac{1}{2}$	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$	0	$7\frac{1}{2}$	1	$1\frac{1}{4}$	$85\frac{1}{2}$	
11	35	5	$4\frac{1}{2}$	1	$8\frac{1}{4}$	1	$\frac{1}{4}$	2	$7\frac{1}{2}$	0	8	1	$5\frac{1}{2}$	$109\frac{1}{4}$	
Total...		59	$11\frac{3}{4}$	19	$0\frac{1}{2}$	11	$5\frac{1}{2}$	29	$6\frac{1}{4}$	7	$11\frac{1}{2}$	15	$3\frac{1}{4}$	$1,255\frac{3}{4}$	
Average.		5	$5\frac{19}{44}$	1	$8\frac{17}{22}$	1	$0\frac{1}{2}$	2	$8\frac{9}{44}$	0	$8\frac{15}{22}$	1	$4\frac{29}{44}$	$114\frac{7}{44}$	

THE AHAMBADIYANS as shown in the legend given above are closely connected with the Maravans by descent. and they also resemble them most closely in appearance, habits and customs. The chiefs of the Maravans are accustomed to marry Ahambadiya women: and of the children born of such marriages, the males must marry Ahambadiya females, and belong to their wives' caste; whilst the females must marry Maravans, and belong to their husband's caste.

The ordinary agnomen or titular name of an Ahambadiyan is Sêrvei-kâran.

The Ahambadiyans are a trifle less numerous than the Maravans; as they are a trifle inferior to them in estimation.

Their name is said by the Rev. B V Pope, in his edition of the Abbé Dubois' work, to be derived from *Aham* a temple and *padi* a step; and to have been given to them in consequence of their serving about the steps of temples. But independently of the fact that Madura Pagodas are not approached by flights of steps, this seems to be a very far-fetched and improbable derivation of the word. I am inclined to doubt whether it be not merely a vulgar corruption of the well-known word *Ahamudeiyân* possessor of a house, the title which Tamil Brâhmans often use in speaking of a man to his wife, in order to avoid the unpolite term husband. Or perhaps the name comes from *Aham* in the sense of earth, and *pati* master or possessor.

Men of this caste are employed in large numbers by Zamindârs and others as retainers and domestic servants. but the great body of them are poor and humble ryots. They are said to be divided into three groups, viz:—

1. Ordinary Ahambadiyans.
2. Râja-bâsha Ahambadiyans.
3. Kôttei-pattu Ahambadiyans.

Twelve Ahambadiyans were measured and weighed by Doctor Joseph, and the following were the results obtained, viz:—

No.	Age.	Height		Circumference of										Weight in pounds	Remarks.
				Head.		Neck.		Chest.		Arms.		Thigh.			
		Feet.	Inches.	Feet	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.		
1	27	5	6½	1	7¼	1	1	2	9½	0	9¼	1	5½	118	
2	38	5	2½	0	8	1	11	2	4½	0	7½	1	1	92	Compare with
3	30	5	9	1	9¾	1	3	3	0	0	11	1	9¾	163	
4	24	5	5½	1	8¾	1	1¾	2	7¼	0	9½	1	5½	109½	Marava
5	18	5	3½	1	7¾	1	0	2	7¼	0	9¼	1	5	102	
6	24	5	6½	1	10	1	1¼	2	9¼	0	8¾	1	5	119	statement.
7	30	5	5¼	1	9¼	1	1¾	2	11	0	10	1	5½	125	
8	32	5	8½	1	9¾	1	0	2	8¾	0	8¼	1	5½	108	
9	25	5	1½	1	8¼	1	0	2	7¼	0	8	1	3½	94	
10	25	5	1½	1	8½	1	½	2	8¾	0	8¼	1	4	103	
11	38	5	3½	1	9	1	0	2	7½	0	7¼	1	2¼	91	
12	35	5	5	1	9¼	1	½	2	9¾	0	8¾	1	3¾	100¼	
Total...		64	10¾	20	9½	12	8¾	32	6¾	8	9¾	16	8¼	1,324¾	
Average..		5	4 43/48	1	8 19/24	1	35/48	2	8 9/16	0	8 13/16	1	4 11/16	110 19/48	

THE KALLANS (Orme's Colleries) are in many respects the most remarkable of all the castes in the Madura District, and require a rather lengthy notice as having played an important part in history.

Their profession is said to be that of stealing with or without violence according to circumstances, and their name *Kallan* which is also that for a thief or robber in several of the languages of Southern India is supposed to have been given to them as indicative of their peculiar mode of earning a livelihood. Now without going so far as to declare that this so generally prevalent idea is incorrect, I must say there are some grounds for doubting its correctness; and shall state them shortly hereafter in the proper place.

The history of the caste has been given with some fulness in the Survey Account, and it will be well before describing their very curious manners and customs to give the substance of the information which the report contains, observing at the same time by way of preface that its statements do not altogether agree with those of the authorities followed in Part IV of this work.

According to Ward's Survey Account the Kallans belong to two main divisions, that of the *Kîl Nâdu* or eastern country, and that of the *Mêl Nâdu* or western country. The Kîl Nâdu comprises the Nâdus of Mêlûr, a village situated about sixteen miles east of Madura, Vellalûr and Sirugudi. and its inhabitants, whose agnomen is usually Ambalakâran, are the descendants of a clan which immigrated into the country in the following circumstances Some Kallans belonging to the Vella (Vala ?) Nâdu near Kânchipuram (Conjeveram) came down south with a number of dogs on a grand hunting expedition, armed with their peculiar weapons, pikes, bludgeons and *Vallari Thadis* on bomerangs. Somewhere in the neighbourhood of Mêlûr, whilst they were engaged in their sport, they observed a peacock showing fight to one of their dogs, and thinking from this circumstance that the country must be a fortunate country and one favorable to bodily strength and courage, they determined to settle in it. Accordingly they entered into negotiations with the Vellâlans who were lords of the soil, and eventually took service under them In the course of time they invited their relatives and friends to come and join them, and a numerous Kalla community gradually sprang up.

The masters and servants did not succeed in living amicably together. The Kallans behaved or were thought to behave badly, and were frequently punished for their misdoings; they resisted and retaliated; and at last they compelled their masters to draw up a set of rules for their (the Kallans') protection.

These rules were the following.—

1. If a Kallan lost a tooth through a blow given by his master, the latter was to be fined ten Kali Chakrams

2. If a Kallan had his ear torn under punishment, his master must pay a fine of six Kali Chakrams.

3. If a Kallan had his skull fractured, his master must pay thirty Chakrams, or in default have his own skull fractured.

4. If a Kallan had his arm or leg broken, his master must pay a fine of twenty Chakrams, give the injured man a certain amount of grain, cloths, &c., and likewise grant him in fee-simple as much Nanjey land as could be sown with a kalam of seed, and two kurukkams of Punjey land.

5. If a Kallan were killed, his master must pay a fine of one hundred Chakrams, or in default be put at the mercy of the murdered man's relatives

As might be expected, the Vellâlans' hold over the Kallans was very soon lost after the promulgation of these rules; and in the course of time the Vellâlans were reduced to great poverty, and eventually ousted bodily from their possessions. Many of them were also treacherously murdered, and the remainder were forced to emigrate. After this the Kallans called their newly acquired territory *Than-arasu Nâdu* or the "independent country," and set the then Government at defiance.

And they showed respect only to the Alagar-Swâmi or God of the great Alagar-Kôvil, to whom they habitually make large offerings and whom they have always regarded as their own peculiar Deity.

In the time of the Kartâkkal, that is to say the Nâyakkan dynasty, the Kallans steadily refused to pay tribute, arguing always when called upon to pay like other castes that "The Heavens supplied the "earth with rain, their cattle ploughed the land, and they cultivated "it, and therefore there was no possible reason why they should pay "anything." And their conduct was generally so violent and aggressive that bodies of troops marching from Trichinopoly to Tinnevelly

or *vice versâ* found it expedient to avoid the direct road through the Mêlûr Nâdu and chose a circuitous route.

In the reign of Vijaya Raghunâtha Sêthupathi the Kallans made a raid into his kingdom, and drove off two thousand head of cattle. This audacity so greatly enraged the Sêthupathi that he forthwith established nine fortresses in the heart of the robbers' country, and having lulled them into a sense of security by all kinds of deceitful promises, contrived at last to get them into his power, and massacred a vast number of them in cold blood.

This scarcely justifiable proceeding broke the spirit of the chiefs of the survivors, and they afterwards paid their respects annually to the Sêthupathi in company with the Kalla Chiefs of the neighbouring Nâdu of Mallang-kôttei which lay within the Sêthupati's dominions. But they continued nevertheless to be independent of the Government, *i e*, the Madura Government, until the year 1772.

During the period of Mohammad Yûsuf Khân's administration a temporising policy was adopted by that able ruler of men in his dealings with the Mêlûr Kallans, and though he built a fort at Mêlûr and another at Vellâlapatti, he did not attempt to exact tribute from them; but contented himself with fomenting jealousies amongst the principal men of the caste, and teaching them to habitually refer their disputes to him as the common mediator and supreme arbitrator. By this means he succeeded in keeping them in tolerably good order, and no doubt attached them to his cause when at last he found it necessary to rebel against the Nabob Mohammad Ali.

After the execution of Mohammad Yûsuf Khân, and the termination of the Poligar war in Tinnevelly, it was found necessary to send a considerable force against the Mêlûr Kallans under the command of Captain Rumley. This officer was a man of ability and of an iron will: and after burning their principal villages, and mercilessly slaying about three thousand men women and children in a single day, he soon succeeded in reducing the refractory Nâttâns or heads of the Nâdus to obedience. This however was but a short-lived success; and strongly coercive measures became once more necessary. Captain Rumley now resolved to compel the Nâttâns to pay an annual tribute at the same rate as those of Mallang-kôttei, and after expending much time and labor upon the business, and after another massacre, eventually succeeded in enforcing his plan. The Nâdus were then surveyed, and found to contain 400 cheys of

Nanjey and 20,000 kurukkams of Punjey: and Captain Rumley marched away feeling satisfied that his presence was no longer required.

In 1781 occurred the memorable disturbances consequent on Hyder Ali's descent upon Madras: and the Kallans took advantage of this opportunity to break out once more into rebellion, and commit the wildest excesses. They even went so far as to march upon Madura; and Mallari Raû, the Nabob's general, was killed in an affair under the very walls of the city.

Nothing could be done for some time but in 1784 Captain Oliver came upon the Kallans with a detachment, and speedily overawed them. Shortly afterwards the Nâdus were again surveyed by Mr. Torin, the Collector in charge of the Tinnevelly, Madura and Mêlûr Districts, and found to contain 6,000 cheys of Nanjey and 20,000 kurukkams of Punjey.

From 1786 to 1790 the Nabob's Amaldârs were charged annually; and the Kallans were enabled under that system to maintain their independence.

In 1791 Mr McLeod took them in hand and by promises induced them to pay up arrears.

From 1793 to 1801 there were no less than ten different officers in charge of the administration of the Madura country and consequently the Kallans did much as they pleased

In 1801 the District was finally incorporated with the Company's territories: and from that time forth the Kallans have given but little trouble.

The history of the Mêl Nâdu or west country Kallans is told as follows. About the year 1640 the great Tirumala Nâyakkan granted to certain Kallans of Mêlûr some *mâniums* and the right of collecting *kâvali* or watching fees from the District of Thirumbûr near Madura, in consideration of their protecting the same from robbery and deeds of violence. Relying upon this grant the recipients encroached step by step, until at last they or their descendants penetrated as far as the village of Âneiyûr, and there firmly established themselves. In the course of time they grew estranged from the parent stock, and were distinguished as the Âneiyûr or Mêl Nâdu Kallans. Their agnomen is usually Têvan, as is that of the Mara-

vans. They have gradually pushed their way from village to village, until they have reached the extreme end of the great valley of Dindigul.

Such is the history of the Kallans as recorded in the Survey Account, and supposing the earlier part of it to be based on traditional accounts, it is satisfactory to find that it is not inconsistent with the tradition touching the first coming of the Kallans noticed at page 28 ante, whilst it varies from it to so great an extent as to rebut the suggestion that it is one with it, but modified by the caprice or forgetfulness of its narrator. There seems to be good ground for the inference that the Kallans came into the District at a period subsequent to the great immigration of the Vellâlans described at page 28 ante; that they quarreled with the Vellâlans, and finally succeeded in ousting them from their hereditary estates; and that they lived ever afterwards in a state of more or less antagonism to the ruling power at Madura.

I must now notice another tradition current in the District, which is to the effect that few Kallans were settled in the Pândya country before the time of the pseudo-Pândyas, the sons of Ab'hirâmi the Dancing girl of Kâleiyâr-kôvil; and that those pretenders invited Kallans to come from the Chôla-mandalam, and employed them as mercenary troops to operate against the then Government (see Part III, page 83); and that from that time forth the Kallans began to grow very numerous.

This story would seem to be in admirable accord with that told in the Survey Account. and to corroborate it very strongly Nothing can be more probable than that the party in favor of the pretenders should have applied to the Kallans for assistance, and if they did so apply, the result would naturally be an influx into the country of numberless friends and clansmen of those Kallans And such an influx would account satisfactorily for the circumstance, to which notice has been directed at page 30, that the Vellâlans had sunk into insignificance before the establishment of the Madura Mission at the commencement of the seventeenth century.

The sons of Ab'hirâmi and their immediate successors were ousted from Madura and established themselves securely in the neighbourhood of Srîvelliputtûr in the Tinnevelly District about the year 1500; and if the Kallans were their partisans, the circumstance would account for the presence of so many numbers of the caste in Tinnevelly in the middle of the last century.

Two questions next present themselves for determination, namely —1. Where did the Kallans come from originally ? and 2, In what circumstances did they unite with the Vallambans in an attack upon the Vellâlans ?

With regard to the first of these questions, it is observable that the Kallans are commonly found all over the south of the Presidency, that the word *Kallan* is common to the Kanarese, Telugu, Malayâlam and Tamil tongues, that *Kallu* is a slang term used to mean stolen property by the Thugs of Central India, that the Kallâris are a debased tribe in Malabar, and that the *Kalla-bantru* or bands of Kallans are mentioned by the Abbé Dubois as infesting the country of Mysore And the Catalogue Raisonné of Mr Taylor contains several allusions to struggles for independence maintained by Kallans in various parts of the extreme south of India many centuries ago. It would seem to be not improbable therefore, looking to the bold and independent spirit which they have never failed to evince, that the Kallans were the last great aboriginal tribe of the south which successfully opposed the advancing tide of Hindûism ; and that they were never effectually overwhelmed This is of course a mere suggestion, but where so little is known, a mere suggestion sometimes leads to important results

It is observable that the term *Nâdu* meaning a small subdivision of a country, is considered in Madura to be a designation specially applicable to the Kalla tracts and to no other It does not appear to be used in connection with tracts occupied by Vellâlans or even by the Maravans But on the other hand it was evidently in common use over a considerable part of the Pândya-Mandalam about eight centuries ago, when probably the Vellâlans were as yet almost strangers in the land, and the Kallans had not yet made a settlement in it. And the tract round Madura was always known in the *Vala Nâdu* or excellent district of Madura The inference is therefore that the term either was common to several of the primitive Tamil agricultural castes, or was used only by some pre-eminent aboriginal caste the history of which is now lost or hidden from view. Ellis' valuable paper on Mirâsi Right tells us that the system of dividing a country for Revenue purposes into *Kôttams* and *Nâdus* prevailed amongst the pastoral Kurumbans who were ousted and exterminated by Adondai Chakravarti, and was retained by their supplanters the Vellâlans. And Mr. Taylor in several parts of his Catalogue Raisonné

expresses an opinion to the effect that the Kurumbans and Kallans were one people. It would seem to be possible therefore that the Kurumbans introduced the term *Nâdu* into the Pândya-Mandalam at some time prior to the eleventh century, and were subsequently supplanted by the Vellâlans and that they were in turn ousted by a subdivision of the Kurumbans bearing the name of Kallans. If the Kurumbans of Tondamandalam were treated by Adondai in the manner described by Ellis, and were as he says a half-savage race, it is easy to understand them throwing off much of their civilization and revenging themselves on society by taking to the life of banditti. Perhaps too the Kurumbans of Madura were nearly exterminated by one of the Pândyas with the help of the Vellâlans introduced by him. The expression in the stanza which commemorates this immigration to the effect that it was with much difficulty that the arrangement was carried out, may well point to fearful struggles and bloody massacres And if so, the circumstance would satisfactorily account for the ferocity and apparent ingratitude displayed by the Kallans towards their masters as above described.

It seems rather unlikely on the other hand that the term Nâdu was used by all the early Tamil agricultural tribes, as I have found no traces of its use in the Madura country, except of course in those parts of it which belong principally to Kallans; none indeed in any part of the District lying outside the course of Kalla migrations But then the term *Kôttam* does not appear to be known in the District, unless we may suppose that the common term *Kôttei* was a local expression precisely equivalent thereto, in which case division into the Kurumba system of *Nâdus* and *Kôttams* may perhaps be traced in several parts of the District

I must now leave these speculations, useful only as threads to be gathered up hereafter by some one fortunate enough to obtain materials for a history of the Presidency from every part of it, and go on to describe briefly the very remarkable manners and customs of the Kallans, relying for the most part on the authority of the Survey Account

It appears in the first place that their marriages depend entirely upon consanguinity and are irrespective altogether of the wishes of either the parties thereto or their parents. The most proper alliance in the opinion of a Kallan is one between a man and the daughter of his father's sister; and if an individual have such a cousin, he

must marry her whatever disparity there may be between their respective ages. A boy of fifteen must marry such a cousin even if she be thirty or forty years old, if her father insists upon him so doing Failing a cousin of this sort, he must marry his aunt or his niece or any near relative If his father's brother has a daughter and insists upon him marrying her, he cannot refuse and this whatever may be the woman's age

When a wedding takes place, the sister of the bridegroom goes to the house of the parents of the bride, and presents them with twenty-one Kali Fanams and a cloth; and at the same time ties some horse-hair round the bride's neck; she then brings her and her relatives to the house of the bridegroom, where a feast is prepared Sheep are killed, and stores of liquor kept ready. and all partake of the good cheer provided After this the bride and bridegroom are conducted to the house of the latter, and the ceremony of an exchange between them of *Vallari Thadis* or bomerangs is solemnly performed. Another feast is then given in the bride's house. and the bride is presented by her parents with one *markâl* of rice and a hen. She then goes with her husband to his house and the ceremony is complete in every respect

During the first twelve months after the marriage it is customary for the wife's parents to invite the pair to stay with them a day or two on the occasion of any feast, and to present them on their departure with a *markâl* of rice and a cock At the time of the first *Pongal* feast after the marriage the presents customarily given to the son-in-law are five *markâls* of rice, five loads of pots and pans, five bunches of plantains, five cocoanuts, and five lumps of jaggery.

A divorce is easily obtained on either side. A husband dissatisfied with his wife can send her away if he be willing at the same time to give her half of his property and a wife can leave her husband at will upon forfeiture of forty-two Kali Fanams

A widow may marry any man she fancies, if she can induce him to make her a present of ten Fanams.

Both males and females are accustomed to stretch to the utmost possible limit the lobes of their ears. The unpleasant disfigurement is effected by the mother boring the ears of her baby and inserting heavy pieces of metal, generally lead, into the apertures. The effect so produced is very wonderful; and it is not at all uncommon to see the ears of a Kallan hanging on his shoulders. When violently

angry a Kallan will sometimes tear in two the attenuated strips of flesh which constitute his ears, expecting thereby to compel his adversary to do likewise as a sort of *amende honorable* and altercations between women constantly lead to one or both parties having the ears violently pulled asunder.

And formerly where a Kalla girl was deputed, as frequently happened, to guide a stranger in safety through a Kalla tract, if any of her caste-people attempted to offer violence to her charge in spite of her protestations, she would immediately tear open one of her ears and run off at full speed to her home to complain of what had been done. And the result of her complaint was invariably a sentence to the effect amongst other things that the culprits should have both their ears torn in expiation of their breach of the by-laws of the forest

The savage disposition of the Kallans appears sufficiently from the following description of a custom which exceeds in atrocity almost every crime of violence of which history affords an example. The Survey Account states that.—

" The women have all the ill qualities and evil dispositions of the " men · in most of their actions they are inflexibly vindictive and " furious on the least injury, even on suspicion which prompts to the " most violent revenge without any regard to consequences. An " horrible custom exists among the females of the Colleries. when " a quarrel or dissension arises between them, the insulted woman " brings her child to the house of the aggressor and kills it at her " door to avenge herself, although her vengeance is attended with " the most cruel barbarity She immediately thereafter proceeds to " a neighbouring village with all her goods, &c in this attempt she " is opposed by her neighbours which gives rise to clamour and " outrage, the complaint is then carried to the head Ambalacaur " who lays it before the elders of the village and solicits their " interference to terminate the quarrel. In the course of this investigation, if the husband finds that sufficient evidence has been " brought against his wife that she had given cause for provocation " and aggression, then he proceeds unobserved by the assembly to " his house and brings one of his children, and in the presence of " witnesses kills his child at the door of the woman who had first " killed her child at his, by this mode of proceeding he considers " that he has saved himself much trouble and expense which would

"otherwise have devolved on him This circumstance is soon "brought to the notice of the tribunal, who proclaim that the "offence committed is sufficiently avenged. But should this volun-"tary retribution of revenge not be executed by the convicted "person, the tribunal is prorogued to a limited time, fifteen days "generally Before the expiration of that period one of the children "of the convicted person must be killed, at the same time he is to "bear all expenses for providing food, &c, for the assembly during "three days. Such is the inhuman barbarity in avenging outrage "which proves the innate cruelty of the people and the unrestrained "barbarity of their manners and morals."

With this account may be compared the following passage from Orme:—

"Father Martin, a Jesuit, who resided ten years in the neighbouring "country of Moravar, describes the Colleries as more barbarous than "any savages in any part of the globe, asserting that when two of the "nation, either male or female have a quarrel with one another, each "is obliged by an inviolable custom to suffer and perform whatever "torments or cruelties the other thinks proper to inflict, either on "himself or any of his family; and that the fury of revenge oper-"ates so strongly amongst them, that a man for a slight affront has "been known to murder his wife and all his children, merely to "have the atrocious satisfaction of compelling his adversary to com-"mit the like murders in his own family, but fortunately for the "honor of human nature none of the English Officers have hitherto "been able to distinguish any traces of these diabolical practices, "and the Jesuit stands single in his assertion"

Now in a matter like this, the authority of a Jesuit who lived amongst the Kallans and was accustomed to compare his own experiences with those of other Jesuits similarly circumstanced, seems infinitely superior to that of any number of British Officers who merely marched through the country from time to time or were quartered at Madura and other stations not in the Kalla country, and who for aught that appears to the contrary never took the trouble to make enquiries touching the manners and customs of a low and despised race. And the corroborative evidence afforded by the Survey Account is very strong. I have unfortunately not had leisure to ascertain correctly by enquiry, how far the account above given is entitled to credence, but I am inclined to give credence to it as a

whole and see nothing at all improbable in it Of course such atrocities are not and cannot be perpetrated under British rule The Survey Report is very hard on the western Kallans. It says of them that they .—" possess none of the virtues nor the gentle and " interesting qualities which are peculiarly characteristic of the " industrious husbandman. They are in general indolent and per- " fidious ; they commit every sort of excess and cruelty ; and in fact " are capable of the foulest crimes."

Amongst the crimes of which they are guilty or supposed to be guilty is that of poverty. Their houses are represented as being very mean and poor, and " surrounded by a high hedge for protection." Their dress consists in the case of the males, of a common coarse cloth or a blanket tied round them, and a string which holds up their coarse and plentiful hair.

One of the customs of the western Kallans is specially curious. It constantly happens that a woman is the wife of either ten, eight, six or two husbands, who are held to be the fathers jointly and severally of any children that may be born of her body. And still more curiously, when the children of such a family grow up, they for some unknown reason invariably style themselves the children not of ten, eight or six fathers as the case may be, but of eight and two, or six and two, or four and two fathers. The following is a translation of an extract from a petition presented to the Collector of Madura in 1798, which illustrates this custom, and is for other reasons worthy of preservation now that the old times are so rapidly passing away :—

" To the most exquisite beauty of beauties in whom all nature is " in true perfection viewed in every respect, and equal to Maha Mêru " of the most fascinating mild and gracious appearance, the protec- " tor of numberless souls; the universal and habitual inquirer into " the complaints and grievances of all injured people, the ever-pleas- " ing delight and joy of all friendly and social people ; who when he " takes his meals is surrounded by thousands :—at the goodly feet of " your High Mightiness do we, Terrea Tevan and his seven brothers, " the sons of six and two fathers ; with our legs closed ; mouths " covered ; garments thrown between our legs ; standing afar off ; " venerating with hands clasped together and up-lifted ; praising and " adoring your merciful and charitable disposition , prostrating our- " selves ; and looking up to your honorable person, to the north-

" ward ; presume to lay this our humble supplicating petition and to " entreat your favor, pleasure and protection, &c &c. &c "

The boyhood of every Kallan is supposed to be passed in acquiring the rudiments of the only profession for which he can be naturally adapted, namely that of a thief and robber. At fifteen he is usually entitled to be considered a proficient, and from that time forth he is allowed to grow his hair as long as he pleases ; a privilege denied to younger boys, who are compelled to shave the whole of the crown of the head with the exception of a small portion reserved for the *Kudumi* or tuft of hair usually worn by Hindûs , and are therefore called *Kudumbi* Kalla Pilleighal. At the same time he is often rewarded for his expertness as a thief by the hand of one of his female relations

The western Kallans do not intermarry with the eastern and are supposed to observe much the same marriage ceremonies as ordinary Hindû castes.

Kallans burn and bury their dead All, I believe, though really devil-worshippers, call themselves Saivites And lastly, inexplicable as the thing may appear to be, it is nevertheless undoubtedly true that many if not the majority of the Kallans of the Madura District circumcise The origin of this practice I have endeavoured in vain to discover. It seems to be allowed on all sides that the practice is very ancient and no native history of the Kalla caste is procurable in the Madura District

Enough however has been said to show what a very remarkable non-Hindû caste the Kallans are , and it is to be hoped that somebody with sufficient leisure will hereafter tell the world all about them No doubt much valuable information might be supplied by the chief of all the Kallans of the south, the Râja of Puthukôttei. I sought for information in that quarter : but unfortunately no notice was taken of my application I may add in concluding my notice that I have been informed that the Kallans alone of all the castes of Madura call the Mahometans " *mâ-pilleis*" or bridegrooms (Moplahs) ; and this circumstance coupled with that of the adoption of the rite of circumcision, would seem to point to a forcible conversion of their progenitors and a subsequent lapse into idolatry Perhaps the Kurumbans of the Tondamandalam who escaped extermination fled northwards into the arms of the Mahometans, and after being by them deprived of caste, reappeared in the south as Kallans ?

Twelve Kallans were measured, and weighed by Doctor Joseph, and the following results were obtained, viz :—

		Height		Circumference of											
				Head.		Neck.		Chest.		Arms		Thigh.		Weight in pounds.	Remarks
No.	Age.	Feet	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches	Feet.	Inches.		
1	40	5	3	1	8½	1	0	2	6¼	0	8½	1	3	85¼	Poor speci-
2	36	5	4¼	1	9	1	0¼	2	7½	0	8¾	1	4¼	100	mens appa-
3	22	4	7½	1	8	0	10	2	4	0	7	1	1	74	rently Com-
4	25	5	1½	1	8¼	0	11½	2	4¾	0	8	1	2½	93	pare with
5	22	5	4	1	9½	1	2	2	10½	0	10	1	7	119¼	Maravans
6	28	5	2	1	8¼	1	0	2	6¼	0	8	1	4	92¾	
7	50	5	4½	1	9½	1	0	2	7¼	0	8	1	3¾	94	
8	38	5	10¼	1	8½	1	0	2	9	0	9	1	5¾	130	
9	25	5	6½	1	9	1	0½	2	7¼	0	8	1	2¾	96	
10	24	5	3¼	1	8½	0	11	2	7½	0	7¾	1	3	89	
11	50	5	5	1	7¼	1	0	2	5¼	0	9¾	1	2¾	98	
12	40	5	4	1	10	1	0	2	6	0	7¾	1	2¾	101	
Total.....		63	7¾	20	8¼	11	11¼	30	9½	8	4½	15	6½	1,172¼	
Average.		5	3$\frac{31}{48}$	1	8$\frac{33}{48}$	0	11$\frac{15}{16}$	2	6$\frac{19}{24}$	0	8$\frac{2}{8}$	1	3$\frac{13}{24}$	97$\frac{11}{16}$	

We come now to some less important castes.

THE VANNIYANS are at the present time a small and obscure agricultural caste · but there is reason to believe that they are the descendants of ancestors who in former times held a good position amongst the tribes of South India.

A MS. abstracted at page 90 of the Catalogue Raisonné, states that the Vanniyans belong to the Agni-kula, and are descended from the Muni Samb'hu , and that they gained victories by means of their skill in archery. And another MS., abstracted at page 427, shows that two of their chiefs enjoyed considerable power, and refused to pay the customary tribute to the Râyar, who was for a long time unable to reduce them to submission. Armies of Vanniyans are often mentioned in the Ceylon annals. And a Hindû History of

Ceylon translated in the R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XXIV, states that in the year 3300 of the Kali Yuga a Pândya princess went over to Ceylon and married its King, and was accompanied by sixty bands of Vanniyans.

THE VALLAMBANS, said to be the offspring of a Vellâlan and a Valiya woman, are now a small and insignificant caste of cultivators: but I am given to understand that some of them assert that their ancestors were in old times the lords of the soil, for whose sole benefit the Vellâlans use to carry on cultivation. And it has been shown, under the head "Vellâlans," that tradition makes the Vallambans to have joined the Kallans in attacking and driving away the Vellâlans; and that the tradition is probably entitled to credence. I am informed that it is customary amongst Vallambans when demising land, to refer to the fact of them being descendants of the "Vallambans who lost Vallam," that is the Vallama *Nâdu* in Tanjore, their proper country.

THE PADEIYÂTCHIS, looking to their caste-name, would appear to have been employed in former times as soldiers: but I have not been able to gather anything from tradition touching their origin. Some of them style themselves Nâyakkans: but they are mostly ryots of humble position The name seems to be derivable from *Padei* a body of troops and *Atchi* ruler, in the same way as the *Kâniyâtchi*, the ruler of land or freehold proprietor, is derived from *Kâni* and *Atchi*.

Men of this caste are usually called Palli-Padeiyâtchis: and one would suppose therefore that they formed a subdivision of the Palli caste, numbers of whom are said by Ellis to have been employed as prædial slaves in the Tondamandaḷa or country in the neighbourhood of Madras. The census returns do not show the existence of ordinary Pallis in this District. and so far as I can learn they are not to be found in it. but

ARASA-PALLIS are found in small numbers. They are a very insignificant and low caste, living by cultivation and by cooly work of different kinds.

THE PALLANS are a very numerous, but a most abject and despised race, little if indeed at all superior to the loathed Pariahs.

Their principal occupation is ploughing the lands of more fortunate Tamils: and though nominally free, they are usually slaves in almost every sense of the word; earning by the ceaseless sweat of their brow a bare handful of grain to stay the pangs of hunger, and a rag with which to partly cover their nakedness. They are to be found in almost every village, toiling and moiling for the benefit of Vellâlans and others; and with the Pariahs doing patiently nearly all the hard and dirty work that has to be done. Personal contact with them is carefully avoided by all respectable men; and they are never permitted to dwell within the limits of a village *nattam*. Their huts form a small detached hamlet, the *Palla-chêri*, removed to a considerable distance from the houses of the respectable inhabitants and barely separated from that of the Pariahs, the *Parei-chêri*.

The Pallans are said by some to have sprung from the intercourse of a Sûdra and a Brâhman woman. Others say, Dêvêndra created them for the purpose of laboring in behalf of Vellâlans Whatever may have been their origin, it seems to be tolerably certain that in ancient times they were the slaves of the Vellâlans and regarded by them merely as chattels; and that they were brought by the Vellâlans into the Pândya-mandala. The common tradition with regard to their original status seems to agree very well with the account of them given by Ellis in his Mirâsi Right: and I am not aware of the existence of any evidence going to show that they were at anytime free and independent cultivators of the soil. Probably they are one of the aboriginal races of South India, and succumbed in very early times to the first half-civilized tribe with which they came into collision I believe that there are no traditions representing them to have resisted invasion, as did the Kallans, Kurumbans and others.

The name Pallan appears to be derived from the word *Pallam*, a pit or low-lying ground.

The manners and customs of the Pallans are in most respects the same as those of other extremely low and rude Peninsular castes. They bury their dead much more commonly than they burn them. Their widows freely re-mârry. Divorces are most common; and the chastity of their females is but lightly regarded by them. For appearance' sake they profess for the most part to be worshippers of Siva or of Vishnu but demon-worship of the stupidest kinds is what they principally affect.

Twelve Pallans were measured and weighed by Doctor Joseph, and the following were the results obtained, viz:—

No.	Age.	Height		Circumference of Head.		Neck		Chest.		Arms		Thigh.		Weight in pounds	Remarks.
		Feet	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet	Inches.		
1	20	4	10	1	8	0	10¾	2	4¾	0	8½	1	3¼	117½	
2	60	5	4½	1	8¾	1	0	2	6¾	0	7¾	1	2½	97	
3	25	5	4½	1	8½	1	0	2	9¾	0	8¾	1	5½	105	
4	45	5	7	1	9¼	0	11¾	2	7¾	0	8¾	1	4½	121	
5	35	5	4	1	8¼	0	11¾	2	7¼	0	8¼	1	3¾	103	
6	60	5	4¾	1	8¾	1	0¼	2	6¾	0	8½	1	2½	104	
7	25	5	5½	1	9	1	1	2	8	0	9½	1	4½	110	
8	20	5	3	1	7	0	10½	2	5	0	7¾	1	2¾	97½	
9	35	5	2	1	7¾	0	11	2	5½	0	8	1	4¼	105	
10	20	5	2½	1	8	1	0¼	2	8	0	8¾	1	5¾	107	
11	26	5	6	1	8	1	0½	2	6½	0	8	1	3¾	104	
12	35	5	3½	1	8¼	1	0½	2	7½	0	8¼	1	5	109	
Total ..		63	9¾	20	4	11	11	30	11½	8	4¾	16	0	1,280	
Average..		5	$3\frac{13}{16}$	1	8⅓	0	$11\frac{11}{12}$	2	$6\frac{23}{24}$	0	$8\frac{19}{48}$	1	4	106⅔	

THE NATTAMBÂDIYANS are usually respectable cultivators. They are said to have emigrated into the Madura country not more than about eighty years ago. They are an interesting race of Tamils, inasmuch as very many of them have adopted the Roman Catholic faith under the leadership of the Jesuit Missionaries. And they are said to be a rather fine set of men physically: finer even than the Vellâlans. They are also called Udeiyâns; and tradition says they came from the Toreiyûr *Nâdu* or district in Tanjore, from a village called Udeiyâ-pâleiyam They are chiefly resident in the great Zamindâris: and contrast favorably with the Maravans, being very orderly, frugal, and industrious. The derivation of the name appears to be from *Nattam* a village and *Pati* master or possessor.

THE URÂLIS are the only other caste of Tamil cultivators remarkable in point of numbers. They stand very low in the estimation of other castes, and are very rarely, if ever, men of any wealth or position The name appears to come from *ûr* a village and *âl* a laborer. Or perhaps the second syllable means ruler.

Next to the purely agricultural tribes and castes it will be convenient to notice a large group of castes which live in rural parts, maintaining themselves by tending cattle, agricultural labor; hunting wild animals; procuring and selling wild honey and other jungle products; and in various ways too numerous to mention.

Of these one caste alone is respectable, and it must therefore be described first.

THE IDEIYANS are a very numerous caste They are tolerably respectable, owing perhaps to their having to look after that sacred and useful animal the cow. Their proper occupation is tending herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. But as a whole the Madura country is extremely ill suited for grazing purposes, and there is not sufficient work for a tenth part of the Ideiyans who live in it. They have therefore become gardeners, tillers of the soil, and traders on a small scale; and earn a livelihood in various ways by doing work not of an absolutely degrading nature. In a note in Pope's edition of the Abbé Dubois' work it is stated that the name Ideiyan is derived from the Tamil word *idei*, which means the middle: and that the caste owes its name to the fact of it being a sort of connecting link between the farmers and the merchants But this derivation seems to be very fanciful and unsatisfactory. Perhaps they are so called from originally inhabiting (as the natives say they did) the lands which lay midway between the hills and the arable lands, the jungly plains suited for pasturage.

It is said by some that in ancient times men of this caste ranked only a little above Pareiyans, and that the *Idei-chêri* or Ideiyans' suburb was always situated close to the *Parei-chêri* or Pareiyans' suburb in every properly constituted village; but after the god Krishna was brought up by a cow-herd, the caste rose in importance, and nowadays even Brâhmans will not hesitate to drink butter-

milk received at the hands of an Ideiyan On the other hand, I believe it is not generally allowed that Krishna was brought up by a cow-herd: and if he was, it was certainly not by a Tamil cow-herd

I have not heard of any traditions of Ideiya conquests or immigrations; and understand that it is generally believed that they have lived in the country from time immemorial The Ideiyans may therefore be descendants of one of the primitive castes of the country: and as a pastoral and nomad state of society always precedes an agricultural, it is very possible that they are the most ancient of the castes now existing in the country I am told that they commonly bury their dead, a circumstance which goes to connect them with the aborigines of South India. The only trace apparently of their having ever the lords of any portion of the District is to be found in the tradition that Ideiya-kôttei was so named by its founder because the country round it belonged to a clan of Ideiyans

The title ordinarily assumed by Ideiyans is Kônan, which I suppose may be identified with the prefix Kôn, used in several inscriptions in the Tanjore country, and which Mr Taylor (see page 72 of the Catalogue Raisonné) believes is used in the sense of and comes from the same original root as the English word king, the Saxon Kœnig, the Hebrew Kohen, &c. If so, it seems probable that some Ideiya chiefs ruled over portions of the Tanjore country some centuries ago Possibly too the Ideiyans of Madura are to be connected with the Yadavas who furnished the celebrated dynasty of that name, whose reigns are illustrated by the Elliot inscriptions.

According to the editor of the Abbé Dubois' work the Ideiyans are divided into eight principal divisions, each of which is subdivided into eighteen branches; and none of these associate familiarly with any other, except that called the "Branch of charitable works" which associates familiarly with the seventeen above it

The description of the marriage and funeral ceremonies given by the same authority is curious:—

"When a bride of the Idaiyar caste enters the room decorated for "the ceremonies of marriage, her followers must pay to the sister of "the bridegroom the money called the "Bride's room gold," and the "relations of both parties must see that this praiseworthy custom is

"adhered to. When the bridegroom betakes himself to the house of "the mother-in-law, his young companions arrest him by the way, "and do not release him till he has paid them a piece of gold. On "the third day when the favorite amusement of sprinkling saffron-"water on the guests in sport is over, the whole party betake them-"selves to the village tank. The friend of the bridegroom brings a "hoe and a basket and the young husband fills three baskets with "earth from the bottom of the tank, while the wife takes them "away and throws the earth behind. They then say "we have dug "a ditch for charity." This singular practice probably may be "explained by remembering that in the arid districts where these "Idaiyar often tend their cattle, the tank is of the greatest import-"ance. So it is, indeed, with many customs which obtain in India "which Europeans think so senseless and which good men oppose "with perhaps unnecessary earnestness. Many of these customs "are by no means the immediate fruit of Heathenism, very many "of them have had a natural origin, and the key to them is now and "then to be found."

"In their funeral ceremonies too there are many interesting and "peculiar observances. Among other things, a man of the Marraver "caste, a slave, who styles himself "the father of the grandfather," "comes into the assembly and addresses them in enigmatical and "mysterious language: "the slave, who intrudes himself of his own "" accord, spreads his foot over the way, and will thrust a spear into "" the breast of the strong" These Marravers are with few exceptions "plunderers by profession, and are employed therefore as watchers "and policemen. This ceremony seems to indicate an agreement "between the Idaiyar and Marraver, for the protection of their flocks. "See Graul's Reise Nach Ostindien IV, 175"

I have not had time to enquire into the truth of this description, but I must say it appears to be rather open to question. It is observable that Maravans are not, and so far as I know, never have been slaves in any sense of the word: and they certainly are not with few exceptions plunderers by profession at the present day.

TABLE.

Twelve Ideiyans were measured and weighed by Doctor Joseph, and the following were the results obtained, viz:—

No.	Age.	Height.		Circumference of Head.		Neck.		Chest.		Arms.		Thigh.		Weight in pounds.	Remarks.
		Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet	Inches.	Feet	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.		
1	40	5	1¼	1	8	0	11½	2	5½	0	7½	1	2½	84	
2	26	5	7½	1	8¾	1	1¼	2	8¾	0	9	1	5½	118	
3	40	5	4¼	1	8¼	1	0	2	8	0	8½	1	3	106	
4	18	5	2	1	8½	1	0	2	5	0	8½	1	2½	89½	
5	35	5	3	1	9	1	0¾	2	10	0	9	1	5	118	
6	30	5	0	1	7¾	0	7¾	2	3¼	0	7¾	1	2¼	89	
7	40	5	4	1	8¾	1	0	2	7¼	0	8¼	1	3	95	
8	25	5	4½	1	9½	1	2	2	10¾	0	10	1	6¼	98	
9	22	5	4½	1	8¼	1	0½	2	8½	0	8	1	3	102	
10	30	5	1½	1	7¼	0	11	2	5¼	0	8	1	2	91	
11	55	5	2	1	6¾	0	10	2	2¼	0	7¼	1	1¼	96	
12	22	5	9	1	8¼	1	0	2	7	0	8½	1	3	88½	
Total .		63	7½	20	3	11	8¾	30	9	8	4¼	15	4¼	1,176	
Average..		5	3⅝	1	8¼	0	11 35/48	2	6 19/24	0	8 17/48	1	3 17/48	98	

THE VALIYANS are a low and debased tribe, nearly as numerous as the Ideiyans. Their name is supposed to be derived from *Valei* a net, and to have been given to them from their being constantly employed in netting game in the jungles. Many of them still live by the net; some catch fish; some smelt iron; many are employed in carrying on cultivation, and as bearers of burdens, and in ordinary cooly work. The tradition to the effect that a Valiya woman was the mother of the Vallambans seems to show that the Valiyans must be one of the most ancient castes in the country. There are no traditions of Valiya invasions or immigrations.

THE VÊDANS are a very low caste who get their living in the jungles. They are not numerous now, if they were in old times. They appear to have been naked savages not very long ago: and their civilization is still very far from complete. I suppose they

may be identified with the Veddahs of Ceylon. According to Mr. Taylor the Vêdans were the earliest inhabitants of the Peninsula; and were conquered by the Kurumbans, who in turn gave way to the Hindûs. They are held in the greatest contempt by men of all classes: and their name is held to be expressive of all that is vile and contemptible.

THE KURUMBANS are an insignificant, and not very numerous caste A few of them cultivate the soil on their own account, but the majority live by less reputable means. The breeding of sheep and goats in wild jungly places is their most common occupation. They are probably the descendants of one of the first castes that settled in the south, and are supposed to be a branch of the Ideiya caste. Mr. Taylor, I observe, (see his Catalogue Raisonné passim) identifies them with the Kallans; but as I have shown before (see p 50 ante), the question of the origin of the Kurumbans of the Madura District is one replete with difficulties. The Abbé Dubois gives the following account of the Kurumbans of Mysore, and I presume it will apply equally well to those of the Madura country — "There are still a great many other detached castes in the southern "parts of India besides those we have mentioned; all living in a state "of degradation and contempt. Amongst others, there is that of the "Kurumbars. The baseness of their nature and their total want of "instruction seem to justify the detestation in which they are held "by the superior castes of Sudras Their occupation is that of shep- "herds, but they are not to be confounded with the caste of Herds- "men called Idaiyar and Gôlar, who are one of the highest castes "among the Sudras, and have the cows and goats under their care, while "the others are confined entirely to sheep, of which they have con- "siderable flocks The meanness of their employment seems to spread "its influence over their manners Being confined to the society "of their wooly charge, they seem to have contracted the stupid "nature of the animal; and, from the rudeness of their nature, they "are as much beneath the other castes of Hindûs, as the sheep, by "their simplicity and imperfect instinct, are beneath the other "quadrupeds. The stupidity of the Kurumbar is become proverbial; "and when a person of another caste does anything thoughtless and "foolish, he is said to be as stupid as a Kurumban. This sect pre- "vails in the Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil countries, but chiefly in "the first, from which it appears to have originated, and where they "are still found in great numbers in every District."

The editor's note suggests that the name is probably derived like that of the Kuravan from *Kunru* a hillock, though generally derived from the word *Kurru* small, "they being very diminutive in stature." I doubt however whether this is so, and it would also appear to be doubtful whether the Kurumbans of the Madura District are identically the same caste as those found on the Nîlagiri hills, who are described by Mr. Pope as being weird little beings whose principal business is conjuring.

The derivation of the name is believed in Madura to be *Kurumbei*, the name of a particular kind of sheep. Can it have any connection with *Kudumi*? Kalla boys, as has been shown before, are called *Kudumba Pilleis* because they wear only a single tuft of hair: and perhaps the Kurumbans owe their name to a like custom The interchange of "d" and "r" is so common in all parts of India that no objection on the score of difference of radical letters could be raised. Possibly the Kurumbans were the first of the Tamil castes to borrow the fashion of wearing the *Kudumi* from the Hindûs who invaded the South.

THE POLEIYANS have always been the prædial slaves of the Kunuvans before described According to the Survey Account they are the aborigines of the Palani hills, and may be classified with the Solagars of the Mysore country and the Irulans of the mountains which divide Coimbatoor from the Wynâd country.

With them the marriage ceremony consists merely of a declaration of consent made by both parties at a feast to which all their relatives are invited.

The only other fact deserving notice in connection with their manners and customs is their mode of dealing with small-pox epidemics. As soon as a case occurs in any one of their villages a cordon is immediately drawn round it and access to other villages is denied to all the inhabitants of the infected locality, who at once desert their homes and camp out for a sufficiently long period The individual attacked is left to his fate; and no medicine is exhibited to him, as it is supposed that the malady is brought on solely by the just displeasure of the Gods.

The Poleiyans bury their dead.

THE PALLIYANS are another mountain caste: but of a far lower type of humanity than the Poleiyans. In fact they are savages and decline to adopt the most simple usages of ordinary men, having

neither houses, clothes nor any kind of property Roaming over the hills, they satisfy hunger with such roots and fruits as they can find by search, and occasionally a little wild honey. They carefully shun the society of civilised men, and will never approach a stranger except upon the offer of a piece of tobacco or a strip of cloth, for both of which commodities they show a great natural fondness. I have been informed however by a gentleman accustomed to visit the parts in which the Palliyans live, that a few of them have been induced to act as beaters for game, and have to his knowledge considerably improved in personal appearance and intelligence since their employment and the receipt of remuneration for their services. And such being the case, it would seem to be reasonable to hope that the whole caste may some day be brought to adopt a more civilised mode of life They are gentle in disposition, and show no inclination to rob their neighbours.

It is always hazardous to speculate upon these matters, but it would seem to be by no means improbable that these unfortunates are the descendants of some partially civilised caste which was centuries ago dispossessed of its hereditary lands on the hills by a merciless invasion, or else nearly swept away by some ghastly epidemic, and being at once unable to acquire new lands on the hills and unwilling to descend into the plains rapidly sank into barbarism. There can be no question but that the Palani and Travancore mountains have been far more widely cultivated than they are at present: and many parts of India afford evidence of the fact that extensive tracts of country have sometimes been suddenly deserted by all their inhabitants, and from a state of careful culture returned to one of nature. However it may have been in this case, the Palliyans are so like ordinary Tamils in physiognomy and physique that it is difficult to believe that they belong to another and earlier type.

According to the census returns only two individuals of the caste existed in 1850: but this is of course not true. Several families are known to be existent, though how many it is impossible to guess.

CHAPTER III.

Tamil traders and merchants.—The Settis.—Their niggardliness.—The Sânâns.—The Kuravans.—Tamil manufacturers and laborers.—The Kammâlans or Pânchâla.—Their pretensions.—The Weavers.—Kei-kôlans.—Sâliyans.—Saluppans.—Inferior castes.—The Vânikans.—Kusavans.—Uppiliyans.—Iluvakans.—Washermen.—Barbers.—Chakkilians.—Fishermen.—Sembadavans.—Savalakârans.—Kareiyâns.—The Paravas.—Their history and occupations.—Mêthakarans.—Sikilkârans.—Semmâns.—Kûtthâdis.—The Pariahs.—Their position in society.—Divisions and subdivisions.—Derivation of the word.—Origin of the caste.—The Dâsis or dancing girls.

THE TAMIL TRADERS and merchants belong usually to the following classes, viz :—

1. The Settis.
2. The Sânâns.
3. The Kuravans.

THE SETTIS (Chettis) are properly speaking the only Tamil caste entitled to trade in these degenerate days. There are upwards of fifty thousand of them engaged in buying and selling jewels, cotton, grain, &c, and in lending money on interest, in almost every town village and hamlet in the District Some of them are exceedingly rich, and occupy a somewhat respectable position in society : but the majority are not in very prosperous circumstances, and are greatly despised on account of their mean and grasping natures. So much so that the word *Settu,* which properly means traffic, is commonly used in the Madura District for niggardliness.

Those of them who call themselves Nâttu-kôttei Settis in particular are notorious for their greed: and most amusing stories are told about them However wealthy they may be, they usually live in the most penurious manner; and they will never by any chance show mercy to a debtor so long as he shall have a penny left, or the chance of earning one. However to make some amends for their rapacity, they are in the habit of spending large sums now and then in works of charity. And whatever their faults may be, they are most excellent men of business. Indeed, until quite lately the good faith and honesty of a Nâttu-kôttei Setti were proverbial: and are even now conspicuous.

The other Settis belong commonly to the two following sub-divisions:—

1. Ariyûr Settis.
2. Êriûr Settis.

The Nâttu-kôttei Settis claim to be a good caste: and assert that they emigrated to this District thousands of years ago from a town called Kâvêri-pattanam (see ante page 28) in consequence of an intolerable persecution. But the other Settis will not admit the truth of their story: and affect to despise them greatly, alleging even that they are the bastard descendants of a Mahometan man and a Kalla woman. The word Nâttu-kôttei is said to be a corruption of Nâtta-rasang-kôttei, the name of a small village near Sivagangei. But the derivation appears to be doubtful.

With the tradition respecting the emigration from Kâvêri-pattanam should be compared the tradition given above touching the settlement of Vellâlans in the country. That Settis should have come south from a great commercial city destroyed by a storm-wave is sufficiently credible.

THE SÂNÂNS are a very low caste, whose proper occupation is extracting juice from the fruit-stalk of the coco-palm. Those of them who are so employed climb with marvellous rapidity and dexterity, and do their work with a neatness well worthy of observation. But they are far too numerous to find all of them employment, as toddy-drawers, and they are usually petty traders. They are about as numerous as the Settis.

Eight Sânâns were measured and weighed by Doctor Joseph, and the following were the results obtained, viz :—

No.	Age.	Height.		Circumference of Head.		Circumference of Neck.		Circumference of Chest.		Circumference of Arms.		Circumference of Thigh.		Weight in pounds.	Remarks.
		Feet.	Inches.	Feet	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.		
1	45	5	$2\frac{1}{2}$	1	$9\frac{1}{4}$	1	$0\frac{1}{2}$	2	$7\frac{3}{4}$	0	$8\frac{3}{4}$	1	4	$95\frac{1}{2}$	
2	25	5	6	1	9	1	$0\frac{1}{4}$	2	$8\frac{1}{4}$	0	$8\frac{1}{2}$	1	$4\frac{3}{4}$	112	
3	35	5	7	1	$8\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	2	6	0	$8\frac{1}{2}$	1	$4\frac{1}{2}$	113	
4	35	5	$8\frac{1}{2}$	1	$8\frac{1}{4}$	1	$0\frac{1}{4}$	2	7	0	8	1	$2\frac{1}{2}$	104	
5	36	5	$3\frac{1}{4}$	1	$8\frac{1}{2}$	1	$0\frac{3}{4}$	2	7	0	$8\frac{1}{2}$	1	$5\frac{1}{4}$	101	
6	28	5	$6\frac{1}{4}$	1	$8\frac{1}{4}$	1	$1\frac{3}{4}$	2	$9\frac{1}{2}$	0	9	1	$5\frac{1}{2}$	115	
7	35	5	8	1	$8\frac{3}{4}$	1	$0\frac{1}{4}$	2	$9\frac{1}{2}$	0	$8\frac{1}{4}$	1	$4\frac{1}{4}$	$120\frac{1}{2}$	
8	63	5	$0\frac{1}{4}$	1	8	1	0	2	6	0	$8\frac{1}{4}$	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$	$93\frac{1}{4}$	
Total......		43	$5\frac{3}{4}$	13	$8\frac{1}{2}$	8	$4\frac{3}{4}$	21	1	5	$7\frac{3}{4}$	10	10	$854\frac{1}{4}$	
Average .		5	$5\frac{7}{32}$	1	$8\frac{9}{16}$	1	$0\frac{19}{32}$	2	$7\frac{5}{8}$	0	$8\frac{15}{32}$	1	$4\frac{1}{4}$	$106\frac{25}{32}$	

I presume they belong to the same tribe as the Sânâns of the Tinnevelly District, about whose devil-worship Dr Caldwell wrote his well-known pamphlet, and so many of whom have been converted : but for some reason or other the Sânâns of Madura have not taken very kindly to Christianity.

THE KURAVANS are a tribe of homeless vagabonds who wander about the country in tents like Gipsies, hawking goods, fortune-telling, and pilfering whatever they can lay their hands upon. They deal largely in salt, which they carry from the Government salt-pans on the coast into the interior : and on their return to the coast they load their beasts of burden with grain and such other commodities as may be likely to find a ready sale there. Others of them make boxes and baskets of bamboo, twigs and palmyra-leaves. Others breed pigs and donkeys. Others collect honey and other jungle products. They are a drunken, dissolute race, abhorred by all respectable men and with good reason.

We now come to the Tamil manufacturers and laborers.,

THE KAMMÂLANS, said to be descended from the offspring of a Brâhman and a Setti woman, are a group of five allied castes—hence their name Pânchâla—consisting of over 50,000 artisans of the following descriptions, viz: gold-and-silver-smiths, carpenters, blacksmiths, stone-cutters, and lastly all who are employed in the working up of metals. Of these the gold-and-silver smiths are of course the most respected. They wear the sacred thread, call themselves Âchâryas and Âyyars, and decline to give precedence even to Brâhmans.

In Ceylon the goldsmiths are the third in rank of the inferior castes (see ante page 36) and the following extract from Upham's work quoted above may be usefully consulted:—

" 3. The Goldsmiths."

" Because they work in copper, brass and silver, they are called " Cammakarayo, which word signifies workers in metals, and because " they work in gold, they are called Suwannakarayo, which word " signifies workers in gold."

" Because they work in iron they are called Ayokarayo, which " word signifies workers in iron. As these people were found useful " to society, they were complimented with the name of Achariyo, " which word signifies masters, and is expressed in Cingalese by " the word Gooroowarayo, masters"

" Because they are in the habit of making old things new, they " are called Nawankaranno, which word signifies makers of new; " and because they know how to make things new, they are called " Nawandanno, that is, knowers of the art of making new things " out of old."

" Because they melt their metal and form a vessel, they are called " Lokuruwo, that is founders or makers of vessels with melted metal. " They are sometimes called Cammaro, which word is a corruption of " Camburo, which is a term of reproach given to them because they " take employment from high and low. Kamburanawa signifies to " become subject or slave."

The Carpenters of Ceylon are said to be next in rank below the goldsmiths: but it is added in a note that:—

" The Carpenters are in some places considered by many as belonging to the goldsmith caste, but this is not authorized by any book."

Nine smiths were measured and weighed by Doctor Joseph, and the following were the results obtained, viz:—

No.	Age	Height		Circumference of Head.		Neck.		Chest.		Arms.		Thigh.		Weight in pounds.	Remarks.
		Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.		
1	26	5	$3\frac{3}{4}$	1	$8\frac{1}{2}$	0	$11\frac{1}{4}$	2	$6\frac{1}{4}$	0	$8\frac{1}{2}$	1	4	$104\frac{1}{2}$	
2	30	5	$6\frac{1}{4}$	1	9	1	0	2	$8\frac{3}{4}$	0	$9\frac{1}{2}$	1	$5\frac{3}{4}$	$118\frac{3}{4}$	
3	22	5	2	1	$8\frac{1}{4}$	1	0	2	$3\frac{1}{4}$	0	$8\frac{1}{2}$	1	$2\frac{3}{4}$	$86\frac{1}{2}$	
4	35	5	$5\frac{1}{2}$	1	9	1	2	2	9	0	10	1	$4\frac{1}{4}$	$120\frac{1}{4}$	
5	55	5	$2\frac{1}{4}$	1	$9\frac{1}{4}$	1	0	2	$6\frac{1}{4}$	0	$8\frac{1}{2}$	1	$2\frac{1}{4}$	94	
6	25	5	1	1	8	1	0	2	6	0	9	1	3	93	
7	32	5	$4\frac{1}{2}$	1	$8\frac{1}{4}$	1	$0\frac{1}{2}$	2	8	0	$8\frac{1}{2}$	1	5	95	
8	50	5	3	1	$8\frac{1}{2}$	0	$11\frac{1}{4}$	2	8	0	$7\frac{3}{4}$	1	$0\frac{3}{4}$	$92\frac{1}{2}$	
9	50	5	3	1	$7\frac{3}{4}$	1	0	2	7	0	$7\frac{3}{4}$	1	2	$86\frac{1}{2}$	
Total...		47	$7\frac{1}{4}$	15	$4\frac{1}{2}$	9	1	23	$2\frac{1}{2}$	6	6	11	$5\frac{3}{4}$	891	
Average...		5	$3\frac{17}{36}$	1	$8\frac{1}{2}$	1	$\frac{1}{9}$	2	$6\frac{17}{18}$	0	$8\frac{2}{3}$	1	$3\frac{11}{37}$	99	

Next in importance to the Kammâlans are the weavers, of whom there are three Tamil castes, the Kei-kôlans, Sâliyans and the Saluppans.

THE KEI-KÔLANS (vulgarly keikkiliyans) are by far the more numerous of the three. They are not skilful workmen and weave only coarse white cloths. The Nâyakkan kings were not satisfied with their workmanship, and sent for colonies of foreign weavers, whose descendants now far out-number the Tamil weavers.

THE SÂLIYANS are little if anything more skilful. They weave chiefly coarse colored cloths for women's wear.

THE SALUPPANS weave only gunny-bags and the coarsest kinds of fabrics.

Twelve weavers were measured and weighed by Doctor Joseph, and the following were the results obtained, viz.—

No.	Age.	Height.		Circumference of Head.		Neck.		Chest.		Arms.		Thigh.		Weight in pounds.	Remarks.
		Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.		
1	46	5	8	1	8½	1	0½	2	9	0	8½	1	3¾	99	It does not appear whether these were Tamil or foreign weavers Probably they were specimens of several castes
2	50	5	2	1	8¼	1	0	2	8	0	8½	1	4¼	97	
3	41	5	4	1	8¾	1	0½	2	11	0	10½	1	5¾	118¾	
4	35	5	8¼	1	8½	1	0	2	8	0	9	1	4½	111	
5	26	5	4	1	8¾	1	0½	2	7¼	0	8¾	1	4¼	105	
6	25	5	4	1	7½	1	0	2	6	0	8	1	2¾	0	
7	38	5	5	1	8	1	0	2	6	0	7	1	4½	107	
8	36	5	0	1	8	1	0½	2	6½	0	8½	1	4	102¼	
9	24	5	2	1	7½	0	9½	2	4½	0	7	1	2½	88½	
10	40	5	6	1	8	1	0	2	7	0	7¾	1	3¼	106	
11	35	5	3½	1	7¾	0	11¾	2	7	0	8¼	1	4	95¼	
12	20	5	3	1	9	1	0	2	6½	0	9	1	4	109	
Total.....		63	8¾	20	2½	11	11¼	31	2¾	8	4¾	15	11½	1,138¾	
Average...		5	$3\frac{35}{48}$	1	$8\frac{5}{24}$	0	$11\frac{15}{16}$	2	$7\frac{11}{48}$	0	$8\frac{19}{48}$	1	$3\frac{23}{24}$	$103\frac{23}{44}$	

After these come several very low castes, which it is extremely difficult to arrange in their proper order, as respects the estimation in which they are severally held. Whether or no they were ever connected one with another in ancient times, it is impossible to say. But they have nothing in common now, and as a rule they neither eat together nor intermarry.

THE VÂNIKANS are usually occupied in extracting vegetable oils from various seeds, principally rape-seed. As a rule the oil-extractor buys the oil-containing substance from farmers, and himself sells the oil.

THE KUSAVANS are potters, men proverbial for ignorance and stupidity; and are despised accordingly.

THE UPPILÎYANS, so called from *uppu,* salt, prepare salt and saltpeter by lixiviating earth. See page 24, Part I

THE ÎLUVAKANS earn a livelihood by distilling arrack. They are considered to be a particularly infamous race by all orthodox Hindûs, inasmuch as they provide men with the means of getting drunk and making beasts of themselves.

THE VANNÂNS are the washermen who wash for the respectable castes. Those who have seen the abominable substances which it is their lot to make clean, cannot feel any surprise at the contempt with which their occupation is regarded.

The Pothara-vannâns are of a still lower status, as they wash for Pariahs, Pallans, and other low castes

THE AMBATTANS shave the heads and bodies of all the better Tamil castes: and seeing that skin diseases and filthiness of person are not uncommon in Madura, and that one and the same razor is used on hundreds of individuals, barbers are not unnaturally looked upon as a very unclean and abominable race of men.

They are many of them doctors and surgeons as well as barbers, and their women are commonly employed as midwives.

THE CHAKKILIANS are dressers of leather and makers of slippers, harness, and other leathern things They are men of indescribably drunken and filthy habits, and their morals are very bad. They are of course regarded with the greatest abhorrence Curiously enough their women are held to be of the *Padmani* kind, that is to say of peculiar beauty of face and form, and are also said to be very virtuous. It is well known however that Zamindârs and other rich men are very fond of intriguing with them, particularly in the neighbourhood of Paramagudi where they live in great numbers.

THE FISHERMEN belong to several castes They are usually called *Sembadavans* if they fish in tanks and streams, and *Savalakârans* if they fish in the sea Those again who live on the sea-coast, *karei*, are also called *Kareiyâns* Some of them are Mahometans and some of them are Paravans.

These last were the earliest converts made by the Portuguese and resorted to the first Roman Catholic Church in Madura before the time of Robert de Nobilibus They are constantly spoken of by the Jesuits. After they lost the protection of the Portuguese they sank into great poverty and wretchedness

THE PARAVAS of the District appear from the list to have numbered only five and thirty in 1850-51. This seems very strange

Formerly they were very numerous along the whole coast from Cape Comorin to the Pâmbam Pass; and I know of no reason why they should have died out. I can only account for the fact of their fewness (if indeed it be a fact, which I doubt) by supposing that most of them are now either Roman Catholics or Labbeis, *i. e.* Mahometan converts, and appear as such in the census returns.

It appears from a letter of Father Martin dated 1st June 1700, that when the Portuguese first came to India, they found the Paravas groaning under the yoke of the Mahometans, and assisted them to shake it off on condition of their becoming Christians.

The Parâvas flourished after this, and built many substantial villages. But they became poor and wretched after the decline of the Portuguese power and when this letter was written, were in a very miserable condition.

There is an interesting account of this caste to be found in article V of Volume IV of the R. A. Society's Journal, written by a native of Ceylon. It is therein stated that the Paravas rank first amongst the Tamil tribes of fishermen, and are generally allowed to have been the earliest navigators in the Indian Ocean; whilst one writer very ingeniously identifies them with the "Paravaim" of the time of Solomon. They were badly treated by the Mahometans, but befriended by the Portuguese, and afterwards by the Dutch They were divided into thirteen classes, and maintained themselves by diving for pearl-oysters, chanks and coral, and by fishing, and dealing in cloth and other goods. They differed but little from other Tamil tribes in physique and manners and customs Their origin was involved in obscurity. Some traditions made them out to be descendants of a Brâhman and a low caste woman: others that they were the offspring of a Setti woman and begotten clandestinely by a Kuravan. They themselves declared that they were of the race of Varuna, the God of the Sea; and had sprung into existence from the sacred lake Sarawana. Whatever their origin may have been, the writer of the article had no doubt that the Paravas had once been a very powerful race, and had a succession of Kings who lived for some time at a place called Uttara Kosamangay. And he says that in the Âdiparva section of the Mahâb'hârata one of their Kings is represented to have been ruling on the banks of the Jumna. The 57th story of the Mad'hurâ St'hala Purâna would seem to throw light upon the condition of the Paravas in ancient times, and to give weight to the opinion of the writer of the above paper.

THE MÊTHAKARÂNS live by making baskets of bambû leaves and other materials.

THE SIKILKÂRANS are knife-grinders, and wander about in quest of work from village to village.

THE SEMMÂNS burn and sell lime for building purposes.

THE KUTTHÂDIS are vagabond dancers, pantomimists, actors, marionette exhibitors, &c.

THE PAREIYANS (Pariahs) are very numerous. Their original occupation is said to have been beating the *parei* or tom-tom at funerals: but as they increased and multiplied they were obliged to do indiscriminately all kinds of menial and degrading work. They are now employed everywhere as prædial slaves, scavengers, burners and buriers of corpses, musicians and the like; and where there are Europeans, as gentlemen's servants. They are still theoretically loathed and despised by all but a few of the lowest classes of natives; their touch defiles; and their mere presence is believed to taint the air. They are obliged to live apart from their employers in separate quarters, called the *Parei-chêri,* and must never come near a Brâhman or a Vellâlan or indeed any respectable man. But they are so numerous and so useful, that they are gradually pushing their way into a better position: and their existence can no longer be altogether ignored by their betters, more particularly in large towns. Their officious zeal and activity make them valuable allies, or rather the principal supporters of the right-hand caste in the periodical disputes between the two "hands:" in which they always range themselves against the Pallans, whom they affect to regard with the loftiest contempt and most unmitigated aversion.

According to Professor Wilson's glossary of Indian terms, the Pareiyans are said to be subdivided into thirteen groups, of which the names are the following:—

1. Valluva-parei
2. Tâtha-parei.
3. Tangalâna-parei.
4. Durchâli-parei.
5. Kuli-parei.
6. Tîya-parei
7. Murasa-parei.
8. Ambu-parei.
9. Vaduga-parei.
10. Âliya-parei.
11. Valei-parei.
12. Vettiyâr-parei.
13. Kôliya-parei.

Representatives of nearly all these subdivisions are to be found in the District. The Valluvans are by far the most respectable, inasmuch as they act as *Gurus* or spiritual pastors to the others, and cannot be reproached to the same extent as other Pariahs on account of the filthiness of their lives and habits. Tiru-valluvan, the celebrated Tamil poet, belonged to this family.

The Tâtha-pâreiyans often wander about as religious beggars of the Vishnava sect, and subsist entirely on alms given to them by all classes of people.

The Tangalâna or Tonda-pareiyans are perhaps the most numerous group, and with the exception of the Valluvans, the most respectable. They are usually employed as cultivators and prædial slaves: but some of them are petty traders, some artisans, some domestic servants, some horse-keepers and the like.

The Durchâli-pareiyans are said to be distinguished from others as being eaters of frogs, mussels, jackals, &c, but the name does not appear to be well known in Madura

The Tîya-pareiyans belong properly to Malabar. I am not aware that any families of them are fixed inhabitants of the District.

The Murasu-pareiyans play on a kind of tom-tom.

The Ambu-pareiyans as the name implies live properly by hunting wild animals with bow and arrow. They act as shikâris or beaters to Zamindârs and others, when engaged in hunting in the jungles

The Vaduga-pareiyans belong properly to the Telugu country and Vishnava sect and are said to be hippo-phagists. They are often employed as palanquin bearers.

The Âliya-pareiyans appear to be a tribe, whose sole peculiarity consists in addressing their fathers by the title of Âlei and their mothers by that of Âlâ. Many of them are employed in dressing skins for exportation, &c

The Valei-pareiyans, as the name implies, live properly by netting birds, and work of a similar nature

The Vettiyân-pareiyans properly beat tom-toms and act as undertakers at funerals They also attend as tom-tom beaters when other ceremonies are performed, and eke out a living by hawking goods and doing odd jobs of various kinds. Some of them are to be found in every village their services being indispensably necessary wherever Hindûs live in numbers.

The Kôliya-pareiyans weave cloths of a coarse description.

The subordinate groups of the Pariah caste are very numerous: and it would be a thankless task to attempt to enumerate and describe them all with accuracy. The most prominent of them are perhaps the following, viz:—

The Perum-pareiyans who are a better sort of Pariahs, employed principally as gentlemen's servants, &c.

The Egâlis are washermen by profession. As they wash only for Pariahs, and have to handle the filthiest and most disgusting of rags, the contempt with which they are regarded can be readily understood.

The Tamila-pareiyans are usually merchants, and are regarded as men of some substance and respectability.

The Kudi-pilleis are the barbers who shave Pariahs. Their occupation must be a most unpleasant one: and they are viewed with special abhorrence.

The Pola-pareiyans make mats, baskets, &c, of bambû, rushes, osiers, and similar materials.

The Tavalei-tinnum-pareiyans are so called because they eat frogs. Possibly this is only the local name of the Durchâli tribe.

The Mannal-kâdei-tinnum-pareiyans eat mannal kâdeis, a large, coarse kind of frog or toad which buries itself deep in the soil.

The Aruttu-kattâtha-pareiyans are so called because their widows are not allowed to re-marry. The observance of this high-caste custom causes them to be somewhat respected.

The Eiya-and-ammei-pareiyans are in the habit of addressing their fathers and mothers respectively by those two titles.

The Tôtti-pareiyans are to be found in every village. They are the village scavengers and messengers; and a certain number of them are paid for their services by Government.

The Ottaga-kârans are spinners of cotton thread. When work is slack, they till the soil, and do other kinds of work.

The Kottaga-kârans are mostly rough-riders and grooms.

The Sanku-pareiyans wear shells on the left arm, and are thereby readily distinguished. They blow conches at ceremonies, and do various kinds of work.

The Solagu-katti-pareiyans live chiefly by winnowing paddy and other kinds of grain.

The Arippu-kârans wash sand for gold, where gold is procurable. It is said that they find very minute particles of the precious metal in the Veigei, but not in sufficient abundance to repay their exertions.

The Saliya-pareiyans are generally hawkers of cheap wares.

The Uppareiyans are scavengers, remove night-soil, &c.

The Malei-pareiyans or hill Pariahs, are a tribe who cultivate lands on the Palani and other mountains. The Virupâkshi pâleiya-kâran (Poligar), settled a number of Pariahs, Poleiyans, and others of the lowest castes on the Palanis, about 250 years ago; and so laid the foundations of the present hill colony.

Such are the best known subdivisions of the great Pariah tribe. More might undoubtedly be found out by diligent enquiry: but probably enough has been said about them.

With regard to the alleged derivation of the word *Pareiyan* from *parei* a drum, it appears to me that it is too specious to be unhesitatingly accepted. Names similar to Pareiyan have been given to low castes in more than one part of South India, and beating the drum could never have been the principal occupation of large numbers of men. It seems more reasonable to suppose, that the word Pareiyan is cognate to the low-caste-name Polayan in Malayâla, and Palliyan and Poleiyan in Tamil. Perhaps the name is derived from *pulai* or *palu* flesh, and was given to those who ate flesh and carrion.

It seems reasonable to suppose that the Pareiyans of to-day are the descendants of aboriginal tribes who succumbed like the Valiyans, Vêdans and others to the attacks of invaders: and that their ranks have been from time to time swollen by accessions of individuals driven out of other castes on account of heinous offences against caste etiquette, and by accessions of illegitimate children of individuals belonging to different castes. An out-caste would naturally consort with the Pariahs of towns and villages in preference to incurring the risk of a life in the jungles amongst the Vêdans or Valiyans: and moreover his want of skill and aptitude for a wild mode of life would stand in the way of his adopting it.

Twelve Pariahs were measured and weighed by Doctor Joseph, and the following were the results obtained, viz .—

No.	Age.	Height.		Circumference of — Head.		Neck.		Chest		Arms.		Thigh.		Weight in pounds.	Remarks.
		Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.		
1	28	5	6	1	8½	1	0½	2	7½	0	9¼	1	6	113	Compare with Palla statement
2	35	5	3¼	1	7½	0	8	2	6½	0	7¼	1	1½	86	
3	32	5	5	1	9	1	0	2	5½	0	8	1	6¾	101	
4	22	5	4	1	8½	0	10½	2	8½	0	8½	1	4½	102	
5	35	5	2½	1	9¾	1	0	2	6½	0	8¾	1	3¼	104	
6	25	5	2½	1	7¾	0	10½	2	7½	0	8	1	3	110	
7	25	5	4	1	8	0	10¼	2	6¾	0	8	1	3¾	99	
8	20	5	2	1	8	0	10½	2	6¼	0	8¼	1	3½	100	
9	22	5	4	1	8	1	0	2	7½	0	8½	1	3	117	
10	35	5	1½	1	7¾	0	11½	2	5	0	7¾	1	3½	87¼	
11	30	5	1½	1	4½	1	0½	2	6¼	0	8	1	5	103½	
12	36	5	5	1	8½	1	0¼	2	8	0	8	1	4¾	108½	
Total......		63	5¼	19	11¾	11	2½	30	9¾	8	2¼	16	0½	1,231¼	
Average...		5	3 7/16	1	7 47/48	0	11 5/24	2	6 13/16	0	8 3/16	1	4 1/24	102 29/48	

THE DÂSIS, the dancing girls attached to Pagodas. They are each of them married to an idol when quite young; and judging om appearances, their stony husbands would seem to be by no ians incapable of performing the most important of marital duties. eir male children usually call themselves Muthalis and Pilleis, if in od circumstances; and have no difficulty in acquiring a decent osition in society. The female children are generally brought up o the trade of the mothers: but are occasionally raised by irregular arriages with low-caste men to a better kind of life. It is customary with a few castes to present their superfluous daughters to the Pagodas with a view to their being brought up as Dâsis. And sometimes, perhaps not very rarely, promising children are sold to Dâsis for the same purpose. As a rule, the Dâsis of Madura are very deficient in good looks; and very bad dancers.

CHAPTER IV.

Foreign castes.—The Vadukans.—Their subdivisions.—Tottiyans.—Their origin and history.—Their manners and customs.—Their subdivisions.—The Reddis.—Anappans.—Kâppiliyans.—Roman Catholics.—Mahometans.—Their subdivisions.—The Labbeis.—Foreign traders.—The Kavareis.—Kômattis.—Kanarese.—Foreign weavers.—The Pattu-nûl-kârans or silk-weavers.—The Sêdans.—The Sêniyans.—The Ottans or tank-diggers.—The Muchis.—Dombans.—Jangams.—Râjputs.—Mahrattas.

HAVING run through the principal Tamil castes I now come to the foreigners, amongst whom Telugus are the most numerous

Soon after the establishment of the Nâyakkan Dynasty the Telugu immigrants became so numerous and grew so influential that some of the Jesuit priests of Madura appear to have regarded them as constituting together with the Brâhmans the people of Madura. "Les Badages," or the Vadukans were clearly the most eminent caste in every respect, and with a few exceptions the Tamils were quite thrown into the shade. This state of things has ceased to be: but even at the present day the poorest and most ignorant Telugu bangle-seller is disposed to give himself airs, and to affect a certain superiority over Tamils of considerably better condition than himself.

THE VADUKANS—This caste, or I should rather say aggregate of castes, comprises most of the Telugu tribes and families now to be found in the Madura District. Indeed the term Vadukan seems to be applied indiscriminately to all individuals of Telugu extraction. Vadukans are usually Vaishnavites: and wear the sacred thread. They burn and do not bury their dead. Their principal subdivisions seem to be the following, viz:—

1. The Kavarei subdivision.
2. The Golla do.
3. The Reddi do.
4. The Kammava do.
5. The Tottiya or Kambala do.

Of these the three last are agricultural, and accordingly must be first noticed.

THE TOTTIYANS OR KAMBALATTÂR are the most numerous of the foreign castes of cultivators settled in the Madura country. They appear to be for the most part descendants of a tribe which about four or five centuries ago occupied a tract of country north of the town of Vijayanagar, but having been driven thence by Mahometan oppression sought and obtained protection in the dominions of the Râyar of Vijayanagar, subsequently many individuals of the tribe came south from time to time, and cleared and occupied the western parts of the Madura kingdom, more particularly as we shall see hereafter about the beginning of the 16th century, when thousands immigrated under the leadership of adventurous chieftains, who hoped to make their fortunes by opening up the then almost uninhabited country north and west of Dindigul.

Whilst the Nâyakkans were ruling the country, most of the Tottiyans found employment under them and the Poligars, as Soldiers Peons and armed retainers. But under the British Government they became perforce ordinary ryots. Their most common vernacular is Telugu, and they form a foreign and in many respects distinct community: but most of them have learnt Tamil, and it appears that a not inconsiderable minority have ceased to speak their native languages, and know only the language of their adopted country.

The religion and customs of the Tottiyans are so peculiar that I must find space to describe a few of them. They are in the first place an uncommonly industrious and energetic race, and great proficients in the art of reclaiming waste-lands: and their settlement in the country has undoubtedly been of the very greatest advantage to it. They are, however on the other hand said to be rather more dissolute than other castes. Possibly their notorious passion for cock-fighting and hunting may have lowered their moral tone

According to Ward's quaintly worded Survey Account they outwardly profess the Vaishnava faith: but in private each family:—
" has its household deity, which is instituted by a sanctimonious
" consecration of some relics of their departed relatives, chiefly of
" those women who have burned themselves on the funeral pile of
" their husbands, and of those who have led a reputed chaste and
" continent life or have died vestals, to whom their first prayers and
" devotions are made and consequently looked up to as Divine dis-
" pensers of health happiness and prosperity"

According to the same authority they never consult a Brâhman for any purpose, and are spiritually guided by Gurus of their own

caste (see Part III, page 160 post) who are styled Kodangi Nâyakkans, and are supposed to be deeply learned in astrology and theology. These persons officiate as priests at all weddings funerals and other important ceremonies [redacted] also perform the ordinary business of a Guru. And they enjoy [redacted] privileges of office, one of which is to lie with [redacted] their disciples whenever they feel inclined

The wedding ceremonies are performed in the following manner. A marriage having been agreed to by the relations of both parties, and pronounced auspicious by the Kodangi Nâyakkans, two booths are erected outside the limits of the village and decked with leaves of the *Pongu* tree, the sacred tree of the caste. In each of them is placed a bullock-saddle, and upon these the bridegroom and bride are seated whilst the relations are marshalled and addressed by the priest. After this the price of the bride, which consists usually of seven *kalams* of *kambu* grain, is solemnly carried under a canopy of white cloth towards the house of the bride's father, its approach being heralded by music and dancing The procession is met by the friends of the bride who receive the price , and all go together to the bride's house. Here betel-nut is distributed, and congratulations exchanged. After this the whole party is led to the bride's booth by the priest, who now receives at the hands of the bridegroom a small chain of black beads and a tiny circlet of gold. After reaching the bride's booth, the priest ties the chain round her neck, and attaches the circlet to her forehead; and the wedding is thereby completed. Feasting then goes on for a week or so, and the ceremonies terminate.

After marriage it is customary for Tottiya women to cohabit with their husbands' brothers and near relatives and with their uncles: and so far from any disgrace attaching to them in consequence, their priests compel them to keep up the custom if by any chance they are unwilling. Outside the family circle they affect to be strictly chaste: and perhaps as a rule widows and maidens are deterred from indulging in roving amours by the severe penalties which follow detection Until the British took possession of the country, it was customary when a widow or maiden was found guilty of an intrigue with a man not of her own family and not of a superior caste, to cause two men of the Chakkili caste to put the guilty pair to death in some lonely jungle. Nowadays the penalty is exclusion from caste.

Self-cremation was habitually practised by Tottiya widows in the times anterior to British domination: and great respect was always shown to the memory of such as observed the custom. Small tombs termed *Thî-panjan-kôvils* were erected in their honor on the high roads, and at these oblations were once a year offered to the Manes of the deceased heroines. Satî was not however compulsory among them, and if a widow lived at all times a perfectly chaste and religious life, she was honored equally with such as performed the rite.

So late as 1813 the ancient system of ordeal by boiling ghee was still in vogue amongst the Tottiyans in the Tondiman's country—and all civil disputes were determined by *Panchayams* or Juries of the leading men

Both men and women are specially addicted to the practice of magic, and are on that account regarded with great awe by the population generally. But they are specially celebrated for their power of curing snake-bites by means of mystical incantations The original inventor of this mode of treatment (? is it mesmerism) has been deified and is worshipped under the name of Pâmbal-amman.

The Tottiyans are stated by Ward to differ considerably in point of features and physiognomy from the other castes of the country: and no doubt this is so, as they can have nothing in common with most of them as respects origin

In the matter of dress the men are distinguished by a love for brightly-colored handkerchiefs, which they wear round their heads in place of turbands, the women by wearing several rows of red glass beads round their necks, and a profusion of metal and earthenware bangles on their arms, and by omitting to cover the upper part of the body. This last peculiarity is not however observable in the case of the women of the Poligars, who follow the fashions of ordinary Hindû women.

The agnomen commonly adopted by men of this caste is Nâyakkan

According to Ward the Tottiyans are subdivided into nine castes none of which intermarry with another, and of which only six are known in the Madura District, viz —

1 The Chellavâr
2 The Pallavâı, or cow-herds
3 The Vallakavâr, or Kâppiliyar
4. The Tôkkalavâr, or Northern tribe.
5. The Errasinnavar, or Shepherds
6. The Kurivâr, or Shepherds

But this classification is probably incorrect. The caste subdivisions are very numerous and perplexing. and Captain Ward's information cannot always be relied on.

The Pallavâr would seem to be either identical with or a part of the Golla subdivision. The Kâppili is not, I am told, a Telugu caste but a Kanarese.

THE KAMMAVANS are a subdivision of the Tottiyan caste. I am not aware in what respects they differ in origin and characteristics from the ordinary Tottiyans. The difference is probably very trifling.

THE REDDIS are a purely agricultural caste: and apparently stand in the same relation to other Telugu castes as the Vellâlans to other Tamil. They are reputed to be excellent farmers, energetic, orderly in their behaviour, of frugal habits, and in most ways respectable members of society. They are also said to be a physically finer race than most of the Tamil castes. The relations of the sexes amongst them seem to require revision.

Five "Gentoos" were measured and weighed by Doctor Joseph, and the following were the results obtained, viz:—

No.	Age.	Height.		Circumference of Head.		Neck.		Chest.		Arms.		Thigh.		Weight in pounds.	Remarks.
		Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches	Feet.	Inches.		
1	45	5	2½	1	8¼	0	9¼	2	6¾	0	7½	1	3¾	97¼	By Gentoos it is to be presumed that Telugûs are meant.
2	38	5	4¼	1	8	1	1½	2	8¾	0	8½	1	3	111	
3	25	5	5¼	1	0	1	1	2	7	0	8½	1	3¼	105	
4	60	5	6	1	8	0	9¾	2	7	0	7¾	1	3	99	
5	28	5	5½	1	8¼	0	9¾	2	8	0	8	1	2½	102½	
Total...		26	11½	7	8½	4	7¼	13	1½	3	4¼	6	3½	514¾	
Average.		5	$4\frac{7}{10}$	1	6½	0	$11\frac{1}{20}$	2	7½	0	$8\frac{1}{20}$	1	$3\frac{1}{10}$	$102\frac{19}{20}$	

THE ANAPPANS are Kanarese. They are a small and obscure caste: and I have no information respecting them.

THE KÂPPILIYANS are also Kanarese: and a more numerous caste. I have nothing particular to say about them. A few of the original Poligars were Kanarese; and it is to be presumed that the Kâppiliyans immigrated under their auspices. They are considered to be a decent and respectable race of farmers; and do not often come before the Criminal Courts as "accused persons." Their most common agnomen is "Kaûndan."

Lastly, a large number of Roman Catholics and Mahometans are cultivators. Many of them are men of considerable substance. The Roman Catholics are nearly all of the Tamil race: and they are included amongst the foreign castes solely on account of their religion, which estranges them from their countrymen far more completely than would any difference of blood or color. They are usually sober well-conducted men, obedient to their spiritual pastors, and causing but little trouble to the magistracy, except occasionally in the matter of land disputes. The Mahometans are more troublesome: and often indulge in a series of riots and fights, ostensibly about matters of caste and religion, which the Magistrate can check only by the exercise of great prudence and tact

THE MAHOMETANS appear to belong to five principal divisions, namely :—

1. *The Saiyads* or direct descendants of the prophet

2. *The Shêks*, or descendants of the immediate friends and followers of Mahomet.

3. *The Pat'hâns*, or descendants of Kutbuddin (?) and his followers.

4. *The Labbeis*, or Raûttans as they are more commonly called, who are of mixed parentage, being descendants of Mahometans and Hindûs or aborigines.

5. *The Mog'hals*, the descendants of Tartar chiefs who followed Tamerlane into India.

Of these five divisions the first four are very numerous, particularly the Labbeis: whilst the last is not numerous. Most of the Mahometans of the District belong it is said to the Kanaphat sect. A minority profess the Shaphai form of the faith, and a few belong to the Shiya, Rabzi and Vâhabi sects

Tradition says that Mahometans first settled in Madura in the year 1050 A. D., hav[illegible] invaded it under the leadership of one Malik-ul-mulk: and that the expedition was accompanied by a great prophet styled Hazarat Ahar Shâh Sahêb, whose remains were buried in a spot a little to the south of the Huzûr Kachêri in Madura. Other invasions, which will be noticed in the historical portion of the manual, led to further settlements; and the Mahometans are now numerous in the District.

The Mahometans live for the most part by cultivation and trade: and a few of them are said to be exceedingly wealthy. But as a rule, they are apparently not sufficiently energetic and pains-taking to make their fortunes; and as they are far too proud to do hard work of any kind, the majority of them are very poor.

THE LABBEIS are a curious caste said by some to be the descendants of Hindûs forcibly converted to the Mahometan faith some centuries ago. It seems most probable however that they are of mixed blood. They are comparatively a fine strong active race, and generally contrive to keep themselves in easy circumstances. Many of them live by traffic. Many are smiths, and do excellent work as such. Others are fishermen, boatmen and the like. They are to be found in great numbers in the Zamindâris, particularly near the sea-coast.

We have now arrived at the second principal division.

Foreign traders consist of Kavareis, Kômattis, and Kanarese, of whom :—

THE KAVAREIS, or Balingas as they are called in Telugu, are the most numerous and the most important This caste is a sub-division or rather component part of the large tribe of Vadukans, which has been spoken of before under the head of "foreign cultivators." The Kavareis are most commonly manufacturers and sellers of bangles made of a particular kind of earth found only in one or two parts of the District; and those engaged in this traffic usually call themselves "Chettis" or merchants. When otherwise employed as spinners, dyers, painters, and the like, they take the title of Nâyakkan. It is customary with these as with other Nâyakkans to wear the sacred thread: but I am informed that the descendants of the Nâyakkan Kings, who are now living at Vellei-kuricchi, do not conform to this usage on the ground that they are at present in a state of impurity and degradation, and consequently ought not

to wear the sacred emblem. The Kavareis appear to be as a rule quiet inoffensive people: not very well to ' and not in any way conspicuous.

Of the other trading foreigners I have nothing to say. I believe however that they traffic only on a petty scale, and rarely attain wealth and distinction.

It only remains now to say a few words about the castes of foreigners who live neither by agriculture nor by traffic These are numerous. The most prominent among them are perhaps :—

THE PATTU-NUL-KÂRANS are a caste of Surât silk weavers whose ancestors were induced to settle in Madura by one of the earlier Nâyakkan Kings · and who have thriven so well that they now form by far the most numerous of all the castes resident in the town of Madura. They are skilful and industrious workmen, and many of them have become very wealthy: but their habits are very filthy, and much of the sickness so prevalent in Madura is attributed, rightly or wrongly, to the carelessness and dirt of these foreigners. They keep altogether aloof from other castes, and live independently of general society, speaking a foreign tongue and preserving intact the customs of the land of their origin. They are easily distinguishable in appearance from Tamils, being of a light yellowish color, and having handsomer and more intellectual features. They are called "Chettis" or merchants by Tamils, presumably because they themselves retail the cloths which they weave without the intervention of middlemen. They are considered by Tamils to be a very low caste.

THE SÊDANS are Kanarese weavers, and pretty numerous. They are considered to be skilful workmen and weave many kinds of cloths.

THE SÊNIYANS are Telugu weavers I have nothing else to say about them except that the remarks passed about the Surâttis will probably be found to be applicable for the most part to these foreigners also.

The Telugu barbers, leather-workers, and washermen are sufficiently numerous: and hold much the same position as their Tamil brethren, though they claim a much higher.

THE OTTANS are an itinerant caste of tank-diggers and earth-workers. They are Telugus, and are supposed to have come southwards in the time of the Nâyakkans. Possibly Tirumala sent for them to dig out his great *Teppakulam* and assist in raising *Gôpuras*. They are a strong, hardworking race: but also a drunken, gluttonous, and vicious. And but little faith can be placed in their most solemn promises. They will take advances from half a dozen employers within a week, and work for none of them if they can possibly help it.

THE MUCHIS are a small family of Telugus who live by book-binding, pen-mending, working in leather, painting, &c. Most of them are employed in public offices. They are of course held in very low repute.

THE DOMBANS are Telugu Jugglers and Conjurors.

THE JANGAMS are Mahratta Jugglers, &c.

THE RÂJPUTS, MAHRATTAS, and a considerable number of Mahometans are employed as Peons and Policemen.

I have now come to the end of this part of my subject: and must hurry on to another. I may observe however in passing, that it seems to be very advisable that a full and accurate knowledge of the origin and customs of the many hundreds of castes to be found in the South of India should be obtained and utilised by a Government which sincerely desires to legislate for the good of its subjects, and to preserve as far as possible their laws and institutions. Since leaving the Madura District I have been astonished to see how widely the castes of Tanjore vary from those of a country contiguous thereto: though the variance really is but little greater than I anticipated.

CHAPTER V.

THE FAUNA.

The Fauna nowhere described.—The Mammalia.—Tigers, Panthers, Leopards, wild and other Cats.—Wolves, Jackals, Dogs.—Antelope, Deer.—Ox, Bison, Buffalo.—Goats and Sheep.—Muridæ, Leporidæ, &c.—The Pachyderms.—Monkeys.—Cheiroptera.—The Birds.—Vultures, Falcons, Owls.—The Insessores.—Other orders.—The Fishes.—Edible varieties.—Burrowers.—Whales.—The Reptiles.—The Insects.

No description of the Fauna of the Madura District is to be found in the Record Office, and none I believe in any published work. The very scanty information I am able to give on this head is derived from personal experience and from casual conversation and correspondence with various Officers of the District, and its correctness cannot be altogether relied on. It is to be hoped, however, that it will not be entirely destitute of interest

And first with regard to the Mammalia.

THE CARNIVORA comprise the following families, viz:—

1. Felidæ.
2. Canidæ.
3. Hyæninæ
4. Ursidæ.
5. Viverrinæ

THE FELIDÆ consist of tigers, panthers, leopards, marten-cats, wild-cats, toddy-cats and common cats.

Tigers are no longer common in the Madura District. Indeed it is doubtful whether they are to be met with in any part of it, except when occasionally a stray visitor from the Travancore Hills shows himself in the neighbourhood of Kambam and Gûdalûr, or on the lower slopes of the Palanis. Formerly the farther end of what is usually called the Kambam valley was greatly infested with these animals; and some of the early reports speak of the border-land

between Travancore and Madura as a frightful wilderness inhabited solely by tigers, elephants and various beasts of prey

I have never known a tiger's skin to be brought into head-quarters by a Shikâri for the purpose of obtaining the Government reward, and have never heard of any sportsman bagging a tiger within the limits of the District; but a gentleman of my acquaintance was once stalked by a very very fine specimen on the Palanis whilst engaged himself in stalking a bison, and when Captain Payne was engaged in 1866 in surveying the locality of the Periyâr scheme, he had the best of reasons for believing that tigers were plentiful in the neighbourhood.

Panthers and Leopards are nowhere plentiful: but are occasionally found, I believe, in parts of the western division of the District, particularly in the hilly tracts.

The Felis jubata or hunting leopard is said to be met with sometimes

Marten-Cats are found on the Palanis

Wild-Cats abound but they are small and insignificant animals I do not think there is any ground for supposing that the wild-cat of Europe (felis catus or silvatica) is existent in Madura, unless perhaps on the Palanis.

Toddy or palm Cats (Paradoxurus typus ?) are abundant.

Common Cats are a poor and miserable breed, unmannerly and very indifferent mousers.

THE CANIDÆ comprise dogs, wolves, jackals, foxes and wild-dogs

The Dogs which swarm in every village in the District approach more nearly in type the jackal than the wolf or any other species In fact some of them are scarcely distinguishable from their cousins. They are as a rule strong and hardy animals, gentle and docile in disposition: but from want of food ill-shaped and wretched-looking

Wolves are not very common. In wild open plains one or two may occasionally be found. I have never heard of them committing ravages amongst the flocks, or carrying off children.

Jackals are to be found in most parts of the District. and I believe in considerable numbers.

Foxes are rather scarce They are a small breed.

Wild dogs (Lycaon or Canis Dukhunensis ?) are found in jungles and hilly tracts. I have been told by a good authority that packs of

these animals are to be found hunting on the Palanis and even at Kódikánal.

The Poligar dogs are a fine breed, very scarce and rarely to be bought at any price. They are said to be of a shining tawny color, of middle size, savage, fleet and very muscular Fierceness is their peculiar characteristic and they are said to be excellent as pursuers of big game. But this seems to be doubtful.

THE HYÆNINÆ are represented I believe by but one species, the common striated. They are not numerous, and not very ferocious or destructive

THE URSIDÆ are represented by only one species, the common black Indian bear Bears are to be found chiefly if not only in the mountains of the west

THE VIVERRINÆ are represented by two kinds of mongoose the Herpestes griseus and H. fulvescens

THE RUMINANTIA comprise the following families, viz —

1. Antelope.	4 Goat
2. Deer.	5 Sheep
3. Ox	

THE ANTELOPE group is said to be represented by two species, the ordinary Indian (A. Cervicapra) and the Gazelle (Gazella Bennetti) The former of these appears to be fast dying out, and is to be found in herds only in a few localities where some attention is paid to its preservation

THE DEER group is said to be represented by four specimens, viz.— the ordinary Indian, the Sambur or Rusa Aristotelis, the jungle-sheep, Cervulus Aureus, and the spotted deer, Axis Maculatus. None I believe are very commonly met with.

THE OX group is represented by the ordinary Indian ox or large Zebu, the Indian bison, Gavæus gaurus, and the domestic buffalo, Bubalus domesticus

The Indian Ox natural to the District is of an undersized and miserable breed The country generally is very deficient in pasturage for the greater part of the year, no attention is paid to breeding or selection of stock; and no food is grown specially for the use of cattle. As a rule the country cows give barely enough milk to keep alive their calves Animals of a better description are imported by wealthy individuals, but few or no attempts are ever made to breed such.

With reg[illegible]among the cattle, see Part I, pa[illegible]8, ante.

The Indian Bison [illegible] to be very numerous in certain localities, but of late years has become rather scarce; owing it is said to the ravages caused by a kind of murrain. Very fine specimens have been shot in the last few years. One pair of horns is supposed to be one of the largest yet measured in the South of India.

The domestic Buffalo is a wretched animal, for the same reasons as the ordinary ox. But the females give much more milk than the cows, though of a coarser and [illegible] unpalatable kind.

THE GOAT group consists of the Hemitragus hylocrius, or wild-goat of the Palanis, and the Capra Hircus or ordinary domestic goat. The former species is said to be sufficiently abundant to reward patient and crafty stalking

THE SHEEP group is represented so far as I know by two species, the common hairy South Indian and a long-woolled variety With regard to the diseases amongst sheep, see Part I, page 99 ante The ordinary breed is a very poor one but the climate of the country seems well adapted to the rearing of a better kind, and the best mutton procurable is often all that can be desired.

THE RODENTIA comprise the following families, viz.—

1. The Muridæ.
2. The Leporidæ.
3. The Hystricidæ.
4. The Sciuridæ.

THE MURIDÆ are well represented in several species, the mus Decumanus or common brown rat, the mus Indicus or field-rat, the mus Urbanus or common mouse, the mus Golunda Elliotti or field-mouse, the musk-rat, the mus Bandicoota or bandicota, and several others about which I have no information

The loathsome bandicoot is said to be a good and savoury article of food, and to be much relished by certain castes. Rats are very troublesome in native houses, and often cause nasty wounds by nibbling at the nails of sleepers. Allusion has been made in a former place to the fires which they occasion.

THE LEPORIDÆ are represented I believe by only two species, the lepus Nigricollis or South Indian variety of the Lepus timidus or common hare, and the Lepus Cuniculus or common rabbit.

The latter species is not found in a wild state, and does not appear to be bred by natives but I have seen specimens reared by Europeans and have been given to understand that rabbits thrive admirably in

the Madura District. No doubt they could be very easily introduced into the country under the auspices of Government, and made to furnish a new and abundant kind of food for all the flesh-eating castes. The experiment would certainly be worth while. The expense would be next to nothing, and success would produce very valuable results.

THE HYSTRICIDÆ are represented by only one group, the Hystrix Leucura or Indian Porcupine. an animal which gives much trouble to gardeners on the Palanis. It is found in the plains

THE SCIURIDÆ comprise several species, the ordinary striated grey squirrel of S India, the flying squirrel (Pteromys), the palm squirrel (Sciurus Palmarum,) the black Pteromys petaurista, &c.

THE PACHYDERMATA are represented by the following families, viz.—

1. The Proboscidians.
2. The ordinary Pachyderms.
3. The Solidungula.

THE PROBOSCIDIANS are represented by the only living genus, the elephant.

The elephants, Elephas Indicus of the Madura District are nowadays wanderers from the Travancore mountains rather than residents: indeed I am not aware that they can be found at all seasons of the year in any one locality within the limits of the province Herds of them are only seen I believe on the western spurs of the Palanis, and occasionally near the villages lying immediately about the bases of that range. Some fine tuskers have been shot in the last few years, and in more than one case, if I remember rightly, the tusks weighed upwards of 155 lbs. the pair. Where the boundaries of the District march with those of Travancore, very fine sport is still to be had by the slayer of elephants.

THE ORDINARY PACHYDERMS are represented by one group the Suidæ, and by only one genus, the Sus

The Sus genus is represented by the Sus Indicus or crested hog of South India, now but rarely met with except in preserved jungles; and the common black domestic hog. The latter is in most towns the only scavenger, and the eating of its flesh is supposed to cause epidemics occasionally

THE EQUIDÆ comprise the Equus and Asinus vulgaris.

The Horse of the country is a miserable, weedy and vicious pony, having but one good quality, endurance. The breed is not indigenous but the result of constant importations and a very limited amount of breeding. The pink-eyed circus horses imported by the Zamindârs are useless brutes of the stamp usually affected by that class in most parts of India.

The Ass of the country is a diminutive and most degraded specimen of the race, owing to the horribly barbarous treatment it almost invariably receives.

THE QUADRUMANA are represented by several species of the Simiadæ, the ordinary grey-colored monkey of the plains (Macacus Radiatus), the black monkey (Innuus silenus), and others.

THE CHEIROPTERA are represented by many species, such as the common flying fox of S India, (Pteropus Edwardsi), the common bat, Cynopterus marginatus, &c Most of them are abundant

All the information procurable at present with regard to the Mammalia has been given, and I must proceed to pass a few very brief remarks on the birds, fishes, reptiles and insects of the Madura District.

THE BIRDS are believed to be nearly the same as those of the South of India generally. Indeed an amateur ornithologist who was lately staying on the Palanis, is stated to have declared that he had actually observed in the District all without exception of the birds enumerated in Jerdon's well known work. And it has been suggested to me that it would be well to give Jerdon's list entire To this course however there are serious objections Certainly the Palanis have a climate approaching that of the Nîlagiris, and are somewhat similarly circumstanced, but still there must be a very considerable difference between their respective fauna. Then no part of the Madura District resembles the Western Coast in climate or physical configuration. And no part resembles the Mysore table-lands There can be little doubt therefore that many of Jerdon's birds are not to be found in Madura Assuming this to be so, I shall merely show which families of birds are most commonly met with.

THE RAPTORES are well represented by Genera belonging to three families, viz.—

1 Vulturidæ.
2 Falconinæ
3. Striginæ

Of these the second family is probably by far the largest Often in the evening time hundreds of falcons and kites of different kinds may be seen floating through the air in all directions over a favorite tope of trees, or round a village Eagles are not common; but three kinds are said to be found on the Palanis, viz, the large brown, the crested, and the black. Screech-owls are common, and very troublesome at night

THE INSESSORES are abundantly represented in many families, particularly the following, viz —

1 Psittacidæ.
2 Picidæ.
3 Cuculidæ.
4. Laniadæ.
5. Brachypodidæ.
6 Sylviadæ.
7 Corvidæ
8 Sturnidæ.

Crows are extraordinarily abundant in the plains, but curiously enough non-existent on the Palanis An attempt was once made to naturalise a pair at Kodikânal; but they disappeared suddenly, and a gardener reported that they had "run away" to the low country. Birds of song are very scarce. The most that Madura birds can do in the way of music, is to give three or perhaps four not unpleasant notes in succession time after time. Parroquets and minas are very common; and on the hills blackbirds bulbuls and thrushes.

THE GEMITORES are not very numerous.

THE RASORES are comparatively scarce Peacocks may often be found in open glades in the jungles and few objects are more beautiful than one of these magnificent birds when surprised in a Madura forest in the act of showing off his plumage to his mate. Jungle-fowls and partridges are rarely seen. Quails are occasionally found on the Palanis.

THE GRALLATORES are well represented in the family of Scolopacidæ. Snipes are to be found everywhere, and various kinds of mud-loving birds Woodcocks are said to visit the Palanis. Paddy-birds are very numerous.

THE NATATORES are abundant in the neighbourhood of large tanks and on the coast, the Anatidæ and Laridæ (?) being the best represented. Teal are tolerably abundant in most years; and wild-duck

Bustards are occasionally met with; and floricans are not uncommon.

THE FISHES of the District are not in any way remarkable: and I believe nothing has ever been written about them. I attempted to get some information respecting the various kinds to be found on the coast: but the attempt failed. Probably there is very little difference between the fishes of Madura and those of Madras. At Pâmbam visitors usually eat a considerable amount of fish of the well-known kinds, sêr-fish, pomphlet white and black, prawns, oysters, &c., &c. These last are considered to be above the average in quantity: but I do not know with what propriety.

Allusion will be made in the Historical part of this work (see Part III, pages 154 and 227) to the conch-shell and pearl fisheries on the Madura coasts.

Several varieties of fishes are found in considerable quantities in almost all the tanks of the country, and the right of netting them is often very valuable. For the benefit of readers unacquainted with the peculiarities of the extreme south of the Peninsula, I may here state the very remarkable fact that when the tanks dry up suddenly in the hot season or after a protracted drought, most of the fishes left in them burrow several feet beneath the baked and cracked surface of the soil, and there remain unharmed until the tanks receive fresh supplies when they at once come up into the water and swim about lively.

Some kinds of fishes again are said to travel considerable distances across country by night, moving from exhausted tanks to others more capable of yielding support: and I believe there is good ground for crediting the assertion. I have never heard of fishes climbing trees in Madura as they are said to do in Ceylon.

Whales are sometimes cast up in the neighbourhood of Pâmbam Sharks are sometimes abundant about certain parts of the coast . and divers are obliged to purchase immunity from attack by constantly paying fees to the hereditary shark-charmers.

Turtle are said to be procurable on the numerous islets in the Gulf of Manaar: but I am not in a position to say whether the assertion is correct

We now come to —

THE REPTILES, which are very numerous and various: Sir Emmerson Tennant's smaller work on Ceylon contains the names and descriptions of almost all the more common creatures under this head to be found in the Madura District.

Frogs, toads, geckos, lizards, chameleons, tortoises, cobras, vipers, carpet snakes, water snakes, and an infinite variety of snakes and other loathsome crawlers are everywhere to be found. Deaths from snake-bite however are not very numerous. Alligators are not commonly met with, and I believe never attain a large size owing to the absence of large and continuous supplies of water. No doubt if the Periyâr scheme succeeds, this abominable race will become numerous and do plenty of mischief.

THE INSECTS are very numerous and troublesome, but judging from the accounts of writers, not so much so as in northerly parts of India.

The most common are ants, white-ants, wasps, hornets, carpenter-bees, grasshoppers, cicadæ and mantides of an infinite number of species, black and grey scorpions, tarantulas, spiders, centipedes, eye-flies, musquitoes, velvet-pûchis and kambli-pûchis.

Unsuccessful attempts were made soon after the beginning of the British rule to introduce the cochineal insect and the silk-worm.

Wild bees are common in the jungles and on the hills: but the domestic bee is not known

CHAPTER VI.

THE FLORA.

The Flora nowhere described.—The ordinary crops vegetables and fruits.—The shrubs.—The timber-yielding and other trees.

THE Flora of the Madura District have, I believe, never been described: and it is therefore impossible for me to give much information on this head But Mr Turnbull, the officer in charge of the Madura forests, has most kindly furnished me with valuable lists of timber-yielding and other trees, shrubs, &c, and some of the Collector's records show the various kinds of crops usually grown in the District, or at all events the more important of them. It will probably be convenient to enumerate these vegetables first

RICE is grown of several varieties, which differ one from another very considerably in respect of productiveness, rapidity of growth, weight, color, taste and wholesomeness. The subjoined tabular statement shows the names, rates of growth, &c. of several of the best known varieties .—

No.	Different sorts of Paddy.	The interval between sowing and sprouting	The interval between sprouting and transplanting.	The interval between transplanting and bearing ears.	The interval between bearing ears and harvest	Total	Total in months and days.		The commencement of cultivation.	The commencement of harvest.
		Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days	M.	D.		
1	Sambâ	5	25	105	45	180	6	0	August & September	February & March
2	Palam-Sambâ	5	25	90	45	165	5	15	Do.	January & February
3	Karpûra-Sambâ	5	35	125	45	210	7	0	Do.	March & April
4	Sarappali-Sambâ	5	25	105	49	184	6	4	Do	January & February.
5	Kârthikei-Sambâ	5	25	110	40	180	6	0	October.	March & April

No.	Different sorts of Paddy	The interval between sowing and sprouting	The interval between sprouting and transplanting	The interval between transplanting and bearing ears.	The intervals' between bearing ears and harvest	Total	Total in months and days.		The commencement of cultivation	The commencement of harvest.
		Days	Days.	Days	Days.	Days	M.	D.		
6	Kuppa-Sambâ .	5	25	105	40	175	5	25	December & Jany..	March & April
7	Kokku-Sambâ .	5	25	105	40	175	5	25		
8	Milagi. . ..	5	25	105	45	180	6	0	August & September	February & March.
9	Vellei-Kattei. ...	5	35	139	45	224	7	14	Do. ...	March & April.
10	Vângei-Nârâyanan	5	35	125	45	210	7	0	Do. ...	Do.
11	Alagi-Manavâlan..	5	35	105	45	190	6	10	Do. .	February & March.
12	Pungarei....	5	25	90	45	165	5	15	Do. ..	January & February
13	Chitrakkâru .. .	5	25	90	40	160	5	10	December & Jany.	March & April.
14	Velleikkâru	5	25	90	40	160	5	10	Do. ..	Do.
15	Mulikaruppân	5	25	75	40	145	4	25		
16	Nariyan.	5	25	75	40	145	4	25	August & September	January
17	Manavâri. . .	5	25	75	40	145	4	25	December & Jan.	March & April.

Other varieties of rice are the following, viz.—

1. Arukirâvi.
2. Semmilagi.
3. Muttu-vellei.
4. Sîraka Sambâ.
5. Sirumaniyan.
6. Kuruvei.
7. Aruvathâ-kuruvei.
8. Ariyan.
9. Kuliyadichân.
10. Surunei
11. Vâlân.
12. Kâru.

The finest varieties are undoubtedly the Sambâ and Milagi: but generally speaking those which grow slowly, are far more valuable than those which grow rapidly.

It is observable that *Pisânam* rice is not now grown in the Madura District, but at the beginning of the last century was extensively cultivated. One of the Jesuit Missionaries of that time speaks of Sambâ and Pisânam as the two principal varieties grown in the

Râmnâd Zamindâri. This is the more curious as Pisânam appears to be extensively grown in both Tanjore and Tinnevelly I suppose it has been discovered that the soil and climate of Madura are better suited to Milagi.

The subjoined tabular statement shows the most important kinds of products raised in each tâlûk respectively.

Name of Crop.	Name of Tâlûk.					
	Palani.	Tirumangalam.	Dindigal.	Mêlûr.	Periyakulam.	Madura.
Eight kinds of கதிர் தானியம் or "ear grains."						
ராகி Râgi (Eleusine Coracana)	+	+	+	+	+	+
கம்பு Kambu (Holcus spicatus)	+	+	+	+	+	+
சாமை Sâmei (Panicum Miliaceum) ...	+	0	+	+	+	+
தினை Thinei (Panicum Italicum)	0	0	+	+	+	+
வரகு Varagu (Paspalum frumentaceum)...	0	+	+	+	+	+
சோளம் Chôlam (Holcus Sorgum) ...	+	+	+	+	+	+
இருங்கு சோளம் Irungu Chôlam ...	+	+	+	+	+	+
நெல்லு Nellu (Oryze Sativa)...	+	+	+	+	+	+
Thirteen kinds of காய் தானியம் or "pod grains."						
கொட்டமுத்து Kottamutthu	+	0	+	+	+	+
ஆமணக்கு Âmanakku	+	0	+	+	+	+
துவரை Thuvarei	+	0	+	0	+	+
மொச்சை Mocchei	+	0	+	0	+	+
பயறு Payaru	+	0	+	+	+	+
உளுந்து Ulunthu	0	0	+	+	+	+
கொள்ளு Kollu (Dolichos Uniflorus) ..	0	+	0	+	+	+
எள்ளு Yellu	0	+	+	+	+	+
கடலை Kadalei	+	0	+	0	+	+
கொத்தமல்லி Kotthamalli	+	0	+	0	+	+
பருத்தி Parutthi	+	0	+	0	+	+
சணம்பு Sanambu	+	0	0	0	+	0
சணப்புபுளிச்சை Sanappu Pulicchei ...	+	0	0	0	+	0
Eight kinds of தோட்டக்கால or "Garden produce."						
வெத்திலைக்கொடி Vetthileikkodi (Chavica	0	+	0	0	+	0
வாழை. Vâlei (Musa sapientum) [Betle	0	+	0	0	+	0
கரும்பு Karumbu (Sorghum Saccharatum)	0	+	+	+	+	0
மஞ்சள் Manjal (Curcuma longa)	0	+	+	0	+	0
புகையிலை Pugei-Yilei (Nicotiana Tabacum)	+	+	+	+	+	0
மிளகாய் Milakây (Capsicum Annuum)...	+	+	+	+	+	0
கத்திரி Katthiri (Solanum Melongena) ...	+	+	+	+	+	0
ஈருள்ளி Îrulli (Allium Sativum)	0	+	0	0	0	0

Other kinds are the following, viz —

1. Kullam-Kambu. (Penicellaria spicata.)
2. Pani-Kambu
3. Punjei-Kambu
4. Vellei-Chôlam
5. Sekappu-Chôlam
6. Mudakku-Chôlam.
7. Makkâ-Chôlam (Zea Mays)
8. Thattei-payaru
9. Lâdam-parutthi
10. Uppam-parutthi.
11. Kuthirei-vâli.

It will be well to give a very brief description of these products, the modes of raising them, and the uses to which they are severally put.

Rice—Oryze Sativa—appears to be grown on almost every description of soil indifferently, the only essential being a constant supply of water: but the richer soils yield of course much larger crops than the poorer. The seed is sometimes sown broadcast in the rice-fields: but as a rule it is sown in nurseries specially prepared. In the former case the expense of cultivation is light, but the produce is not very remunerative: in the latter the crops are generally good Sometimes the young plants raised in a nursery are transplanted into a second nursery, and afterwards re-transplanted into the field. and where this is done the yield is much larger than is ordinarily obtained.

The times of ploughing, sowing, transplanting, &c., vary very considerably in different seasons according as the rains are early or late, plentiful or the reverse; and also according as lands lie near to or far from sources of irrigation, and are rapidly or slowly supplied with water. But probably as a rule the ploughing is done in June or July after the early rains have thoroughly softened the ground; and the seed is sown in the nurseries at the end of July or beginning of August. After about thirty days the seedlings are fit for transplanting, and in January the crop is ready for the sickle. Where re-transplanting is resorted to, the young plants are suffered to remain in the second nursery about thirty-five days Weeding is done about a month after sowing or transplanting as the case may be During the whole time the plants are in the ground, they must stand in about two inches of water, which should not be allowed to stagnate, and they will become weakly and diseased, and will not yield a good crop unless they be refreshed and stimulated by pretty constant showers. The best farmers in Madura like light falls of rain at intervals of about thirty days

In lands well supplied with water as soon as the January crop is got in, preparations are made for a second crop of rice (*Mâsi-kôdei*) which is raised in the same mode as the first; and comes to maturity about May. Or if the season be unpropitious during January and February, the second sowing will be in March or April or May and the second reaping in July or August. The second crop will then be called the Âdi-kôdei. Sometimes there will be three crops of rice raised in succession in a period of thirteen or fourteen months Rapidly growing and inferior kinds of rice are always sown for second and third crops.

Where the irrigational supplies are sufficient, the second crop is either one of rice, plantains, sugar-cane or betel-vines, according as the nature and properties of the soil favor one or other of those products · but where the supplies are scanty and insufficient for the highest kinds of crops, râgi, kambu, chôlam, varagu or rape-seed will be cultivated immediately after the *Kâlam* or principal crop of rice has been reaped.

The manure used in rice cultivation consists of every kind of refuse procurable. No one can be more careful or economical than the Madura ryot in utilising everything (excepting always human excrement) which can assist him in raising his crops. The dung and urine of cattle, goats, horses, asses, sheep and bats, ashes, lime, sweepings of houses, husks of paddy and other grains, the skins of fruits, decayed leaves of various kinds, bark, muck from the tan-pit, milk-hedge, varagu and other straw, are some of the many substances commonly used as manure: and it appears that many of them are applied only in particular circumstances and on highly scientific principles The practice of diluting manure with large quantities of water seems to be known to the ryots, and various modes of making, altering and correcting soils are well understood. The fluviatile deposits found in the beds of channels and tanks are largely made use of. The principle of raising different crops in rotation is also understood, and to a limited extent acted upon: but the peculiarity of the mode of agriculture necessarily followed in a country where deep-ploughing generally ruins the soil, precludes the ryot from going along exactly the same road as the English farmer.

Rice is commonly boiled and eaten hot or cold in distinct grains with salt, chatni, curry, &c., &c, or it is ground into flour, from which are prepared cakes and sweet-meats. It is also used in many ways too numerous to describe.

RÂGI—Eleusine Coracana—is the most important of all the species of grain known in the District It grows freely in almost all kinds of soil, requires but a few showers of rain at intervals of say fifteen days to bring it to maturity, and supplies wholesome and nutritious food to the greater part of the population. It is usually eaten in the form of thin porridge; seasoned with salt and chatnis The seed is usually sown in August or September: and the crop reaped in December or January. It is often raised as a second crop on rice-lands.

CHÔLAM—Holcus saccharatus—is extensively grown in every part of the District and on most sorts of soil. The cob is pounded so as to separate the husk from the seeds, the latter are then soaked in water, and afterwards beaten into powder; and this is boiled into a a kind of paste and eaten with salt, &c. Chôlam is usually sown in February or March and cut in May or June. It requires no irrigation. It is often raised as a second crop on rice-lands. There are several varieties of Chôlam, the white, red, *Irungu*, *Mudakku*, *Kâkkay*, *Makkâ*, *&c.*

KAMBU—Holcus spicatus—is an useful and very nutritious kind of grain, common to all parts of the District. It is eaten like râgi and chôlam. It is usually sown in July or August and harvested in December or January. It thrives on most kinds of soil, and requires no irrigation. It is often raised as a second crop on rice-lands. Varieties of Kambu are called *Kullam*, *Pani*, *Punjei*, *&c.*

THINEI—Panicum Italicum—is an inferior seed-grain, commonly raised in four tâlûks on most soils. It is ground into flour and eaten in the form of porridge. It is sown from July to September and reaped in January or February. It requires no irrigation.

VARAGU—Paspalum frumentaceum—is a middling kind of grain grown almost everywhere on all kinds of soil. It is boiled and eaten like rice It requires no irrigation: and is often raised as a second crop on rice-lands. It is sown in July or August; and reaped in December or January.

SÂMEI—Panicum Miliaceum—is commonly grown in most parts of the District and on most soils. It is boiled in the husk, dried, pounded, husked and then cooked as rice It requires no irrigation. It is sown in July or August and reaped in January or February.

KOLLU—Dolichos Uniflorus—Horse-gram—is not extensively grown: and is rather a precarious crop. It thrives best on Sevval. It is sown in October and November during the heavy rains, and reaped in December or January. It is sometimes raised as a second crop where kullam-kambu has been grown. Horses and bullocks are fed with it. It requires no irrigation.

ULUNTHU—Phaseolus radiatus—Black-gram—is largely grown in four tâlûks on Sevval Padugei and Mannal. It is chiefly used for cakes The seed is first pounded into large fragments, and husked It is then either soaked in water and ground into paste, from which *vadeis* are prepared; or it is ground into a very fine flour and made up into thin cakes, *appalams* or vulgarly "oppa." Ulunthu is usually sown in September or October, and harvested in December or January. It requires no irrigation.

PACCHEI-PAYARU—Phaseolus mungo—Green-gram—is pounded much in the same way as black; and eaten with rice as a flavouring substance. It is a favorite article of food, and largely grown on most kinds of soil. It is sown from July to September, and cut in January or February. It requires no irrigation It is sometimes grown after kullam-kambu

THUVAREI—Cajanus Indicus—Dholl—is a very favorite flavouring grain; and grown in four tâlûks on almost all kinds of soil. It is lightly ground and broken into halves, and the husks removed, and it is then boiled and eaten with rice, or made into a kind of broth, *kulambu*, and eaten with rice. It is sown in July, August or September and reaped in January or February It requires no irrigation.

MOCCHEI—Dolichos lablab—This grain is very generally grown on the same soils as thuvarei. but has not the same value as an article of food. It is simply boiled and eaten with salt. It is sown in July or August and reaped in February or March. It requires no irrigation.

KADALEI—Cicer Arietinum—Peas—are simply boiled and eaten with salt; or ground into a fine flour and made up into cakes. They are also given to cattle by well-to-do people They require no irrigation.

KOTTHAMALLI—Coriandrum sativum—Coriander seed—is one of the principal ingredients used in the preparation of curry-stuff. and

is therefore in much request It is grown in three tâlûks on the best soils. It is sown in October or November and gathered in February and March. It requires no irrigation.

Ellu—Sesamum Indicum—Rape-seed—is extensively cultivated in almost all parts of the District and on most kinds of soil From it is expressed the well-known Gingely oil, which natives use in large quantities to mix with their curries, &c, and to anoint their bodies. Rape-seed is sown in April or May, and cut in August. and requires no irrigation.

Âmanakku—Ricinus communis (fructibus minoribus)—Castor-oil-seed—is extensively grown on red and sandy soils. The oil is used for medicinal purposes only. It grows very readily and quickly, and is difficult to eradicate from the soil when once planted. It is sown in the month of July or August and cut in February or March. It requires no irrigation.

Kotteimutthu—Ricinus communis (fructibus majoribus)—Oil-seed is much like Âmanakku, but larger and coarser. and its oil is less highly esteemed.

Sanambu—(Crotalaria juncea)—Hemp is not much grown The seed of the Sanambu is sown in July, August or September, after the soil has been properly moistened and ploughed The plant is fit to be cut in the fifth month. It is dried in the sun for three days, then soaked in water for ten days, after which it is beaten on a stone and washed. After this process the rind becomes fit for use In the Madura district the fibre is applied to a small extent to the manufacture of gunnies and more generally to that of thin ropes.

Sanappu-Pulicchei—Hibiscus Cannabinus—This is a variety of hemp, of which the leaves are eaten in curry. It is cultivated mixed with grains. The seed is sown either in September or October. The plant attains its maturity in the third month, and then undergoes the same process as the Sanambu with a view to the production of fibre, which is manufactured into ropes for drawing water and many other domestic and agricultural purposes

Parutthi—Gossypium (Herbaceum) Indicum—Cotton—is grown in rather large quantities on the Karisal or black-cotton-soil of four tâlûks. It is usually sown in October or November, and picking commences in January and is continued throughout February, March and April. In favorable seasons, when the May showers are abundant, the plants flower a second time, and a second but less plentiful crop

is picked in July or August. Cotton is not irrigated Attempts have been made to improve the native varieties, but I believe nothing of any importance has been effected. The two varieties commonly cultivated are the *lâdam* and *uppam:* of which the former is of large size, and the latter of small. See Appendix E.

VETTHILEI-KODI—Chavica Betle—The betel-vine—supplies the leaves which all natives eat daily with areca-nuts, quick-lime, tobacco, &c, &c. It requires constant irrigation, and yields a delicate and precarious though very remunerative crop The mode of cultivating it is the following. In July or August *Agatthi* shrubs are planted in regular rows over the ground intended for the cultivation of betel-vines, and after two or three months the soil is carefully prepared by trenching and manuring In January after the rains have thoroughly softened and loosened the soil, cuttings of the vine are taken out of nurseries and planted out close to the *Agatthi* shrubs, up which they soon begin to climb About six months afterwards the vines will have grown sufficiently to admit of their leaves being clipped off For a twelvemonth they bear freely, and during a second twelvemonth indifferently During the whole of this time the plants must be watered daily in dry weather, and almost daily in all kinds of weather and weeding and cleaning must be unremittingly attended to

KARUMBU—Sorghum Saccharatum—Sugar-cane—is cultivated to a moderate extent in four tâlûks The cane is eaten with great relish by all classes but I am not aware that sugar is expressed from it in any part of the District It requires a good soil, careful cultivation, and constant irrigation I have found nothing on record touching the mode of cultivating this plant

PUGEIYILEI—Nicotiana Tabacum—Tobacco—of a very superior description is grown in large quantities in some parts of the District, particularly at Vêdasandûr and in the Sub-division generally. Most classes of natives in Madura chew, snuff and smoke in moderation. and large quantities of leaf are exported to Trichinopoly, Madras and other places Tobacco is usually sown in the month of October or November; transplanted in December or January; and gathered in February or March It requires watering once in four days

VÂLEI—Musa paradisiaca—Plantains—are grown in four tâlûks but only on the best soils and where the supply of water is exceptionally good. Cuttings are planted in nurseries in July, the young trees

are transplanted in August or September, and when mature begin to yield fruit about the following May or June, and continue to yield for nearly a twelvemonth. The tree needs to be irrigated constantly about once in four days. Several varieties are grown, some large and coarse, some small and delicate, the best of all (in the opinion of natives) being those grown on the Sirumaleis. Plantains are often grown as a subsidiary crop in betel-vineyards They require careful management and very great labor. but yield very large profits

MANJAL—Curcuma longa—Turmeric—is grown extensively, being used by all who can afford it as an ingredient of their curry, and by all married women as a coloring wash for the body, it being supposed to indicate prosperity and piety in one who so applies it The crop remains in the ground about eight months, during the whole of which it requires irrigation.

MILAKÂY—Capsicum Annuum—Chillies—green and red, are grown on good soils in large quantities. They are kept in the ground about six months and require constant but moderate irrigation. They are sown usually in August or September; transplanted after one month; and gathered in from January to March

KATTHIRI-KÂY—Solanum melongena—Brinjals—a very favorite and wholesome vegetable, are raised in much the same way as chillies.

ÎRULLI—Allium sativum—Garlic—is largely cultivated especially on the Palani hills

Less important but commonly grown kinds of produce are the following, viz —

1 Cucumber, (வெள்ளரி) Vellari (Cucumis sativa.)
2. Pumpkins, (பூசணி) Pûsuni. (Cucurbita maxima)
3. Potato, (உருளைக்கிழங்கு) Urulei-kilangu. (Solanum tuberosum.)
4 Sweet potato, (வள்ளிக்கிழங்கு) Valli-kilangu (Batatas Edulis)
5 Onions, (வெங்காயம்) Vengâyam (Allium Cepa)
6. Melon, (Cucumis Melo)
7 Turnips, (முள்ளெங்கி) Mullêngi (Brassica Rapa)
8 Country-greens, (கீரை) Kîrei
9. Gourd, (சுரைக்காய்) Surei-kkây (Lagenaria vulgaris)
10. Lime, (எலுமிச்சை) Elumicchei. (Citrus Limonum)
11. Orange, (கொழிஞ்சி) Kolinji. (Citrus Aurantium)

AVURI—Indigofera Tinctoria—Indigo—is cultivated to a very moderate extent on Padugei Mannal and Sevval It is sown in October or November and cut in April and May.

CHÂYA (SÂYA) ROOT—Hedyotis umbellata—This valuable root is grown in large quantities in the Râmnâd Zamindâri. I have not had time to procure information regarding the mode of growing it. The root is dried in the sun, and ground to a fine powder. This is thrown into hot water, and stirred freely: and the mixture is soon ready for use Cloths are then boiled in it, and receive a red color which is almost indestructible.

I will now give the list of Madura shrubs furnished to me by Mr. Turnbull .—

RANUNCULACEÆ

Clematis Gouriana ..	Climbing Acrid . Vesicant.
Do. Wightiana..	. Do
Do. Smilacifolia .	.. Do
Naravelia Zeylanica..	. Do
Anemone dubia ..	...Herbaceous
Do. Wightiana..	... Do.
Ranunculus Wallichianus...	...Perennial.
Do. reniformis..	...
Delphinium Ajacis...	...Larkspur.
Naravelia Zeylanica...	

MENISPERMACEÆ

Cocculus cordifolius	...Twining
Do. macrocarpus	
Do. villosus. .	..Decoction of root used in rheumatism said to be laxative and sudorific
Do glaber...	...
Do. Indicus...	...
Clypea heruandifolia...	...

BERBERIDEÆ.

Berberis tinctoria...	...Shrub.
Do. Leschenaultii...	... Do.

NYMPHÆACEÆ.

Nelumbium speciosum...	...Root demulcent and diuretic.

Papaveraceæ

Argemone Mexicana..	. Annual. Seeds emetic and narcotic, juice applied to indolent ulcers.

Fumariaceæ.

Fumaria parviflora...	...Annual

Cruciferæ

Nasturtium Madagascariense	...Annual
Cardamine Borbonica...	..
Sinapis juncea...	...Herbaceous.

Capparideæ

Gynandropsis pentaphylla ..	..Annual. Leaves antispasmodic and vesicant.
Cleome monophylla...	...Herbaceous.
Polanisia icosandra ...	...Common weed.
Cadaba Indica...	...Shrub.
Capparis horrida..	... Do.
Do. incanescens...	... Do
Do. aphylla...	... Do
Do. sepiaria...	... Do.

Resedaceæ

Reseda alba...	...
Do. odorata..	...

Flacourtiaceæ.

Flacourtia sapida...	...Shrubby.
Do. Cataphracta...	... Do. Leaves and young shoots bitter and astringent Considered stomachic . given in dysentery and fevers

Violaceæ

Viola Wightiana...	...
Viola Patrinii...	...Annual
Ionidium enneaspermum	...Suffrutescent.

Droseraceæ.

Drosera peltata...	...Stem erect. Bruised leaves mixed with salt used for blistering.
Parnassia Mysorensis...	...Herbaceous.

Polygalaceæ.

Polygala rosmarinifolia...	..Suffruticose.
Do. Wightiana ..	...Annual.
Do. ciliata...	..., Do.
Do. arillata...	...Shrubby.
Do. Wallichiana...	...
Do. theezaus...	...

Caryophyllaceæ.

Stellaria media ..	...Procumbent.
Cerastium Indicum...	...

Malvaceæ.

Althæa rosea. .	...
Urena lobata...	...Herbaceous
Do. sinuata..	.. Do
Pavonia odorata...	... Do.
Do. Zeylanica..	...Infusion of root febrifuge
Lebretonia procumbens..	...Procumbent
Hibiscus Surättensis..	..
Do. furcatus..	...Stem erect.
Do Sabdariffa...	...
Hibiscus sidoides..	..Suffruticose.
Do. lunarifolius..	..Herbaceous
Do. canescens...	...Shrubby.
Do. pauduriformis...	..Herbaceous
Do. hirtus..	...Shrubby,
Do. micranthus ..	.. Do
Do. cannabinus ..	..
Do. eriocarpus ..	...
Abelmoschus esculentus...	.. Seeds emollient and demulcent also antidote for snake-bites and scorpion stings.
Do. angulosus...	..Herbaceous.
Do rugosus..	.. Do.
Do moschatus ..	.. Do. Bruised seeds good for bites of venomous reptiles Used internally and externally.
Do. ficulneus...	...Herbaceous.
Lagunea lobata..	...Annual

Abutilon polyandrum...	. Shrub
Do Indicum..	.. Do—Seeds laxative
Do. Asiaticum...	...
Sida acuta...	...Shrubby Infusion of root tonic
Do. humilis...	..Herbaceous.
Decaschistia crotonifolia ..	.. Shrub

BOMBACEÆ

Helicteres Isora..	..Shrub The fibrous qualities of the bark make it a valuable plant

TILIACEÆ.

Corchorus trilocularis	...Annual. Leaves demulcent and refrigerant.
Grewia orientalis...	...Shrub.
Do. salvifolia...	... Do
Do. hirsuta...	... Do
Do. villosa...	.. Do
Do. abutilifolia ..	...
Do. Asiatica...	...
Do tiliæfolia ..	...

OLACACEÆ.

Opilia amentacea...	...Shrubby
Gomphandra polymorpha...	...
Do coriacea...	...

AURANTIACEÆ.

Glycosmis pentaphylla...	...Shrubby.
Murraya paniculata...	...
Sclerostylis atalantioides	...Shrub.

HYPERICACEÆ.

Hypericum Hookerianum...	..

HIPPOCRATEACEÆ

Hippocratea Indica...	...Shrub twining
Do obtusifolia...	...Climbing

MALPIGHIACEÆ.

Hiptage Madablota...	...Climbing shrub.
Hiræa Indica ..	.. Do

SAPINDACEÆ.

Cardiospermum Halicacabum	...Root diuretic and aperient,
Do. Canescens	...

VITACEÆ.

Cissus quadrangularis...	...Young dried shoots said to be used in bowel complaints.
Do. trilobatus ..	..
Do pallidus...	...
Do. glaucus ..	
Do. Rheedii ..	..
Do. setosus .	...Climbing. Leaves toasted and oiled used to suppurate indolent tumours
Do. pedatus ..	
Do. tenuifolius ..	
Do. lanatus...	...Shrubby. Climbing.
Do. Indicus .	...Shrubby Scandent A piece of the root with sugar said to be cathartic.
Leea integrifolia...	...Shrub.

GERANIACEÆ.

Geranium affine...	...Herbaceous

LINACEÆ.

Linum Mysorense ..

BALSAMINEÆ.

Impatiens Balsamina .	...Herbaceous erect
Do. arcuata...	..
Do. Leschenaultii...	..
Do. albida...	...
Do campanulata...	...
Do. dasysperma ..	..
Do. viscida...	..
Do fasciculata ..	...
Do tomentosa ..	...
Do Phenicea	..
Do. Pulniensis ..	..
Do. lucida..	...
Do. Chinensis ..	..

OXALIDACEÆ

Oxalis corniculata...	...Decumbent.
Biophytum sensitivum...	..

ZYGOPHYLLACEÆ

Tribulus lanuginosus..	...

RUTACEÆ.

Ruta graveolens...	...

ZANTHOXYLACEÆ

Toddalia aculeata...	.. Bark of root febrifuge.

CELASTRACEÆ.

Celastrus paniculata ..	...Large climbing shrub Seeds yield an empyreumatic oil. It is used in Beriberi
Do. Heyneana...	...

RHAMNACEÆ

Zizyphus nummularia...	...Shrubby
Do. Œnoplia...	... Do and climbing
Ventilago Madraspatana ..	
Scutia Indica. .	...Straggling, thorny shrub

LEGUMINOSEÆ.

Sophora glauca..	...Shrub.
Crotalaria rubiginosa...	...Shrubby.
Do Wightiana .	...Tall : erect. Found at height of 3,500 feet.
Do. anthylloides ..	...Annual
Do. Mysorensis...	..Suffrutescent
Do montana...	...Shrubby
Do. longipes...	... Do
Do. paniculata...	.. Do
Do. lunulata...	...Suffrutescent
Do superfoliata. .	.. Suffruticose
Do. Madurensis...	... Do
Do. elegans...	...
Do. juncea...	.. Erect branched.
Do. Leschenaultii...	... Do.
Do. sericea...	... Do.

Crotalaria Wallichiana..	...Herbaceous
Do. evolvuloides ..	.. Perennial
Do.. pusilla ..	Annual
Do. albida	Suffruticose
Do viminea ..	Do
Do. globosa	...Prostrate.
Do umbellata. .	. .
Do Notonii.	...Suffruticose.
Do clavata...	...Erect . branched.
Do. digitata ..	...Shrubby.
Do. Grahaminia...	... Do. At 4,000 feet.
Trigonella Fænum-græcum...	...Annual.
Pycnospora nervosa ..	...
Cyamopsis psoraloides .	.
Indigofera linifolia .	Suffruticose
Do cordifolia .	...
Do. glandulosa	. . Do
Do enneaphylla ..	...Perennial. Juice antiscorbutic & alterative
Do pulchella...	...
Do flaxida .	. .
Do. aspalathoides..	.. Shrubby
Do viscosa...	. Suffruticose
Do. tenuifolia...	.Herbaceous.
Do trifoliata .	.. Suffruticose On high hills
Do parviflora .	.Erect branched
Do paucifolia	.. Shrubby
Do Wightii	Suffruticose
Do cærulea .	Shrubby
Do marginulata...	... Do
Psoralea corylifolia .	...
Clitoria Ternatea...	...Twining.
Dumasia congesta...	...
Shuteria vestita ..	...
Do glabrata ..	...
Notonia Wightii. .	...
Pseudarthria viscida...	...Diffuse; prostrate
Tephrosia fusca..	.. Shrubby.
Do tinctoria...	... Do.

Tephrosia suberosa...	...	
Do. diffusa.	...	
Do. purpurea...	...Shrubby	Decoction of roots given in dyspepsia
Smithia sensitiva .	..	
Do. racemosa		
Uraria hamosa...	..	
Desmodium triquethum .	...Suffrutescent.	
Do latifolium..	...Shrubby	
Do Gangeticum ..	Do	
Do Wightii .	...Herbaceous	
Do recurvatum .	. Shrubby	
Do gyrans .	..Suffrutescent	
Do polycarpum ..	.. Suffruticose	
Do rufescens...	...Shrubby	
Do. strangulatum..	...Herbaceous	
Do. triflorum...	.. Procumbent.	
Do. parvifolium ..	.. Do	
Dicerma pulchellum...	.. Stem erect	
Alysicarpus monilifer ..	...Suffruticose	
Do. bupleurifolius...	... Do.	
Do. styracifolius .	. .Biennial	
Abrus precatorius	..Twining	Root demulcent. Substitute for Liquorice
Cicer arietinum .	..	
Rhynchosia densiflora ..	...Twining	
Do rufescens...	..	
Do. suaveolens ..	.. Shrubby.	
Do. cana...	... Do	
Fleminga congesta...	. Do	
Do. Grahaminana...	.. Do	
Phaseolus Pulniensis...	.	
Do trinervius ..	...Twining	
Da trilobus.	. Herbaceous	
Do sublobatus ..	. .	
Dolichos glutinosus ..	...Annual.	
Do Sinensis .	.. Do.	
Lablab vulgaris...	... Do	
Parochetus major...	...	
Canavalia gladiata...	...Twining	

Canavalia virosa ..	..Twining. Considered a poisonous plant.
Do. mollis..	... Do.
Mucana atropurpurea...	... Do.
Mucana. prurita...	... Do. Root anthelmintic. Bean aphrodisiac. Hairs of the pods sting.
Cantharospermum pauciflorum	...Twining.
Do. albicans...	...Found at 2,500 feet.
Cajanus Indicus...	...
Dunbaria latifolia...	...
Cylista scariosa...	...
Cyanospermum tomentosum.	...
Butea parviflora...	. Shrubby twining.
Brachypterum scandens..	...
Dalbergia volubilis...	.. Twining.
Do. tamarindifolia	... Do
Desmanthus triquetrus...	...
Acacia latronum...	...Shrubby
Do. pennata ..	...Climbing.
Do. Intsia ..	...Shrubby.
Guilandina Bonduc...	...Climbing. Kernels of nuts tonic: root and seeds anthelmintic. Infusion of roots and seeds given in fevers.
Arachis hypogea..	...
Cæsalpinia mimosiodes...	...Scandent.
Do sepiaria ..	... Do
Cassia sophera...	...Annual Infusion of bark said to be good in diabetes. Decoction of leaves used in fever and gout.
Do. obtusa...	.. Herbaceous.
Do auriculata ..	...Shrub. Bark used in tanning.
Do occidentalis...	...Root considered diuretic. Leaves used externally in cutaneous affections.
Do. Tora ..	...Annual. Root ground in lime juice good for ringworm. Leaves used to suppurate boils.
Do. Absus....	...
Do. pumilla...	...Suffruticose.

ROSACEÆ

Rubus Gowreephul..	..
Do. lasiocarpus ..	...
Do. rugosus...	...
Fragaria elatior...	...Herbaceous.
Fragaria Indica...	...
Potentilla Leschenaultiana...	...
Rosa Leschenaultiana .	
Do. involucrata .	...

SALICARIÆ

Lawsonia alba ..	...Leaves used in cataplasms. Astringent

MELASTOMACEÆ

Sonerila Rheedii ..	...
Osbeckia Zeylanica..	...Herbaceous
Do. Leschenaultiana...	... Do.
Do. Wightiana..	...Shrubby
Do. hirsutissima...	..

ONAGRACEÆ

Circœa alpina .	...
Jussiæa repens..	. .Herbaceous
Ludwigia parviflora...	...

CUCURBITACEÆ

Cucumis Colocynthii...	.
Lagenaria Egyptica...	...
Cucumis melo..	...
Do. sativus..	...
Lagenaria vulgaris..	...
Cucurbita maxima..	..
Do. citruleus..	...
Luffa acutangula. .	...
Bryonia Garcini...	...
Do lacinosa...	...Climbing The juice of leaves with milk used in bilious complaints.
Do. scrabella..	...Decoction of seeds sudorific: used also in diabetes and dysuria.

Bryonia Hookeriana.. ...
Do. amplexicaulis... ...
Do. grandis.. ..
Coccinia Indica . ...Climbing shrub
Momordica charantia... ...Climbing. The fruit is very bitter: used in curries. The juice of the leaves is considered anthelmintic.
Do. muricata.. ...
Trichosanthes anguina... ...

PASSIFLORACEÆ

Passiflora Leschenaultii... ..Climbing.
Modecca Wightiana . ..

PORTULACACEÆ

Trianthema decandrum .. .. Annual
Do obcordatum. ...

PARONYCHIACEÆ

Drymaria cordata... ...

CRASSULACEÆ.

Kalanchoe grandiflora... ...

FICOIDEÆ.

Glinus dictamnoides.. ...

UMBELLIFERÆ

Hydrocotyle Asiatica... .Leaves used in cutaneous affections
De. polycephala . .
Sanicula elata ...
Ptychotis Ajowan . . .The oil distilled from the seeds is used in bowel complaints
Pastinaca rigens .. ..
Bupleurum ramosissimum... ...
Anethum sowa . ...Leaves used to hasten suppuration. Seeds bruised, used externally in rheumatism
Coriandrum sativum . ...
Pimpinella Candolleana... ...
Heracleum rigens... ..

ARALIACEÆ.

Hedera trifoliata...	Shrubby
Do. Leschenaultii...	.. Do.

LORANTHACEÆ.

Viscum verruculosum.	...
Do. grossum..	..
Do angulatum ..	...Found at 2,500 feet.
Do moniliforme	..
Loranthus loniceroides ..	...
Do buddleioides.	..
Do sarcophyllus...	.. Cumbum or Ficus species.
Do amplexifolius..	..
Do. tomentosus.	
Do Candolleanus. .	..
Do. goodeniiflorus...	...
Do. cuneatus ..	...
Do Euphorbiæ...	...

CAPRIFOLIACEÆ

Viburnum acuminatum ..	...Shrub
Do. capitellatum. .	... Do
Lonicera Leschenaultii...	Twining

RUBIACEÆ

Mussænda frondosa ..	..
Griffithia fragrans..	.. Shrub
Hedyotis stylosa ..	...Shrubby.
Do. articularis .	.. Do
Do. pruinosa	... Do
Do monosperma...	.. Herbaceous
Do deltoidea. .	.. Do
Do affinis..	.. Do
Do Leschenaultiana. .	. Do.
Do. umbellata	.. Suffruticose
Do. Burmanniana...	.
Do. Heynei...	...Annual.
Do dichotoma. .	... Do
Do. aspera .	. Do.
Lasianthus venulosa...	...

Morinda umbellata...	...Shrubby.
Canthium parviflorum...	... Do.
Do. umbellatum...	...
Pavetta Indica...	...Shrub. Root has aperient qualities.
Grumilea congesta...	...
Psychotria ambigua...	...
Bigelovia lasiocarpa...	...Herbaceous.
Do. Roxburghiana...	... Do.
Spermacoce hispida...	... Do.
Knoxia corymbosa...	...Shrubby.
Do. Wightiana...	... Do.
Rubia cordifolia...	...Herbaceous. Madder.

GALIACEÆ

Galium asperifolium...	
Do requienianum ..	...

VALERIANEÆ.

Valeriana Leschenaultii...	...
Do Hookeriána ..	...

DIPSACEÆ

Dipsacus Leschenaultii..	...

COMPOSITÆ.

Vernonia cinerea ..	...
Do. albicans...	...
Do rectinata...	...
Do Dindigulensis ..	...Fruticose
Decaneurum do ..	...Suffruticose.
Adenostemma Madurense..	...Stem erect.
Do. reticulatum. .	... Do
Callistephus Wightianus...	...Herbaceous.
Erigeron Madurense...	... Do
Conyza absinthifolia...	...
Blainvillea latifolia.	...Herbaceous.
Siegesbeckia orientalis...	... Do. Found at 2,500 feet.
Moonia Arnottiana...	...Erect: ramous shrub.
Wedelia urticæfolia ..	...Herbaceous.
Bidens Wallichii...	...
Antennaria semidecumbens...	...Herbaceous.
Gynura nitida...	...

Gynura lycopersicifolia...	.. Herbaceous	Found at 2,000 feet.
Notonia Wightii...	...	
Cirsium argyracanthum...	...Herbaceous.	

CAMPANULACEÆ.

Wahlenbergia agrestis...	...Stem erect.
Do. Perotifolia...	...
Campanula Alphonsii...	...Recumbent.
Do. fulgens...	..
Lobelia trigona ..	...Stem erect.
Do. rosea...	.. Stem branched.
Do. trichandra...	...

VACCINIACEÆ.

Vaccinium Neilgherrense...	...
Do. Leschenaultii...	...

SIPHONANDRACEÆ.

Gualthieria Leschenaultii...	.

LENTIBULACEÆ.

Utricularia cærulea...	...
Do. reticulata...	..
Do. scandens ..	...
Do. Wallichiana...	..
Do. rosea ..	..
Do. racemosa...	...
Do. humilis...	...

PRIMULACEÆ.

Micropyxis tenellus...	...Small · erect
Anagallis arvensis...	...
Do. latifolia...	...
Lysimachia Leschenaultii...	...Herbaceous.
Do. deltoidea...	...Procumbent.

MYRSINACEÆ.

Mæsa Indica...	...Large shrub.
Embelia Tsjeriam Cottam...	...Shrub.
Ardisia pauciflora...	...Shrub.
Do. humilis...	... Do.

JASMINACEÆ

Jasminum revolutum	...Erect.
Do rigidum..	..Shrub.
Do brevilobum..	.. Scandent.

APOCYNACEÆ.

Carissa carandas...	...Shrub. Fruit edible; made into preserves.
Ophioxylon Neilgherrense...	...Shrubby.
Do. macrocarpum...	...
Do. Belgaumense...	...
Vinca pusilla...	...Herbaceous.
Ichnocarpus frutescens...	...Twining. It is used as a substitute for Sarsaparilla.
Nerium odorum...	...

ASCLEPIADACEÆ.

Hemidesmus Indicus...	...Twining The root is an excellent substitute for Sarsaparilla; and is used by natives in strangury and gravel. Decoctions of it used in scrofula and venereal affections.
Sarcostigma brevispina...	...
Cynoctonum pauciflorum ..	...
Holostemna Rheedii...	..Twining. Root used in Ophthalmia.
Calotropis gigantea..	.. Shrub. Juice of tree acrid. applied to wounds. Root and bark used as alteratives and purgatives. Powdered bark emetic Bark of root said to be antidote for snake-bites and scorpion stings.
Dæmia extensa...	...Fruticose. Used by natives in pulmonary affections. Large doses, emetic.
Cynanchum pauciflorum ..	...
Tylophora asthmatica...	...Twining.
Do. tenuissima...	...Twining.

Tylophora mollissima...	..
Hoya viridiflora...	...Twining
Do. pauciflora...	..
Ceropegia acuminata...	..Twining
Do. juncea. .	..
Do. intermedia ..	...Fruticose
Do. elegans...	...Twining
Do. tuberosa...	..Herbaceous
Boucerosia diffusa..	...Procumbent
Pergularia odoratissima ..	...
Bidaria elegans ..	...

LOGANIACEÆ

Gardneria ovata...	...Climbing

GENTIANACEÆ

Exacum pedunculare...	...
Do. tetragonum...	...Annual. Is used as a febrifuge
Do. Perottetii...	...
Canscora diffusa...	..Annual
Gentiana pedicellata...	...
Do. verticellata..	..
Ophelia elegans.	..Shrub The stems are used as a febrifuge
Do. Grisebachiana..	. Erect
Halenia Perottettii	..Stem erect

PEDALIACEÆ

Sesamum Indicum...	..Stem erect.

CYRTANDRACEÆ.

Didymocarpus tomentosa...	..
Æschynanthus Perottetii...	..
Klugia Notoniana .	.

CONVOLVULACEÆ

Rivea bona nox ..	.Twining
Argyreia pomacea ..	do at 3,000 feet
Do hirsuta	
Do. cuneata..	. .Erect shrub
Do. aggregata...	..
Pharbitis nil..	..Annual Seeds cathartic.

Calonyction speciosum...	...Climbing. The flowers, leaves, roots and dried seeds are said to be specifics for snake-bites.
Batatas edulis ..	...
Ipomæa Wightii..	...
Do. pestigridis..	...Annual.
Do. racemosa...	.. Suffruticose.
Do. tuberculata...	...
Do. pilosa....	...Herbaceous.
Do. pileata...	...
Do sessiliflora...	...Herbaceous.
Do. obscura...	. do.
Do. staphylina ..	..
Do. stritata..	...Twining
Do dentata ..	..
Do chryseides...	...Stem twisted
Convolvulus Rottlerianus...	...
Do. rufescens...	..
Aniseia uniflora...	...Stem prostrate.
Hewittia bicolor ..	..Stem twining.
Evolvulus alsinoides...	...Herbaceous.
Porana racemosa ..	...

BORAGINACEÆ.

Ehretia aspera...	...Shrubby.
Heliotropium Rottleri ..	... do.
Cynoglossum Heynii...	...
Do. furcatum ..	...
Trichodesma Zeylanicum ..	...Stem erect

SOLANACEÆ

Solanum Roxburghii...	..Annual.
Do. maniacum..	...
Do verbascifolium...	...Shrubby
Do ferox...	...Shrub. Infusion of root used in acute rheumatism.
Do pubescens ..	..
Do. giganteum ..	...Shrub.
Do Indicum ..	... do. Decoction of root used in dysuria and ischuria. Juice of leaves with ginger juice used to check vomiting

Solanum tuberosum...	...
Do. melongena...	...
Do. rubrum....	..
Physalis minima ..	...Herbaceous.
Do. Peruviana...	...Brazil cherry
Datura alba...	...Annual. Fruit a strong narcotic.
Datura fastuosa...	...Annual. Fruit narcotic. Seeds poisonous The dry root smoked is said to relieve spasmodic asthma.

SCROPHULARIACEÆ

Torenia Asiatica .	...
Sopubia delphinifolia ..	...Annual
Vandellia crustacea....	...
Striga densiflora..	...
Pedicularis Zeylanica...	..
Gerardia delphinifolia...	...

OROBANCHACEÆ

Oligopholis tubulosa...	...Herbaceous parasitical.
Œginetia pedunculata ..	...

ACANTHACEÆ.

Thunbergia lævis...	...Scandent.
Do. fragrans...	...Climbing.
Phlebophyllum Kunthianum...	...Erect: shrub.
Endopogon consanguineum...	...
Stenosiphonium confertum...	...Shrub.
Do. Russelianum...	... do.
Dyschoriste litoralis...	...Fruticose.
Dipteracanthus patulus...	...
Hemigraphis latebrosa ..	..
Asystasia Coromandeliana...	...Stem erect
Strobilanthes micranthes...	...Herbaceous.
Do. punctatus...	...
Do. Wynaadensis	..
Barleria longiflora...	...Fruticose
Do. acuminata...	...Shrubby
Do. Prionitis...	... do. The juice of leaves with sugar and water used in fevers' and catarrhal affections.

Barleria cuspidata...	..Shrubby
Do. buxifolia...	. Do
Lepidagathis scariosa ..	... Do
Blepharis Madraspatensis .	..
Crossandra infundibuliformis...	.
Do. axillaris ..	...
Adhatoda vassica...	...Shrub. Flowers, leaves, fruit and root considered antispasmodic, and used in fevers and asthma.
Do. Betonica ..	...Annual.
Rhinacanthus communis...	...Shrubby. Root is used in snake-bites Leaves and fresh root with lime juice in ringworm and cutaneous affections.
Gendarussa Vulgaris...	...
Eranthemum montanum...	...
Do. purpurascens...	...Fruticose.
Do. Wightianum...	... Do.
Asteracantha longifolia...	...Herbaceous
Rostellularia procumbeus...	
Rhaphidospora glaber.	
Rungia repens...	...
Do. parviflora...	...Creeping.
Andrographis paniculata...	...Annual. Root stomachic and tonic
Do. Wightiana...	...Herbaceous.
Do. Neesiana ..	... Do.
Do. viscosula...	...

VERBENACEÆ.

Bouchea Hydrabadensis...	...Suffruticose
Lantana alba...	...Shrubby.
Clerodendron infortunatum...	..Root with sour milk used internally in colic: and externally for drying up cutaneous eruptions.
Do. serratum...	...
Verbena nodiflora...	...

LABIATÆ.

Plectranthus Wightii ..	...Herbaceous
Do. subincisus..	... Do.

Ocimum sanctum...	
Mentha viridis ..	..
Coleus barbatus...	...Fruticose
Do. spicatus...	.. Procumbent.
Do. glabratus. .	...
Do. paniculatus...	...Procumbent.
Anisochilus purpureum...	... do.
Do. albidum...	...
Melissa umbrosa...	...
Pogostemon Wightii...	...
Do. rotundatum ..	...Willows.
Dysophylla auricularia	...
Micromeria biflora...	..Suffruticose.
Prunella vulgaris...	...Herbaceous.
Scutellaria violacea...	...
Anisomeles intermedia...	...
Leucas biflora ..	...Herbaceous.
Do. aspera...	...
Do. cephalotes..	... do
Do. ternifolia...	..Fruticose.
Do. vestita...	...Herbaceous.
Leonotis Nepetafolia...	... do.
Teucrium tomentosum...	...

PLUMBAGINACEÆ.

Plumbago Zeylanica...	.. Shrubby.

PLANTAGINACEÆ.

Plantago ispanula...	...

NYCTAGINACEÆ.

Boerhaavia procumbens...	...
Do. humilis...	...
Pisonia aculeata	...

AMARANTACEÆ

Achyranthes aspera...	...
Euxolus caudatus...	...
Psilotrichum nudum...	...
Œrna floribunda...	...
Amaranthus frumentaceus...	...
Celosia pulchella...	...
Do. argentea...	...

CHENOPODIACEÆ.

Chenopodium ambrosioides... ...Weed

POLYGONACEÆ.

Polygonum Nepalense... ...
Do. Chinense... ...
Rumex Nepalense... ...

BEGONIACEÆ.

Begonia dipetala... ...

LAURACEÆ.

Alseodaphne semicarpifolia... ...
Cylicodaphne Wightiana... ...
Tetraulhera tomentosa... ...

ELÆAGNACEÆ.

Elæagnus latifolius... ...

SANTALACEÆ.

Thesium Wightianum... ...
Osyris Wightiana... ...

ARISTOLOCHIACEÆ.

Aristolochia Indica... ...
Do. acuminata... ...

EUPHORBIACEÆ.

Euphorbia Rothiana... ...
Do trigona... ..
Dalechampia velutina... ...
Tragia involucrata... ...
Acalypha Indica.. ...
Ricinus communis... ...
Baliospermum polyandrum... ...
Sarcococca trinervia... ...
Reidia floribunda... ...
Macrœa Rheedii... ...

URTICACEÆ.

Urtica vesicaria... ...
Laportea terminalis... ...
Elatostema cuspidata... ...
Pilea trinervia... ...

CANNABINACEÆ

Cannabis sativa... ...

MORACEÆ

Dorstenia Indica... ..

ARTOCARPACEÆ

Conocephalus niveus . ..
Trophis aspera..

ANTIDESMEACEÆ

Antidesma paniculata . .

PIPERACEÆ.

Peperomia Wightiana... ...
Do. Dindigulensis... ...
Do. reflexa...
Piper attenuatum... ...
Do. Wightii... ...

CHLORANTHACEÆ

Sarcandra chloranthoides... .

DIOSCORIACEÆ.

Dioscorea tomentosa... ...
Do pentaphylla... ..

SMILACEÆ.

Smilax Zeylanica... ...
Do maculata... ...

CYCADACEÆ

Cycas circinalis.. ..

XYRIDACEÆ

Xyris Indica... ...

COMMELYNACEÆ.

Commelyna polyspatha . ...
Do. Bengalensis... ..

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Dictyospermum protensum.. ...
Aneilema paniculata... ...
Cyanotis cristata... ...
Do. pilosa... ..

MELANTHACEÆ.

Gloriosa superba... ...Climbing.

LILLIACEÆ.

Lillium Wallichianum... ...
Sanseviera Zeylanica... ...
Anthericum tuberosum... ..
Asparagus racemosus
Ophiopogon Indicus . ..

PONTEDERACEÆ

Pontederia vaginalis... ..

ZINGIBERACEÆ.

Zingiber squarrosum... ...
Curcuma montana... ...
Elettaria Cardamomum . ...
Hedychium coronarium .. ...
Costus speciosus .. ...

AMARYLLIDACEÆ

Crinum Asiaticum

HYPOXIDACEÆ

Curculigo orchioides..

PANDANACEÆ.

Pandanus odoratissimus .. ..

ORCHIDACEÆ

Liparis olivacea .. ..
Do. atropurpurea. ..

Oberonia Arnottiana.. .
Do Verticillata... .
Microstylis Rheedii..
Do. Versicolor... ...
Dendrobium filiforme... ..
Coelogyne corrugata. ..
Pholidota imbricata ...
Ania latifolia.. .
Eulophia ramentacea . ...
Vanda Roxburghii ..
Saccolabium guttatum... .
Do. Wightianum... ...
Œrides Lindleyana. .
Sarcanthus filiformis.. ..
Cymbidium aloifolium... ...
Polystachya luteola... ..
Calanthe Perrottetii... ...
Platanthera Susannæ...
Do. lutea ..
Do. iantha .
Do affinis. .
Peristylus exilis.. ..
Habenaria peristyloides. ..
Do elliptica... ...
Do plantaginea . .
Do. longicalcarata . ..
Do. montana . ..
Do. Lindleyana... ..
Ate vireus.. ...
Josephia latifolia... ...
Spiranthes australis ...

We now come to Mr. Turnbull's list of timber and other trees :—

Botanical Name.	Tamil Name.	Remarks.
Acacia Amara	உசலு Usalu.	The wood is strong, fibrous, stiff, and close-grained. A cubic foot seasoned weighs 70 lbs.
Do. Arabica	கருவேலம் Karuvêlam	The wood is hard: is used for naves and felloes of wheels and for ploughs. A cubic foot seasoned weighs 54 lbs. The bark is tonic and astringent; a decoction of it is used in washing ulcers
Do. Farnesiana ...	கஸ்தூரி Kastûri	The wood is hard and tough: and the flowers very fragrant.
Do. ferruginea.....	வெள்வேலம் Velvêlam	The wood is tough, heavy and durable. A cubic foot of unseasoned wood weighs from 65 to 70 lbs. The grain is somewhat coarse; and the bark astringent.
Do. leucophlæa....	வெள்வேலம் Velvêlam	The wood is hard, strong and close-grained. A cubic foot weighs if unseasoned 62 lbs; if seasoned 55 lbs. The bark is fibrous and astringent Is used in distilling arrack.
Do. odoratissima.	கருவாகை Karuvâgei	The wood is used for naves and felloes of wheels: and is hard and coarse-grained. A cubic foot seasoned weighs 46 lbs. The juice of the bark is used to wash bad ulcers.
Do. planifrons	சாலி Sâli	The wood is hard.
Do. procera	”	”
Do. speciosa.......	காட்டுவாகை Kâttuvâgei	The wood is light-colored, durable and hard: is used for building purposes.
Do. sundra.........	கருங்காலி Karungâli	The wood is very hard, heavy, close-grained, and durable. A cubic foot of it unseasoned weighs from 94 to 98 lbs; seasoned 81 lbs.
Ægle marmelos....	வில்வமரம் Vilvamaram	The wood is valueless: the fruit alterative It is dried, and a decoction made therefrom exhibited in cases of dysentery. The root, bark and leaves are refrigerant.
Agati grandiflora	அகத்தி Agatthi.	The wood is useless. The bark is bitter, and used as a tonic. An infusion made from the leaves is useful as an aperient in cases of catarrh.
Ailanthus excelsa.....	பீ நாரி Pî nâri	”
Alangium decapatalum.	அழிஞ்சி Alinji.	The wood is handsome and valuable: and the roots aromatic.
Alphonsea lutea.... .	”	”
Alstonia scholaris ..	இருளபாலை Irulapâlei	The wood is white and close-grained. The milky juice is exhibited in cases of rheumatism.

Botanical Name.	Tamil Name.	Remarks.
Alstonia venenata.		
Anona squamosa	சீதாமரம Sithâmaram	The leaves are used to induce suppuration in the case of indolent tumors.
Antidesma paniculata	,,	The wood is red and close-grained: and adapted for cabinet work.
Areca catechu	பாககு மரம Pâkku-maram	,,
Artocarpus hirsuta ..	அஞ்சலி Anjali	The wood is used for ship-building purposes A cubic foot of unseasoned wood weighs from 48 to 50 lbs : of seasoned 40 lbs. The bark dyes a brown color.
Do. integrifolia	பிலா Pilâ	The wood is hard and brittle. A cubic foot of unseasoned wood weighs 50 lbs. : of seasoned 44 lbs. It is used for furniture.
Atalantia monophylla	காடடு எலுமிச்சை Kâttu-elumicchei	The wood is hard, heavy and very close-grained.
Azadirachta Indica...	வேபபமரம் Vêppa-maram	The wood is hard, fibrous and durable. and is not attacked by insects. A cubic foot of unseasoned wood weighs from 55 to 60 lbs: of seasoned 50 lbs. The bark is exhibited to patients suffering from intermittent fevers and chronic rheumatism and is a substitute for Peruvian bark.
Barringtona speciosa.	,,	The wood is hard and of a fine grain.
Bassia latifolia	காட்டி லுபபை Kâttiluppei	The wood is close and even-grained, strong, hard and durable. A cubic foot of unseasoned wood weighs from 77 to 80 lbs. An intoxicating liquor is distilled from its flowers.
Do. longifolia.....	இலுபபை Iluppei	The wood is hard, durable, heavy, close and straight-grained and flexible: and is not attacked by insects. The bark is used as an astringent and emollient Oil is expressed from the seeds.
Bauhinia Malabarica	,,	The wood is hard and serviceable.
Do. racemosa...	ஆாச்சி Archi	The wood of the centre is of a deep red color, dry, hard and durable. It is much used.
Do. variegata ...	வடராசி Vadarâsi	,,
Bergera Kœnigii......	கருவேப்பிலை Karuvêppilei	The leaves are fragrant, stomachic and tonic; the root laxative; the bark stimulant.

Botanical Name.	Tamil Name.	Remarks.
Bignonia chelonoides	பூம்பதிரை Pûmbathirei	The wood is elastic, durable, and close and even-grained; and handsome as a fancy wood. A cubic foot unseasoned weighs 57 to 60 lbs.: seasoned 48 lbs. An infusion of the roots and flowers is exhibited to fever patients.
Do. suberosa. .	காட்டுமுள்ளி Kâttu-mulli	The wood is hard and close-grained A cubic foot unseasoned weighs 50 to 52 lbs.: seasoned 42 lbs. The flowers are fragrant.
Do. xylocarpa.	அடமருது Adamaruthu	The wood is rather close-grained and is used for cabinet-making and and turning.
Bischoffia Rœperianus	மதகிரிவெம்பு Mathagirivêm-bu	The wood is used for planks.
Bixa Orellana........	கறங்குமங்கல் Karanguman-gal..	From the pulp surrounding the seeds is produced a valuable dye known as the Arnotto dye, which is an astringent and slightly purgative. Cordage is made from the bark.
BombaxMalabaricum	முள்ளெலவு Mullelavu	The wood is almost useless: the bark of the root is used as an emetic.
Borassus flabelliformis	பனைமரம் Panei-maram	This is the well-known Palmyra The wood of old trees is, near the circumference, very hard, black, heavy, and durable. A cubic foot weighs 65 lbs. and is said to last 80 years. It is said that the "Tala Vilâsam," a Tamil poem of Ceylon, enumerates 801 purposes to which the Palmyra may be applied.
Briedelia spinosa.	காட்டம Kâttam	,,
Buddleia Asiatica.. .	,,	,,
Butea frondosa	,,	,,
	பூவரசு Pûvarasu	The wood is very similar to teak in appearance. The exudation therefrom is commercially known as "Butea Kino." It is a powerful astringent: and the seeds anthelmintic.
CallicarpaWallichiana		
Calophyllum inophyllum	பின்னை Pinnei	The wood is durable, strong, and of a coarse grain. Oil expressed from the seeds is used medicinally.
Do. spurium	சொரைபின்னை Shorei-pinnei	The wood is tough, very brittle, not durable and not easily worked. A cubic foot unseasoned weighs from 50 to 60 lbs., seasoned 44 lbs.

Botanical Name.	Tamil Name.	Remarks.
Canarium strictum .	கறுபபு குங்கிலியம Karuppu-kun-giliyam	The tree yields a black dammer, but the natives do not extract it.
Canthium umbellatum	,,	The wood is close-grained, dark-colored and hard.
Capparis grandis... .	,,	,,
Do. pyrifolia....		,,
Careya arborea	போலை Pôlei	The wood is dark-colored, and resists the action of water. It is strong, durable, and tough. A cubic foot of unseasoned wood weighs from 60 to 63 lbs., of seasoned 50 lbs. The bark is fibrous. Cordage is manufactured therefrom: and it is also used as a slow-match.
Caryota urens	கடைடபனை Kanda-panei	The wood is used for rafters: and a fibre is made from the peduncles.
Cassia fistula	கொண்ணை Konnei	The wood is of a mottled appearance, elastic, durable, strong and close-grained. The flowers are fragrant and given in stomachic affections. The root is a febrifuge. The mucilaginous pulp round the seeds is a laxative.
Cedrela-toona.........	சந்தனவேமபு Sandanavêmbu	The wood is light, not strong, and close-grained. It is easily worked and is commonly known as Chittagong. A cubic foot of unseasoned wood weighs from 36 to 40 lbs., of seasoned 31 lbs.
Celtis Wightii.........	மலைபொங்கு Malei-pongu	,,
Chickrassia tabularis.	அகலி Agali	The wood is coarse-grained, light-colored, and finely veined. A cubic foot unseasoned weighs 50 to 54 lbs.; seasoned 42 lbs. The bark is astringent.
Chloroxylon swietenia	கடவபுரசு Kadavapurasu	The wood is heavy, hard, durable, and close-grained. A cubic-foot unseasoned weighs from 70 to 75 lbs. It is used for naves of wheels.
Cinnamom iners.......	எலவங்கா Elavangâ	The wood is fine and even-grained and supposed to be useful, though it is not made use of.
Cleyera gymnanthera	,,	The wood is strong.
Cluytia collina.........	,,	,,

Botanical Name.	Tamil Name.	Remarks.
Cochlospermum gossypium.	,,	,,
Cocos nucifera	தென்னமரம	The common cocoanut-tree. The wood is used for building purposes : is strong and durable. A cubic foot weighs 70 lbs.
Conocarpus latifolia ..	வெக்காலி Vekkâli	The wood is light-colored, close-grained, and very durable. It is used for house-building purposes and cart-poles. It is heavy, fibrous and tough. A cubic foot of unseasoned wood weighs from 75 to 80 lbs. ; of seasoned 65 lbs.
Cordia myxa	விட்டி Vitti	The fruit is astringent ; the bark a mild tonic ; the root purgative.
Do. polygama... .	நாரிவிரசு Nârivirasu	,,
Cratæva Roxburghi.	மாவுலிங்கம Mâvulingam	The bark astringent. The juice and a decoction of the bark are exhibited in intermittent fevers.
Croton tiglium........	நீர்வளம் Nîrvalam	All parts of the plant seem to contain an acrid purgative principle.
Cupania canescens...	,,	The wood is white and is only used for burning.
Cyminosma pedunculata	,,	,,
Dalbergia frondosa...	கருந்தொவரை Karun-thuvarei.	The wood is valuable, being very strong, close-grained and durable. The bark is exhibited in cases of dyspepsia.
Do. latifolia. .	தோதகத்தி Tôthakatti	The wood is one of the most valuable kind : and is held in great repute by cabinet-makers. A cubic foot of unseasoned wood weighs from 58 to 62 lbs. ; of seasoned 50 lbs. It is close-grained, strong, flexible, fibrous and durable.
Do. paniculata.	பச்சாலை Pacchâlei.	The wood is white and firm. A cubic foot unseasoned weighs from 57 to 60 lbs. ; seasoned 48.
Do. Sisoides...	,,	,,
Dichrostachys Cinerea	வடத்தாலை Vadatthâlei.	,,
Dillenia pentagyna ...	பின்னை Pinnei.	The wood is close-grained, hard, durable, tough, strong and fibrous : and resists the action of water. A cubic foot unseasoned weighs from 85 to 90 lbs. ; seasoned 70 lbs.

Botanical Name.	Tamil Name.	Remarks.
Dodonæa Burmanniana.	,,	The wood is close-grained, fine and elastic. It is good for turning and engraving purposes.
Dyosperos ——— ?	கருந்தொவரை Karun-thuvarei.	
Do. cordifolia.	வககணை Vakkanei.	The wood is hard, strong, durable, and close and even-grained A cubic foot unseasoned weighs from 85 to 90 lbs ; seasoned 70 lbs.
Do dubia.. ...		
Elæocarpus oblongus	,,	
Elæodendron Roxburghii	கருகவமரம Karukavamaram.	
Emblica officinâlis...	நெல்லி Nelli.	The wood is hard and durable, and used to make gun-stocks. A cubic foot unseasoned weighs from 58 to 62 lbs. ; seasoned 46 lbs. The bark is astringent . the dried fruit laxative.
Eriochlœnæ Hookeriana	,,	The wood is strong and tough.
Eriodendron anfractuosum	இலவம Ilavam.	The wood is easily worked, soft, and coarse-grained A cubic foot unseasoned weighs 38 to 48 lbs. , seasoned 30 lbs.
Erythrina Indica.. ..	முருககை Marukkei.	The wood is soft
Eugenia jambolana..	நாவார் Nâvâr.	
Euonymus dichotonus	ஏர்க்குளி Êrkuli.	The wood is hard and white : and is used to make combs.
Do. crenulatus.	இருக்கணை Irukkanei.	The wood is very hard ; and adapted for engraving purposes.
Euphorbia tirucalli...	திருககள்ளி Thirukkalli.	The wood is adapted for cabinet-work, being close and even-grained, and easily worked. It weighs 36 lbs. seasoned , and from 45 to 50 lbs unseasoned, per cubic foot
Fagræa Coromandelina		
Do. nirulia....	,,	
Felicium decipiens...	மலையெருக்கலை Maleiyerukkalei.	

Botanical Name.	Tamil Name.	Remarks.
Feronia elephantum..	வேளாம் Vêlâm.	The wood is white, hard, durable and fine-grained. A cubic foot unseasoned weighs from 62 to 65 lbs.; seasoned 50. The leaves are stomachic and carminative.
Ficus glomerata	பேயத்தி Pêyatthi.	"
Do. Indica.........	ஆலை Alei.	The wood is brittle, light, and coarse-grained. A cubic foot unseasoned weighs from 43 to 45 lbs.; seasoned 36 lbs. The seeds are considered cooling and tonic. The milky juice is used in cases of tooth-ache and inflammation, and cracks in the feet
Do. racemosa......	அத்தி Atthi.	The wood is brittle, coarse-grained, tough and light. A cubic foot unseasoned weighs from 50 to 54 lbs.; seasoned 40 lbs.
Do. religiosa	அரசம் Arasam.	"
Flacourtia cataphracta	காளிசபத்திரி Kâlsapatthiri.	The young shoots and leaves are astringent and stomachic.
Do. sapida.....	"	The tree grows to a large size.
Garcinia Cambogia...	கற்குபுளி Katkupuli.	
Gardenia latifolia.....	"	The wood is close-grained and hard.
Do. lucida......	"	The wood is close-grained. A resin is extractable from it.
Garuga pinnata......	கரிவே பு Karivêmbu.	The wood appears to be valuable and deserving of attention.
Gelonium lanceolatum	"	A small tree.
Girardinia Leschenaultiana	"	
Givoytia Rottleriformis	வெண்டாலை Vendâlei.	
Glochidion Pulniensis	"	
Glycosmis arborea ..	"	
Gmelina arborea......	புலிக்குமிழு Pulikkumilu.	The wood is very like teak: but close-grained. It is suitable for gunstocks
Gnidium eriocephala	"	A small tree.
Gordonia obtusa......	"	The wood is strong.
Grewia abutilifolia...	"	The wood is tough, and yields good fibres.
Do. Asiatica......	"	The wood is tough, and fibrous.
Do. lævigata	"	The wood is tough, and yields good fibres.
Do. Rothii........	வள்ளக்காய் Vallakkây.	
Do. tillæfolia.....	எரு Eradu.	The wood is very strong and elastic.

Botanical Name.	Tamil Name	Remarks.
Gualteria cerasoides.	நெடுநாரா டை Nedunâratteı	The wood is pretty hard, and not liable to warp.
Do. fragrans...	,,	,,
Do. longifolia .	அசோகு Asôku.	The wood is soft: and of a yellowish color. It makes a good avenue tree.
Gyrocarpus Jacquini	தணக்கு Tanakku.	The wood is white and very light.
Hedera obovata.......	,,	,,
Do. racemosa......	,,	,,
Hydnocarpus inebrians.	மரவெட்டை Maravettei.	An oil extracted from its seeds is used as a sedative: also in cases of scabies and ulcus
Hymeno-dyction excelsum.	மலைத்தணக்கு Malei-tanakku.	,,
Ilex Wrightiana.......	,,	,,
Inga dulcis............	கருக்கப்பிலை Karukapillei	The wood is hard, coarse-grained and brittle. A cubic foot of unseasoned wood weighs from 50 to 53 lbs; of seasoned 40 lbs.
Ixora parviflora......	சுளுந்து Sulunthu	The wood is hard, and even and close-grained. A cubic foot of unseasoned wood weighs from 78 to 84 lbs.; of seasoned 66. It is well suited for the lathe.
Jatropha curcus......	காட்டுநொச்சி Kâttunocchi	,,
Do. glauca.......	அட்டலி Attali	The seeds yield a stimulating oil, which is applied externally in rheumatic and paralytic affections.
Kydia calycina........	,,	The wood is tough, and good for building purposes. The bark is mucilaginous.
Lagerstræmia microcarpa.	வெண்தேக்கு Ven-têkku	The wood is not so strong nor so durable as teak: and warps when exposed. A cubic foot of unseasoned timber weighs from 50 to 54 lbs: of seasoned 41 lbs. It is used for various household purposes.
Limona acidissima....	,,	The wood is very hard: the root purgative and sudorific.
Do. alata..........		
Maba buxifolia	,,	,,
Macaranga Indica.....	வட்டகெண்ணை Vattakennei	,,
Mallea Rothii.........	,,	The wood is only used for fuel.

Botanical Name.	Tamil Name.	Remarks.
Mangifera Indica	மாமரம Mâ-maram	The wood is hard, close-grained, and durable if kept dry. A cubic foot unseasoned weighs from 52 to 58 lbs. ; seasoned 42 lbs. The kernels are used in cases of dysentery.
Mappia fœtida....	,,	,,
Melanthesa turbinata.	,,	,,
Melia azedarach... ...	மலைவேபபு Malei-vêmbu	The wood resembles cedar-wood : but is lighter and looser in texture Insects will not attack it. A cubic foot unseasoned weighs from 38 to 42 lbs. ; seasoned 30 lbs. It is used for furniture. The root is bitter and nauseous.
Memecylon tinctorium	,,	The wood is very tough.
Mesua Coromandeliana	மலைநாஙகல Malei-nângal	,,
Do. ferrea.	நீர்நாஙகல் Nîr-nângal	,,
Do. speciosa..... ..	வெள்ளைநாஙகல் Vellei-nângal	
Michelia Pulniensis...	செமபுகம Shembugam	The wood is good, and of a mottled appearance. The bark is bitter and aromatic.
Millingtonia simplicifolia	,,	,,
Do. pungens .	,,	,,
Milnea apiocarpa.....	,,	,,
Mimusops Roxburghiana.	கனுபாலை Kanupâlei	,,
Mœsa Indica	,,	,,
Monocera glandulifera	,,	The wood is very strong
Do. tuberculata	,,	,,
Moringa citrifolia....	நுணா Nunâ	The wood is close-grained, light and tough , easily worked, and not very strong. A cubic foot unseasoned weighs from 35 to 40 lbs ; seasoned 30 lbs. The fruit is deobstruent and emmenagogue. The inner bark and roots are used for dying purposes
Do. pterygosperma	முருங்கை Murungei	The wood is useless. The root is stimulant, rubefacient and aromatic.
Do. tomentosa	மஞ்சணத்தி Manjanatti	The wood is yellow-colored : and is used for various purposes
Murraya exotica. ..	,,	,,
Myrsine capitellata .	,,	,,
Myristica ——— ? . .	வசவல்லி Vasavalli	,,

Botanical Name.	Tamil Name	Remarks.
Nauclea cordifolia ...	மஞ்சகடம்பு Manjakadambu	The wood is soft, close and even-grained, easily worked, but not durable. It is ornamental and used for cabinet purposes. A cubic foot unseasoned weighs from 56 to 58 lbs.; seasoned 42 lbs.
Do. parvifolia. ..	நீர்கடம்பு Nîrkkadambu	The wood is light, soft, close and even-grained, and not durable. It rots if exposed to wet. It is much used for planks. A cubic foot unseasoned weighs from 48 to 52 lbs., seasoned 39 lbs.
Niebuhria linearis...	குதெட்டி Kuthetti.	,,
Odina wodier...	ஒதியம் Othiyam	The wood is dark-colored and strong: and when seasoned properly, fibrous, elastic, straight, and even-grained. A cubic foot unseasoned weighs from 66 to 70 lbs.; seasoned 50 lbs.
Olea robusta.... ...	,,	The wood is very hard and durable.
Phœbe paniculata.....	,,	,,
Photinia Lindleana...	,,	The wood is adapted for cabinet purposes.
Do. Notoniana...	,,	The wood is adapted for cabinet purposes.
Pittosporum floribundum.	,,	The wood is strong and tough.
Pongamia glabra......	புங்கை Pungei	The wood is light, tough, fibrous, coarse, and even-grained. A cubic foot unseasoned weighs from 48 to 55 lbs.; seasoned 40 lbs. The oil expressed from the seeds is used externally in eruptive diseases.
Poinciana elata.......	,,	,,
Premna tomentosa...	கொளக்கட்டை தேக்கு Kolakkattei-têkku.	The wood is hard and close-grained.
Do. Wightiana ..	,,	,,
Prosopis spicigera....	வன்னி Vanni.	The wood is of a dark red color, durable, hard, straight and close-grained. It is superior to teak in strength. A cubit foot unseasoned weighs from 95 to 100 lbs., seasoned 72 lbs.
Protium Roxburghiana...	கிலவை Kilavei	,,

Botanical Name	Tamil Name.	Remarks.
Psidium pyriferum..	கொய்யா Koyyâ.	The wood is hard and close-grained, and is used for tool-handles. A cubic foot unseasoned weighs from 58 to 60 lbs. ; seasoned 47 lbs.
Pterocarpus marsupium...	வேங்கை Vêngei.	The wood is strong, durable and not easily worked. It is used chiefly for house-building purposes and cart-frames and felloes. Unseasoned wood weighs from 65 to 70 lbs. ; seasoned 56 lbs. per cubic foot.
Pterospermum suberifolium	,,	,,
Pygeum Zeylanicum.	,,	,,
Randia dumetorum. .		
Do. uliginosa......	,,	,,
Rhododendron arboreum	,,	,,
Rottlera peltata.......	,,	,,
Do. tinctoria.....	,,	The wood is soft and of poor quality. The fruit yields a valuable dye. The powder of the capsule is used as an anthelmintic.
Saccopetalum tomentosum		
Salvadora Wightiana	உபாய் Ubay.	,,
Santalum album......	சந்தனம் Santhanam.	The famous sandal. The wood is exceedingly fragrant, and is used as a perfume. A cubic foot unseasoned weighs from 72 to 75 lbs. ; seasoned 58 lbs. The powdered wood is exhibited to patients in fevers and bilious affections ; and is used externally in cases of prickly heat and cutaneous eruptions.
Sapindus emarginatus	பூவந்தி Pûvanthi.	The wood is close-grained, hard, stiff, and not durable. A cubic foot unseasoned weighs from 75 to 80 lbs. ; seasoned 64 lbs. It cracks if much exposed ; and is not easily worked. The capsule is expectorant : the fruit detergent.
Do. laurifolius.	,,	,,
Do. rubiginosus	,,	The wood is strong and durable.
Sapota elengoides.. .	,,	,,
Schleichera trijuga...	புலச்சி Pulacchi.	The wood is hard, and is used for building purposes. The bark is astringent.

Botanical Name	Tamil Name.	Remarks.
Sclerostylis antalantioides...	,,	,,
Semecarpus anacardium...	செங்கோட்டை Shengkôttei.	The wood is soft. The bark is mildly astringent. The receptacle of the fruit is astringent and acrid. From the nuts is expressed an acrid and vesicating oil.
Sethia Indica........	தேவதாரி Dêvadâri.	The wood is fragrant ; and is esteemed as being a substitute for sandal-wood. The tender leaves are refrigerant. An infusion of the bark is useful as a tonic.
Solenocarpus Indica..	மட்புளிச்சி Mampulicchi.	,,
Soymidia febrifuga...	,,	The wood is hard, durable and red-colored.
Spondia aurentalis...	மீனா Mina.	,,
Sponia Wightii.......	,,	,,
Sterculia fœtida........	பீனாரி Pinâri.	The wood is useful, being light, tough, rather open-grained, and easily worked It does not split or warp. Unseasoned a cubit foot weighs 34 to 38 lbs. ; seasoned 28 lbs. The leaves and bark are aperient, repellent, diuretic and diaphoretic. A decoction of the seed capsules is both mucillaginous and astringent.
Do. guttata......	,,	,,
Do. urens........	வெள்ளை புட்டாலி Vellei-puttâli.	The wood is soft and spongy ; the bark astringent, the seeds cathârtic.
Strychnos nux vomica	எட்டி Etti.	The wood is hard, stiff, and durable. White ants will not attack it. A cubic foot of unseasoned wood weighs from 56 to 70 lbs. ; seasoned 56 lbs The root is used in intermittent fevers, and for snake-bites. The seeds are poisonous. They are used medicinally in cases of dysentery, paralysis, dyspepsia, and affections of the nervous system.
Do. potatorum	,,	,,
Symplocos Gardneriana	,,	,,
Do. pendula...		
Syzygium Arnottianum...		

Botanical Name.	Tamil Name.	Remarks.
Syzygium caroyphyllifolium	நாவல் Nâval.	The wood is good for building purposes, being tolerably close and even-grained. A cubic foot of unseasoned wood weighs from 60 to 62 lbs. ; of seasoned 48 lbs. The fruit is astringent.
Tamarindus officinalis	புளியமரம் Puliya-maram	The wood is close-grained, very hard, durable, and beautifully veined. It is used for oil-presses and turnery purposes. Unseasoned wood weighs from 92 to 98 lbs. per cubic foot, seasoned 79 lbs. The pulp of the fruit is purgative.
Tectona grandis....	தேக்கு Têkku.	The Teak wood is the best and most valuable wood known in India. It is used extensively for ship and house-building purposes and for furniture A cubic foot unseasoned weighs from 55 to 60 lbs. , seasoned 42 lbs
Tephrosia suberosa...	"	"
Terminalia arjuna....	வெள்ளை மருதை Vellei-marithei.	The wood is harder than teak, but more brittle : and is not easily worked. It is marked with irregular dark streaks. Its grain is coarse and shining. It is used in house-building, and for carts.
Do. bellerica..	தானி Thâni	The wood is white ; soft but durable. The fruit is astringent and tonic.
Do. catappa...	நாட்டுவாதாங் கொட்டை Nâttuvâthânu-kottei.	The wood is coarse-grained, light and durable. A cubic foot seasoned weighs 32 lbs.
Do. chebula...	கடுக்காய் Kudukkây	The wood is strong, hard, heavy, close-grained, and not easily worked. A cubic foot unseasoned weighs from 65 to 80 lbs. ; seasoned 54 lbs. The fruit is astringent, and mixed with honey is used in cases of dropsy diabetes and hæmorrhoidal affections.
Do glabra....	கனுமருதை Kanumaruthei	The wood is of a dark brown color, heavy, stony, and tolerably close and even-grained. It is used in house-building. A cubic foot of unseasoned wood weighs from 70 to 73 lbs. ; of seasoned 55 lbs.
Do. paniculata	மெய்டா Meydâ.	The wood is fine and stout. It not only bears immersion in water, but is improved by it. The bark contains tannin.

Botanical Name.	Tamil Name.	Remarks.
Tetranthera glabrata.	,,	,,
Do. ligustrina	,,	,,
Thespesia populnea...	பூவரசு Pûvarasu.	The wood is strong, close-grained, and durable. A cubic foot unseasoned weighs from 59 to 62 lbs.; seasoned 49 lbs. The yellow pigment in the capsule is used in cases of scabies and cutaneous diseases. It makes a good avenue tree. It never occurs wild.
Turpinia Nepalensis..	,,	,,
Vitex alata...........	மயிலை Mayilei.	,,
Do. altissima........	மயிலாடு Maylâdu.	The wood is hard and durable; and very valuable. It is known as white cedar.
Do. negundo..... .	நொச்சி Nocchi.	The leaves and young shoots are powerfully discutient. The leaves are powdered and taken with water in fevers. The root and cataplasm of leaves are used externally in cases of rheumatism and local pains. The dried fruit is a vermifuge.
Do. trifolia	நீர்நொச்சி Nîr-nocchi.	The wood is hard, heavy, fine and close-grained. A cubic foot weighs 56 lbs.
Wendlandia Notomiana....................	,,	,,
Wrightia anti-dysenterica............ ...	வெப்பாலை Veppâlei.	The wood is hard, adapted for turnery, very close, straight and even-grained. A cubic foot unseasoned weighs from 45 to 48 lbs.; seasoned 38 lbs The bark is used for dysentery and bowel complaints.
Wrightia tinctoria....	பிலா Pilâ	The wood is close-grained ivory-white and good for turning purposes.
Xanthochymus pictorius	,,	,,
Zizyphus glabrata....	கருக்கட்டா Karukkattâ.	,,
Zizyphus jujuba......	எல்லாடு Ellâdu.	The wood is durable, hard, and even and close-grained. A cubic foot unseasoned weighs from 72 to 75 lbs.; seasoned 58 lbs. It is adapted for cabinet and ornamental work.
Zizyphus xylopyra...	,,	The wood is compact, durable and strong. A cubic foot unseasoned weighs from 75 to 78 lbs.; seasoned 60 lbs.

PART III.

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE MADURA COUNTRY, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.—Authorities made use of.—The "Mad'hurâ St'hala Purâna" abstracted.

THE materials for writing a political history of Madura to be found in the Madura Record Office are very, very scanty. The earliest English records extant go back only as far as the year 1790: and from that date to the present few political events of any magnitude have occurred within the limits of the District There have been, indeed, some petty rebellions headed by the hereditary holders of various small tracts of country And soon after the District was finally ceded to the British, the rude and turbulent Kallan tribes (called by Orme and others "Colleries") gave the Government some trouble for a while. But with the exception of these events, there has been but little of late for the annalist to record.

In old times, however, things were very different. Madura, or as it is properly spelt Mad'hurâ, was once the metropolis of a large and rather powerful kingdom; she was once the seat of learning of many kinds; and she has been from the earliest times a favourite resort of the pious Hindû. Some of her kings were brave, active, and powerful. and many of them were at all events sufficiently wise to expend enormous sums of money in promoting the material prosperity and happiness of their subjects. Mad'hurâ was often, therefore, a tempting prize in the eyes of gr[illegible] neighbours: and foreign generals swooped down upon her, one after another, in the hope of acquiring an immense booty by their courage and address; whilst hordes of emigrants from countries ravaged by Mussulman invaders and others marched across, and settled within her boundaries. Nor was this

all. Rival claimants to the throne, or to the administration of the country fought out their battles from time to time, round the walls of the capital; or occupied in force the hill fortresses and mountain passes; whilst their secret adherents constantly plotted and intrigued within the palace.

There was therefore plenty of life in Mad'hurâ, and plenty of work for the industrious historian, which has not been altogether neglected. The "St'hala Purâna of Mad'hurâ," the "Srîtâla book," the "History of the Karnataca Governors," the "Mrityunjaya manuscripts," and an abundance of Samskrit and Vernacular histories memoirs and chronicles are still in existence, from which an accurate and patient scholar possessed of the requisite local knowledge might probably be able to extract a large amount of information respecting the Tamil and other races, over whom the rulers and kings of Mad'hurâ have held sway Rough translations of some of these writings were published by the Missionary William Taylor in Madras in 1835, under the title of "Oriental Historical Manuscripts, in the Tamil language translated, with annotations" and in this work much useful matter may be found. Then the "Catalogue Raisonnè of Oriental MSS." prepared by the same author, contains a very rich mine of the most valuable materials, of the usefulness of which it is perhaps impossible to speak too highly. Besides these sources of information, existing inscriptions on copper plates and on pagodas and other buildings are sufficiently numerous to reward careful investigation with the discovery of a large aggregate of facts: and the history of the 17th and 18th centuries has been most copiously illustrated by the passing remarks on political events and the general state, of the country, embodied in the annual reports of the Jesuit Missionaries who worked in Mad'hurâ, Trichinopoly and other southern capitals In fact there are accessible materials for a sufficiently complete history of Mad'hurâ in modern times.

The very little that is known of the earliest history of Mad'hurâ is to be found in its St'hala Purâna, or ancient history of its holy place. This work is universally believed by these natives of Mad'hurâ who profess the Saiva religion to have been written three or four thousand years ago. but what ground, if any, there is for this belief, I have not been able to ascertain. It seems highly probable on the other hand, that it was composed in not very early times: and the statement of the great Professor Wilson, to the effect that it cannot claim

a higher antiquity than that of 8 or 900 years, can probably be accepted without hesitation. But the copies of the original Samskrit work now in existence are said to vary one from another very considerably: and it is just possible, that the copy examined by Wilson (if indeed he ever examined one) may have contained interpolations and errors, which led him to assign an incorrect date to the Purâna. And as for what profess to be Tamil translations versions and imitations of the Samskrit, they vary so considerably from the Samskrit Purâna and from one another, that they must be used, if at all, with the very greatest caution. Only the latest and worst of them are said to be now in existence: and there can be little doubt, but that even the most correct modern copies of these contain much matter that was not to be found in the quasi-original works.

An abstract of the Purâna will presently be given, which with the assistance of a Pundit has been carefully compared with a Samskrit manuscript said to be the best procurable, and it is hoped that it is in the main correct. But readers who are familiar with Mr. Taylor's abstract of a Tamil work given in his O. H. MSS. will observe the very considerable variances in the facts set forth in that and in this respectively; and the danger of hastily adopting presumptions *primâ facie* deducible from either will be at once apparent to them.

Scientifically handled, and attentively read together with the St'hala Purânas of Srîrang'ha, Kânchipura, and other holy places, the Mad'hurâ St'hala Purâna will doubtless furnish the Orientalist with much valuable knowledge. It contains a considerable amount of information touching the primitive doctrines of the Saiva faith, and the customs of the inhabitants of the Pândya country. And it unquestionably contains a few strictly historical facts. On the other hand, a mere superficial perusal of an incorrect copy or bad imitation of the work is calculated to lead the reader into the most grievous errors, and to impede in a measure the advance of Oriental learning. I will now give my

ABSTRACT OF THE MAD'HURÂ ST'HALA PURÂNA.

The authorship of the work is ascribed in the preface to the Rishi Vyâsa, who is declared to have learnt the facts therein set forth from Agastya. He (the latter) and other Rishis were worshipping the

linga one day at Kâsi, when he was asked by the company to tell them which was the holiest book in the universe, which the holiest spot, which the holiest water. He informed them that the Skanda Purâna was the holiest of all books, for it told the praises of Sundara linga, that is of Siva; the Kadamba tree forest (on the site of which Mad'hurâ is said to have been built) was the holiest of all spots, both naturally and because it contained the most holy linga and the most holy water; the holiest water was the *Swarna-push-karini* or "pool of the golden lilies" in the abovesaid forest. And he added that the Kadamba forest was the place in which the god Siva had performed sixty-four miracles: which he would then and there describe in order.

1ST STORY.—The first miracle took place in the Krita Yuga and under the following circumstances. Indra was so much interested one day in a celestial nâtch, that he neglected to pay proper respect to Brahaspati, the Guru or spiritual adviser of the gods: and the latter withdrew from his presence in great anger, and threw up his appointment. In consequence of this, and after consultation with Brahma, Indra appointed a three-headed giant named Visvarûpa to act as Guru during the absence of Brahaspati or until further orders. and set to work to find the missing priest. Soon after this the new Guru performed the Yajna sacrifice; and as there was undying enmity between the gods and the giants, he took it upon himself, being a giant, to curse the former and bless the latter. This irregularity greatly enraged Indra, and he forthwith cut off the Guru's three heads with his Vajrâyutha, or peculiar weapon: when to his astonishment the three heads instantly became birds and flew away. Now the giant was of the Brâhman caste, and the sin of killing a Brâhman began to weigh heavily upon Indra's mind. It was however removed after a time by the assistance of the gods, and having been divided into four parts was injected into trees, women, waters, and earth, upon which its portions became respectively gum, menstrual evacuations, froth, and fuller's earth. Relieved from this incubus Indra hoped to regain his peace of mind: but he was disappointed Twashta, the father of the slain giant performed a Yajna sacrifice, and by means of it produced in place of his son a still more formidable giant named Vrittra, who at once attacked and defeated Indra. The latter fled, and applied to Brahma for assistance: who referred him to Vishnu. This god advised him to throw away his

Vajrâyud'ha, which had become less and less effective day by day since the displeasure of Brahaspati had been incurred, and to make a new one out of the back-bone of the Rishi Dad'hyang. Indra accordingly sought out the Rishi, and informed him of his circumstances and need: and the Rishi forthwith voluntarily gave up the ghost, and Indra was enabled to make the terrible weapon which he required. Armed with this he boldly attacked the giant: but the latter fled in dismay, and hid himself in a deep sea. Indra in vain tried to find his adversary, and by the advice of Brahma went to the Rishi Agastya and asked his aid. The Rishi was willing to assist him, and with scarcely an effort drank up the seven seas which surround the earth, and brought the giant into sight; upon which Indra killed him with his new Vajrâyutha Unfortunately this giant too was a Brâhman, and Indra was tormented by the stings of conscience to so great a degree, that he retired from the world; and took refuge within the stalk of a lily growing in a tank.

Indra having retired, there was no king to rule his heaven, and the gods were compelled to elect in his place a mortal, named Nahusha, who had performed a hundred *Ashwa-mêdha* sacrifices and thereby qualified himself to reign in Indra's heaven. After his coronation, Nahusha announced his intention of taking Indra's place as husband, as well as king. and Indrâni the Queen was filled with alarm. However, there was no help for it, and she was compelled to agree to receive his embraces, provided he came to her in a palanquin borne by the seven great Rishis Nahusha consented to the arrangement, and, the Rishis being willing to carry him, entered the state palanquin, and directed them to take him to Indrâni's abode On the way he became so impatient of the delay to which he was submitting, that he impertinently cried out to the Rishis, sarpa! sarpa! which means both "Get on! get on!" and "a serpent" The Rishis were very much disgusted at being ordered about in this way by a mere mortal, and pronounced a charm which forthwith turned him into a serpent: and so his brief reign ended, and Indrâni's chastity was preserved. After this, Indrâni accompanied by the gods and by Brahaspati, who had now returned to his duty, went to look for Indra. Having found him, Brahaspati graciously forgave him: and pointed out to him how he might become purged of all the guilt that he had incurred, namely by visiting all the holy places in the world. Indra then set out with Brahaspati, ostensibly on a hunting expedi-

tion, and visited many places: but all to no purpose, as the guilt was by no means removed. At last they came to the Kadamba forest, and immediately all was well with the sinner, and he felt that his sin was removed. In the joy of his heart he looked about for the cause of his happy deliverance: and after diligent search found a linga near a tank. He at once sent for the celestial artificer Visvakarma, and instructed him to make a splendid shrine for the linga: and in a very short space of time the precious emblem was surrounded with a golden structure, gorgeous with precious stones, and containing eight figures of elephants, thirty-two of lions, and sixty-four of celestial messengers. And near to it was erected a shrine containing a figure which represented Ishwari the wife of Siva. All that was wanting was flowers wherewith to adorn the linga, and these were furnished by the tank, on the surface of which there suddenly appeared beautiful golden lilies Indra then worshipped the linga, and Ishwari's image with unparalleled fervour, and named the former Sundara linga. Siva was greatly pleased with this adoration; and having appeared to Indra's delighted eyes promised to grant him whatever he might ask. Indra replied, that all he wanted was the inestimable privilege of worshipping the blessed linga every day: but Siva declared that there was no need for Indra to take so much trouble to the neglect of his kingdom; he might descend from his heaven and worship the linga once a year, in the month of Chittra, on the day of the full moon, and should derive as much benefit from so doing, as if he descended and worshipped every day. He then disappeared: and Indra and Brahaspati returned to their capital.

2D STORY.—The second story is to the effect that Indra's white elephant, Ayrâvata, was cursed by the Rishi Durvâsa and made to wander wild in the jungles, for having maliciously destroyed some flowers presented to Indra by that Rishi. The elephant was freed from its guilt at last by wandering accidentally into the sacred Kadamba forest: and gratefully set up an image in honor of the god Siva's son, and called it Ayrâvata Vinâyaka, and also dug a sacred tank, at a place west of the forest. And at another place east of the same it set up a linga, and named it Ayrâvata linga. The name given to this place was Ayrâvata town.

3RD STORY.—The third story runs as follows. When a king called Kula Shêk'hara Pândya was ruling at a place called Kalyâna-

pura, situated east of the Kadamba forest, a merchant called D'hananjaya was once benighted in that forest, and discovered the holy linga and the shrine which protected it. He immediately reported the discovery to the king, who also dreamed that a Rishi came and desired him to build a Pagoda and a city in that place. The king forthwith cleared the forest, and within the space of ten days built round the shrine towers, walls, temples, and a goodly city: and he sent for Brâhmans from Kâsi to worship the linga in the proper manner. Having completed his pious work, he was doubting how to name the new town, when the god Siva appeared and as a mark of especial favor sprinkled the new buildings with drops of nectar shaken out of his locks. From this circumstance the town derived its present name Mad'hurâ, which means sweetness Feeling his end to be approaching the king appointed his son Malaya D'hwaja his successor, and had him crowned. He then died.

4TH STORY.—In the fourth story we are told of the incarnation of Siva's wife. Malaya D'hwaja had married the daughter of Shûra Sêna, the Râja of the Chôla country: but failed during 10,000 years to get a son. He filled his seraglio with thousands of wives and concubines: but all to no purpose. In despair he performed the *putra-kâmêshti* sacrifice, by which pious men procure children: and his desire was speedily accomplished. For Ishwari or Mînâkshi, Siva's wife, rose up out of the sacrifice in the form of a child The queen was delighted with the infant, and nurtured it with the greatest tenderness: but both she and her husband were greatly concerned to see that it had a third breast situated midway between two proper breasts. However, their anxiety on this score was removed by a fairy who appeared and told them, that the unsightly excrescence would leave the child so soon as she saw her future husband. and at the same time advised the Pândya to call the child Thatâthakei, and crown and make her his successor. This he did. and died after having the child taught all the known sciences

5TH STORY.—The fifth story consists of a description of Thatâthakei's marriage. She assembled a large army of horse and foot soldiers, war-chariots and elephants, and having put herself at its head attacked and defeated all the kings of the earth, then the gods of the eight quarters, and lastly Indra himself. She then invaded the heaven called Kailâsa and defeated Siva's troops, and at last Siva had to come forth himself to fight against her. The instant she

caught sight of him, her third breast disappeared; and she hung down her head in shame knowing that she was in the presence of her future husband. On learning this Siva promised to marry her on an approaching Monday. Thatâthakei then returned to Mad'hurâ, and her prime minister Sumathi made great preparations for the wedding. The kings of the fifty-six countries which composed the world were all invited to attend; the city was magnificently decorated; and the hall of marriage was made resplendent with jewels. On the appointed day Siva came in the form of a man, mounted on his celestial bull, attended by Vishnu and Brahma, and escorted by his servants, and by Indra and all the gods. As the procession approached Mad'hurâ, it was met by the bride's mother, who washed Siva's feet and put garlands round them: and bade him accept her daughter and the throne. Siva smiled graciously in token of acceptance: and entered the marriage hall. Then the wives of Vishnu and Brahma, Lakshmi and Saraswati, decked the bride with the rarest jewels, until her face shone like the concentrated rays of a thousand suns. and placed her at the right hand of Siva. All being ready, Brahma performed the service, and Vishnu laid the bride's hand upon that of the bridegroom, and pouring water upon it declared the queen to be Siva's property. Meanwhile musical instruments of all sorts gave forth the most delightful melody: Rishis and Brâhmans chanted sacred verses: and all kinds of pleasing ceremonies were observed. The marriage having been duly performed, Siva was crowned king of Mad'hurâ, and assumed the name of Sundara Pândya.

6TH STORY.—After the wedding all the company sat down to a grand repast But two Rishis named Patanjali and Vyâg'hrapattra could not do so, as it was their invariable custom to witness every day the sacred dancing of the god Siva at Chidambara before they ate their rice: and they excused themselves on this ground to the king. Upon this he graciously vouchsafed to them a vision of the sacred dancing in the Silver Hall in the Mad'hurâ pagoda: and there danced before them on his right leg only, keeping his left stretched straight up above his head. Delighted with Siva's kindness and condescension, the Rishis asked that this dancing might be daily witnessed in the Silver Hall, and their boon was granted. After this they sat down with the other guests, and having fared sumptuously retired to their own country.

7TH STORY.—When the guests had all taken leave the bride pointed in a boastful way to the enormous quantities of food, which remained unconsumed, although so much had been eaten. Thousands of heaps of cooked rice, vegetables, and other things were lying about in every direction: and she seemed to think it would be impossible to dispose of them all. But the bridegroom quickly showed what his power was He made the all-consuming fire, called Badabâ muk'hâgni, to enter into the belly of his attendant dwarf Kundôdara, and the latter being seized with an unabateable hunger in a very short time ate up the whole of the rice, vegetables, and other food, and asked for more. And so violent grew his ravenings, that at last Siva was compelled to summon Annapûrnîshwari, the goddess of plenty, to supply the poor wretch with abundance of rice and buttermilk. And she stayed his hunger.

8TH STORY.—But the hunger was succeeded by a thirst of so great intensity, that nothing could assuage it. All the wells and tanks in the country were drunk up in succession: and still the dwarf cried more, more! Upon this Siva was again moved to compassion, and began to imagine that Gangâ, the goddess of water, ought to do something for the unhappy dwarf. And as he was so imagining, the goddess appeared from out of his lock of hair, and agreed to satisfy his servant's thirst, if Siva would promise to make her more holy than the river Ganges, and at the same time would grant her a boon to the effect that the bones of all corpses thrown into a river, which she proposed to cause to flow past on the instant, should become lingas; and also, that all who bathed in it should be forgiven whatever sins they might have committed in former lives. Siva granted the required boon: and Gangâ caused the river Kritamâlâ to flow north of Mad'hurâ, entering into which the dwarf soon quenched his thirst. To drink the more copiously, he sat midway between the banks and stretched out his arms on either side so as to form a dyke.

9TH STORY.—Some time after this the bride's putative mother Kânchanamâlâ had a conversation with the sage Durvâsa: and having learnt from him that the sea is especially holy, inasmuch as all the holy rivers run into it, became seized with the desire of bathing in its waters, and so purifying herself from the pollution of sin. Siva heard of this, and to save her the trouble of a long journey caused the springs of all the seven seas to be fixed in the neigh-

bourhood of the Mad'hurâ Pagoda. And they are to be seen there to this day. The old lady was about to bathe in the springs of the seven seas, and the Brâhmans were chaunting sacred verses appropriate to the occasion, when it was discovered that a widow who had not a male child could not purify herself in the proposed manner unless she descended into the water holding the tail of a calf. She was much troubled at this, and was hesitating as to whether she should bathe or no, when Siva removed her difficulty.

10TH STORY.—He caused her deceased husband to leave Paradise and appear before her. Taking hold of his finger she went down into the water; and having washed away her sins, died, and went with him on his return to the abode of the blessed.

11TH STORY—After this Thatâthakei was brought to bed on a fortunate Monday, when the star Ârdrâ was in the ascendant. The child was a male; and his body-marks having been carefully noted, it was found that he would bring great joy to all his people and great grief to his enemies: and reign long and prosperously. He was named Ugra Pândya, and as soon as he began to grow intelligent was instructed in all the sciences.

12TH STORY—In this is described the marriage of Ugra Pândya. His father imagined the propriety of his marrying Kantimathi, the daughter of Sôma Shêk'hara, the Chôla king of Kânchipura, and a descendant of the race of the Sun; who also had a dream to the same effect: and the result was, the Chôla king brought his daughter to Mad'hurâ, and the marriage was celebrated. Immediately afterwards Sundara Pândya caused his son to be crowned king, and gave him three precious gifts, weapons by means of which he was to conquer 1, Indra; 2, the God of the Sea; and 3, Mount Mêru, and named Valaya, Shakti, and Chenda respectively. After this donation he retired from the world, and located himself in his linga in the Mad'hurâ Pagoda, and the queen his wife located herself in the image called Mînâkshi in the same place.

The next three stories show the victories gained by means of the three miraculous weapons First the god of the seas was defeated, then Indra, and lastly the god who dwells in Mount Mêru.

13TH STORY.—Ugra Pândya performed ninety-six *As'hwamêd'ha* sacrifices; and as four more would entitle him to rule in Indra's heaven, that deity became alarmed, and ordered Varuna to destroy

Mad'hurâ. Varuna accordingly directed the god of the Seas to advance against the city, and overthrow it: and soon afterwards the waters of the sea flowed up to the very walls of the Pagoda, and threatened to sweep it away. Then by the advice of Siva given in a dream, the Pândya hurled his Shakti at them and they were all dried up in a moment, and the city was saved.

14TH STORY.—After this, in consequence of the planets moving irregularly in the heavens no rain fell for a long time in the Pândya, Chôla, and Chêra countries. The kings of these countries therefore met and took counsel together, and went all three to the sage Agastya, who was living on Mount Malaya, to ask him the cause of the calamity which had befallen them. He explained to them that Mars followed by the sun and by Venus had been moving irregularly, and that there would in consequence be a drought of twelve years' duration. But Indra could help them: and if they went to Mad'hurâ, and there observed the *Sômavâra* fast, they might obtain access to his heaven. This fast was a most powerful means of grace and strength: and when kept by the great gods enabled them to work miracles.* The procedure adopted in keeping it was the following. The faster should begin to fast on a Monday, a full-moon Monday if possible, in the month Kârtiga, having taken but one full meal on the Sunday preceding He should purify himself in the golden-lily tank, and anoint and worship the linga. If he required food after this, he might break his fast at noon. But some did not eat until the stars appeared; others fasted till the following morning; others again watched till then besides fasting; and some passed the night praying as well as fasting. The three kings followed the Rishi's instructions: and having kept the fast succeeded in reaching heaven, where they were kindly received by Indra. Three seats were set for them below Indra's throne, and the Chôla and Chêra kings sat in two of them: but the Pândya haughtily declined to take the third, and seated himself beside Indra on Indra's throne. Indra was greatly annoyed at this, and turning his back on him addressed the other two, and promised to send them rain. Before dismissing them he placed on the Pândya's breast a *hâra* or breast-plate of great weight, intending to crush him therewith; but the Pândya bore it as if it were a chaplet of flowers, and was therefore named Hâra-dhâri Pândya or "he who bore the *hâra*." He then abused Indra for his treachery, and stalked away. After this, the Chôla and Chêra kings countries had

abundance of rain, but the Pândyas none: so seeing the four clouds grazing one day, as he was returning from hunting, the Pândya seized them and confined them in his capital. Enraged at this, Indra came down from heaven on his white elephant and attacked him. But the latter smote the god's crown into fragments with his magical Valaya, and forced him to flee in dismay. Indra then wrote a letter promising to send rain on condition that the captive clouds should be set at liberty. But the Pândya declined to do this. At last a man called Êkavîra, the proprietor of one of seven villages, offered to stand security for the clouds: and his offer having been accepted, the captives were released. After that there was sufficient rain in Mad'hurâ, and the country became most fertile.

15TH STORY.—Previous to this victory over Indra, the Pândya had relieved his subjects to some extent from the terrible effects of the drought. In consequence of a dream he went to mount Mêru, and compelled the spirit who lived therein to discover an immense quantity of gold buried in its rocks. This was distributed amongst the people, and enabled them to buy food. When first summoned, the spirit refused to appear: but the Pandya struck the mountain a terrific blow with the Chenda, and the spirit came forth awed and submissive, and did what was required of him.

The Pândya thus obtained the three victories: and died at last after crowning his son Vîra.

16TH STORY.—During his reign Kanwa and other Rishis who abode in the Neimisha forest were much distressed at not being able to understand correctly the Vêdas. After seeking advice from the sage Harab'hakta, they came to Mad'hurâ, and after having purified themselves in the sacred tank, and performed certain rigorous penances, worshipped Siva with great fervour. He thereupon appeared to them in the form of a young Brâhman; and taking them into the presence of the linga declared to them that the holy emblem represented the Omnipotent, and that it was from Siva's five heads that the *Âgama* and the *Vêdas* originally proceeded. The young Brâhman then touched the Rishis on their backs, blessed them with a spirit of interpretation; and suddenly vanished, to their great surprise.

17TH STORY.—Vîra Pândya had a great many sons by concubines, but not one by his wife. However after much fasting and praying he got a legitimate successor to the throne, and five years afterwards

was killed in a jungle by a tiger. As soon as the news of his death reached Mad'hurâ, several of his natural sons combined together and stole and ran off with the crown and royal jêwels. Consequently when the time came for the coronation of the new king, the ministers were in great perplexity as to how the ceremony could be performed. At this juncture Siva appeared in the form of a young jeweller, and after giving a lecture on the nature, lustre, and properties of various precious stones, presented a number to the ministers, and bade them make a new crown with them. He then named the prince Ab'hishêka Pândya, and vanished. The crown was made according to Siva's instructions; and Ab'hishêka was crowned, and began to reign.

18TH STORY.—As he was worshipping the linga one day, it happened that Indra came down from heaven to worship it: and being compelled to wait till the Pândya had finished, the god grew excessively angry. And on his return to his heaven he commissioned Varuna to destroy Mad'hurâ. That deity attempted to carry out the order by the means adopted on a previous occasion (see page 11): but Siva interfered, and caused to issue from his locks four clouds, which descended to Mad'hurâ, and drank up in an instant the seas that threatened to overwhelm it.

19TH STORY—Furious at being thus thwarted, Varuna sent clouds to discharge fearful showers of rain and hail upon Mad'hurâ: but Siva again interposed in his mercy, and the four clouds that drank up the seas were directed to form themselves into a shield over the city, and ward off the attacks of the hostile clouds. This was done: and Mad'hurâ was again preserved. Varuna then perceived that his enmity was of no avail, and coming to the sacred tank purified himself in it and prayed for forgiveness. This was granted to him; his guilt was purged; and a dropsy which greatly troubled him was cured.

20TH STORY.—After this Siva amused himself with appearing as a prophet, and performing a series of meaningless miracles in the Mad'hurâ country. Old men were changed into young; men into women; blockheads into scholars; trees of one kind into trees of another; and so forth.

21ST STORY.—The Pândya sent messengers to bring the prophet before him, but they were all struck with astonishment at beholding

the miracles and were unable to do their duty. The king then sent his ministers: but they too failed in their errand, and were contemptuously told that "a prophet had no concern with kings"

Thereupon the king himself went out to look for the illustrious stranger. He came to the Pagoda on the 1st of the month of Pushya, and meeting the pretended prophet asked him his name. The god said "Agniyâ sidd'ha," (?) which means the omnipotent spirit, and the king then asked him sarcastically, if he could make a stone elephant which stood hard by eat sugar-cane, and stretched out a piece of cane towards the lifeless figure. To his amazement the stone elephant lifted its trunk, and advancing towards him with fierce gestures tore from off his neck a necklace of pearls and swallowed it together with the sugar-cane. Seeing this, the king's attendants made a rush at the prophet, with the object of chastising him for his violence. but he looked at them in a peculiar manner, and they immediately became powerless to move. The king then perceived that the god was amusing himself at his expense, threw himself at Siva's feet, and implored forgiveness. This was granted: and a few days afterwards the king crowned his son Vikrama as his successor, and died.

22nd Story.—Whilst Vikrama was reigning, the Saiva religion flourished in Mad'hurâ But the Chôla king of Kânchipura was converted to the religion of the Shapana heretics: and in revenge for former defeats he now collected and led against the Pândya a force of 8,000 chiefs of the Shapana sect. These heretics endeavoured to destroy Mad'hurâ by magic. Having dug a huge pit ten miles in length, they performed in it a Yajna sacrifice, out of which there rose a monstrous elephant. Agreeably to the order of the Chôla king, the huge beast moved slowly in the direction of Mad'hurâ, shaking the earth with every step, and apparently half mad with rage: and the attacking army marched on in its rear. The Pândya applied in this emergency to the linga, and the god heard his prayer. He promised to remove the danger, and bade the king build a sixteen-pillared hall on the east of the city, and put away all fear. Accordingly the hall was rapidly constructed; and on going to see it the Pândya observed the god standing in it, disguised as a hero armed with a bow. Sundara linga then recited the prayer called *Narasim'ha Japa* in order to secure the co-operation of the god of that name, and as the elephant approached, shot it dead with an

arrow. The carcass of the animal was forthwith turned into a rock which may be seen to this day.

23RD STORY.—The twenty-third amusement of the god consisted in rewarding the faith of a Saiva Brâhman girl named Gaûri. She had been married by her father, when eight years old, to a Vaishnava Brâhman against the wish of her mother, herself, and her relatives generally; and was being sadly neglected and ill-used in her new home, when Siva took pity on her forlorn condition and resolved to rescue her therefrom. The family went one day to a Vaishnava feast leaving poor Gaûri by herself, and all the rooms of the house locked up, and the god then visited her in the form of a decrepid old Saiva Brâhman, and begged alms of her. She treated him with great kindness and hospitality; and expressed her regret that the rooms in which food was kept were all locked up. But the old man bade her put her hand on the locks, and as soon as she did so they opened. She then procured and dressed food: and, as the old man's hand trembled exceedingly, fed him carefully with her own fingers. As soon as he had finished his meal, the stranger turned himself into a handsome young gallant; and, as he did so, the girl heard to her horror the sound of her husband's friends approaching the house. Upon this, the god has suddenly changed himself into a baby of three months, with ashes rubbed on its forehead; and began to cry out lustily.

Gaûri's husband was very angry indeed when he saw the baby; and still more so, when he discovered that the locks of the room doors had been opened in his absence. And without more ado he pushed Gaûri into the road, and bade her take herself and the baby off. In an agony of shame and grief the girl prayed to Siva to help her: and her prayer was scarcely ended, when, to the astonishment of the bystanders, the baby disappeared from her arms; and Sundara linga and Mînâkshi presently appeared in their celestial vehicle, and translated her to the realms of bliss. After this Vikrama had his son Râja Shêk'hara crowned king in his stead: and then died.

24TH STORY.—The new king was a very just man, and well skilled in the arts and sciences. Of the former he knew no less than sixty-three: and he was very proud of his knowledge. But one day a poet came before him, and, after praising him for his accomplishments, informed him that the Chôla king knew all the sixty-four arts. Annoyed at this, the Pândya set to work and thoroughly learnt the

art of dancing, the one art which the Chôla knew, and he himself did not know. And in the course of attaining perfection in this new kind of knowledge, he came to understand from painful experience the trouble and exertion which Sundara linga must have undergone when he danced to please the Rishis (see ante page), and had been undergoing from that day to then, in balancing himself always on his right leg with the left stretched up over his head. Thinking of this, he felt sorry for the god: and determined to procure him some slight relief. Accordingly during the feast of Siva he entered the Silver Hall (see page 8) after worshipping the linga, and besought the god to change legs and stretch up the right in place of the left: adding at the same time that unless the god complied with his request, he would then and there end his life by falling on his sword, which he rested with the point towards him on the ground. The god was pleased with his piety: and acted, as requested.

25TH STORY.—Râja Shêk'hara died at a great age; and was succeeded by his son Kulôttunga. This king married 10,000 wives, each of whom bore him six sons. Whilst he was enjoying his prosperous reign, the following amusement took place A Brâhman of Navapura was travelling with his wife and child towards Mad'hurâ. and, as they were all fainting with the mid-day heat, he went to find water whilst his wife rested under a shady tree. In his absence an arrow, that had accidentally lodged in that tree, fell down; and entering the woman's breast killed her on the spot. The Brâhman came back soon afterwards, and seeing the arrow accused a hunter, who happened to be standing near with a bow and arrows in his hands, of having murdered his wife· and disbelieving his assertions of innocence took him and the corpse before the king of Mad'hurâ. The king examined the parties, and put the hunter to the torture; but all to no purpose. At last he ordered the prisoner to be kept in custody, and the corpse to be burnt: and then went into the Pagoda and prayed to the god to throw light upon the matter In answer, a voice in the air directed him to attend that night at the wedding of a certain merchant, and observe what happened. Accordingly the king went to the wedding, taking with him the Brâhman who had lost his wife, and after a while was permitted to over-hear two messengers of death deliberating upon the best means of killing the intending bridegroom. One of them

remarked, that the man was sound and healthy: but the other removed the difficulty on that score by declaring, that an apparently fortuitous circumstance would easily bring about what was wanted, and then reminded his companion of the way in which they had the day before disposed of the Brâhman's wife. The king told the Brâhman what he had heard: and then waited in anxious expectation for what was to follow. Immediately afterwards a cow broke loose, frightened by the music, and gored the bridegroom to death. The king thus came to understand the hunter's innocence, and dismissed the case, after giving both the Brâhman and the prisoner handsome presents.

26TH STORY.—In the same reign a young Brâhman of Avanthîpuri obtained forgiveness of two most enormous sins through the grace of Siva. He had committed incest with his mother, a young and handsome woman; and having been discovered, had murdered his aged father. He fled in the night, taking with him his mother and everything valuable on which he could lay his hands, and hoped to live a pleasant life in an adjoining country. But Providence, which never suffers the guilty to escape, soon commenced to punish him. He had barely left his father's house, when robbers seized and plundered him, and carried off his paramour. And then the stings of conscience tortured him beyond endurance, and he wandered about the country like a madman. Whilst he was in this miserable plight Siva took pity on him, and resolved to point out to him a mode of escaping from his sins. As the young man was wandering along in the direction of Mad'hurâ, he found two persons, appearing to be a hunter and his wife, playing with dice: and he was encouraged by their kindness to tell them his story. Sundara linga and Mînâkshi, for it was they, thereupon advised him to go to the Mad'hurâ pagoda, and there perform the following penances:—

1. He must roll his body round the pagoda of Sundara linga once every day.

2. He must daily bathe three times in water which had been used to pour over the idol.

3. He must mow fresh grass daily and feed cows therewith.

4. He must minister to the wants of Siva-worshippers.

5 He must eat but once a day; and

6. He must obtain that one meal by begging

Having followed this advice for three months with the greatest exactness, the sinner was fixed from his sin: and having learnt wisdom lived happily ever afterwards.

27TH STORY.—In the same reign an old man lived in Mad'hurâ, supporting himself by teaching the broad-sword exercise. After a time one of his pupils was so ungrateful as to set up a rival school, and draw away the old man's pupils: and not content with this, endeavoured to seduce his wife. One day he went so far as to offer the woman violence, but she effectually resisted him, and succeeded in locking him out of the house. Not being a babbler, she told no one what had happened: but she quietly prayed to Siva to avenge her, and the god heard her prayer. Disguising himself as the husband of the outraged woman, he sought out the wicked youth, and challenged him to single combat outside the city walls. The challenge was accepted, and a scientific duel fought with swords. The god put forth his power after a time, and by well directed blows cut off first one of his adversary's members, then another, and lastly his head; loudly reviling him all the while for his wickedness.

Kulôttunga was greatly pleased when he heard of this amusement, and honored the god with new ceremonies and additional worship He died: and was succeeded by his eldest son Anantaguna.

28TH STORY.—Anantaguna was a pious prince: and supported the Saiva faith with great zeal. So much so, that the Shapana heretics, the enemies of that faith, were obliged to perform a Yajna sacrifice in order to destroy him, and establish themselves in Mad'hurâ. They dug a huge sacrificial pit, and from it there arose a giant, who presently transformed himself into a monstrous serpent, and crawled along towards Mad'hurâ. His bulk was so prodigious as to reach almost to the skies. And he hissed forth so poisonous a breath, that such fowls of the air as flew through it fell to the earth poisoned, and died: and the trees sickened and withered away as he approached. The king thereupon went to the temple and prayed to Sundara linga: and was promised victory And going forth to meet the enemy, he prayed to the god of Mad'hurâ, and then shot many arrows at the monster But as fast as he shot, the serpent destroyed them: and he was compelled to pray once more to Siva. After this he hurled the weapon called B'halla at the enemy and succeeded him in destroying it, and petrifiying it into a huge rock, which is known to this day by the name of the "serpent hill."

But even now the Pândya's troubles were not ended: for the dying monster belched forth poisonous belchings, which struck down the people of Mad'hurâ like a plague. And they did not recover till Siva beneficiently shook out some drops of nectar from his locks, and thereby rendered the poison innocuous.

29TH STORY.—The Shapana people thereupon retired discomfited. But they returned soon afterwards, and performed another Yajna sacrifice, out of which was born a giant still more fierce and stupendous than the former. And thinking that the Pândya would shrink from the responsibility of killing a cow, they directed the giant to assume the form of an enormous animal of that species, and advance against Mad'hurâ And he did as he was bidden. Prayers were then offered up to Siva: and the god ordered his bull to increase enormously in bulk, and go out to meet and conquer the invading cow. His order was obeyed to the letter. The celestial bull approached the enemy, and appeared to be so fine and beautiful in her eyes that she was instantly attacked by paroxysms of erotic excitement, and at last fell dead on the ground. The cow's carcass became a rock, now known as the "cow-hill:" and in order to keep alive the remembrance of his victory the bull turned his body into a hill called the "bull-hill."

During this reign the great Râma marched southwards to rescue his wife from the power of her ravisher, the giant Râvana. and having encamped near the "bull-hill" with his army of monkeys, was advised by the Rishi Agastya to visit the holy city of Mad'hurâ. He did so. and worshiped Sundara linga, who vouchsafed to him a gift by means of which he was enabled to conquer the ravisher. After this the Pândya died: and was succeeded by his son Kula B'hûshana.

30TH STORY.—In this reign the king of a hunter caste that ruled in the Chêdi country threatened to attack Mad'hurâ; and the Pândya hearing of it gave large sums of money to his general, and directed him to raise a sufficient number of cavalry, and drive the enemy away. But the general disobeyed his orders; and thinking that it was better to put his trust in Siva than in cavalry, spent all the money in charitable works. At the end ef six months no preparations had been made to meet the foe: but the foe was within easy reach of the capital. Then the king called upon the general for the troops that ought to have been forthcoming: and the general pretended that they would be ready on the morrow. Having satisfied

his master with this answer, the general went to the Pagoda and prayed devoutly to Siva: and in due time he received an assurance that on the morrow a large body of cavalry should come to the rescue. After he retired to his sleeping apartment, he passed the night in a state of nervous excitement: but jumping up with the first streak of dawn was delighted beyond measure to see the plain which stretched away in front of the Palace covered with fine horsemen, and the god Siva himself leading them, seated on a white charger and magnificently attired. The king was soon informed of the arrival of the troops: and was pleased with their pre-eminently martial appearance. Whilst they awaited the arrival of the enemy, news came to the effect that the hunter king had been killed by a lion, and the Pândya at once gave the signal for the troops to disperse and return to their several countries. Scarcely had he done so, when they all vanished in a moment from his sight, and he perceived that they were nothing but an unreal vision He then learnt from his general what had happened: and caused the worship of Siva to be performed with more than usual splendour.

31st Story.—This king was not at all charitable. Indeed, he neglected the Brâhmans to so great an extent, that they were compelled to labor with their hands for their daily bread; and were quite unable to keep up their daily ablutions prayers and offerings of incense. The consequence was, the gods grew angry and refused to send rain. Soon a terrible famine overtook the country: and the inhabitants were reduced to the greatest distress, and sought relief by emigrating in thousands to neighbouring countries. The king was grieved to see the misfortunes of his people, and prayed for help for a long time in the Pagoda · but to his mortification received no answer. He then returned to his palace, and passed the night on the floor, meditating upon the god Sundara linga. His meditation ended in sleep; and the god appeared to him in a dream, and promised to give him a purse of money which should never become empty, as long as he applied its contents to the relief of Brâhmans and the poor. Waking up, the king found the purse beside him, and soon set to work to test the truth of Sundara linga's promise. Endless donations were given to the Brâhmans and the poor in general. and the purse remained full as ever. Buildings were then built in honor of Sundara linga; the Brâhmans returned to their prayers ablutions and offerings; rain fell in abundance; and the country became more fertile than ever.

32ND STORY.—In the same reign the god amused himself with some young women in the following manner. They had in a previous life been the wives of some Rishis, who retired with them to the Dâraka forest; whither Siva disguised as a beautiful monk went begging alms. The wives of the Rishis fell desperately in love with him; and surrounded, and tried to take him off each to her own house. The Rishis, when they saw this behaviour, were much displeased: and they pronounced a curse upon their wives, that they should be born as daughters of merchants at Mad'hurâ. Accordingly they were so born, and lived at Mad'hurâ. And then Siva visited them one day in the form of a bangle-seller of superlatively handsome appearance. He excited their passions as violently as he had on a previous occasion, by holding their hands, and fitting bangles on their arms: and the women conceived thereby, and bore children to him.

33RD STORY.—After this came the restoration to life of the six celestial wet-nurses of Siva's son Subramanya. These ladies had one day, a thousand years before, asked Siva, while he was conversing with his wife Pârvati under a banyan tree in his heaven Kailâsa, to explain to them the meaning of the eight principal magical powers. He graciously did so: but his auditors were so inattentive that he cursed them, and caused them to be petrified into rocks placed in the Pattamangala country, for the space of a thousand years. The period of their punishment having expired, Siva now restored them to life: and he also explained to them anew, and with the happiest results, the subject which they had professed to be so anxious to understand.

The eight principal magical arts or Ashta-mahâ Sidd'hi are described as being the following, viz:—

1. *Animâ,* which is the art of entering into a foreign body.

2. *Mahimâ,* or the art of so increasing the bulk of one's body, as to afford a resting place for all creation on its surface.

3. *Garimâ,* or the art of rendering small things infinitely ponderous.

4. *Lag'himâ,* or the art of lifting with ease the largest and heaviest substances.

5. *Prâpti,* or the art of gaining access through a small hole to Brahma's heaven.

6. *Prâkâm'hya,* or the art of transubstantiating oneself, entering into various worlds, procuring all things needful, and ascertaining the localities of different substances.

7. *Ishatwa,* or the art of creating, destroying, and protecting the world; and rendering the planets obedient to the will.

8. *Vasitva,* or the art of rendering subject to one all created beings, and the gods together with Indra.

34TH STORY.—Kulab'hûshana's reign was remarkable for yet another amusement. The Chôla king of Kânchipura, surnamed the clearer of jungles, was a strict Saivite, and was very anxious to visit Mad'hurâ, and worship Sundara linga. But he was not on good terms with the Pândya, and consequently was unable to do what he wanted. However Sundara linga appeared to him in a dream, and directed him to go to Mad'hurâ without fear having assumed a disguise: and he set out at once, in obedience to the god's direction. When he arrived at the north bank of the Mad'hurâ river, he found it in flood, and was in doubt what to do, when Sundara linga came to his assistance, and taking him by the hand led him over the surface of the waters. The north gate of the Pagoda was then opened by the god, and the Chôla king entered, and bathed in the golden-lily pool, and worshipped the linga. He was then taken across the river again, and returned to his country. The god then went back to the Pagoda, and fastened up the gate, substituting for the Pândya's seal, which was the representation of a fish, his own seal which was that of a bull. When the Pândya heard of this, he tried in vain to discover the person who had broken his seal: but at night the god told him in a dream, and he afterwards made friends with the Chôla king. Some time afterwards he died: and was succeeded by his son Râjêndra.

35TH STORY.—The friendship between the courts of Mad'hurâ and Kânchipura greatly increased. The Chôla came frequently to Mad'hurâ: and the Pândya asked for and was promised the hand of a Chôla princess. But his younger brother Râja Sim'ha went secretly to the Chôla, and by some means induced him to throw over the Pândya and give his daughter to him, Râja Sim'ha Moreover he induced the Chôla to march with a large army against Mad'hurâ. The Pândya had not the power of opposing a sufficiently numerous army to the invaders: but he collected what troops he had, and marched against the enemy, putting his trust in Siva and praying constantly to him for victory. A sanguinary battle was fought: and after a time both armies were completely exhausted. Then the god suddenly caused a booth furnished with inexhaustible supplies of water to appear on the ground occupied by the Mad'hurâ army, and

distributed drink by means of many water-carriers. The soldiers all drank and recovered their lost strength: and charging the enemy completely routed him. Moreover the Chôla and the Pândya's brother were both taken prisoners. The Pândya then asked the god what he should do with his captives; and was ordered to do, as he pleased. Accordingly he acted with great generosity: released them both, sent the Chôla home loaded with presents, and granted a considerable fief to his brother.

36TH STORY.—During the same reign there flourished in Srî Pushpavana a very beautiful Dâsi or dancing girl, attached to the Pagoda, and named Hêmâ. She was an ardent devotee of Siva: and whatever she received from her lovers, she expended in largesses to Brâhmans, and in other charitable acts. As she was extremely anxious but unable to make a golden image of Siva, the god took pity on her, and one night visited her in the form of a religious ascetic: and promised to grant her her wish, if she would but follow his directions. He then explained to her, that she must place all her brass pots and iron utensils on the fire, after sprinkling them with holy ashes, and leave them there all night. She did so: and next morning lo! and behold! she was possessed of a large lump of the precious metal. With this she immediately made an idol: and she was so delighted with it, that she kissed it on the cheek, and embraced it. The idol was placed in the temple, and it still bears the mark of the dancing girl's kiss. Rajêndra at length died. He was succeeded by his son, and he by his son, who was in turn succeeded by his son, grandson, and great-grandson. Nothing noteworthy occurred during these five reigns: but when the last came to an end, Sundarêshwara Pâda Shêk'hara ascended the throne: and in his reign there was the following sacred amusement:—

37TH STORY.—The king being addicted to spending all the public money upon ecclesiastical buildings, the defences of the kingdom were neglected: and the Chôla king took advantage of his opportunity to invade Mad'hurâ at the head of a large army. The king prayed to Sundaralinga to protect him: and the god bade him be of good courage and march against the enemy with what few troops he had, namely 10,000 foot, 1,000 horse, 100 elephants, and 10 chariots. Accordingly the Pândya marched forth, and gave the enemy battle. The god assisted him by fighting on his side in the shape of a valiant warrior: and so long as this powerful ally fought,

victory inclined towards the Mad'hurâ army. But after a while he disappeared, and instantly the Chôla king rallied his troops, charged the Pândya's troops with spirit, and having rolled back the tide of war drove them in head-long flight into Mad'hurâ. In his anxiety to escape from the enemy the Pândya fell into the fort ditch: and in his anxiety to overtake and capture him the Chôla king also fell into it. Then the god showed his mercy by preserving the Pândya. and drowning the Chôla king: and the troops of the latter were defeated, and a large booty was taken from them, by means of which the worship of Sundaralinga was maintained with great splendour.

38TH STORY.—In the same reign a virtuous and pious man, a Sûdra named B'haktasâmya was granted an inexhaustible store of paddy under the following circumstances. He and his wife were both strict devotees of the god and very charitable to the poor; and never refused alms to religious mendicants. To try their faith, they were reduced to great poverty and distress: and at last made up their minds to commit suicide. Before doing so, however, they prayed to Sundaralinga for advice: and the god was so greatly moved by their distress, that he caused them to find in their house on their return from the Pagoda a bag of rice, which never failed, however much might be taken from it. They were thus made happy: and were enabled to give alms as freely and regularly as before.

39TH STORY.—About the same time, a wealthy Mad'hurâ merchant Art'hapati having no children adopted a sister's son. And shortly afterwards, in consequence of a domestic quarrel, he made over all his wordly goods to his adopted son, and retiring with his wife to the woods became a penitent. Upon this the merchant's kinsmen took counsel together, and forcibly dispossessed the adopted son and his mother of the property, and turned them out of their home. The woman being very religious applied to Sundara linga to assist her: and he appeared to her in a dream, and told her what to do. Accordingly on the following day she took her son to her home; challenged the wrong-doers in the king's name to stay indoors; and having assembled a council of arbitrators, laid the case before them in presence of the defendants. Whilst the case was being heard, the god appeared in the shape of the merchant; and having embraced the plaintiff, and listened to her pleading, declared that his kinsmen had no right to his estate. The defendants then slunk away abashed, one by one, and the god suddenly disappeared to the astonishment

of all present, who soon came to perceive, who it was who had been speaking before them.

40TH STORY.—After the death of Sundarêsha Pâda Shêk'hara the king, his son Varaguna reigned in Mad'hurâ He was remarkable for his devotion to the god: but had the misfortune to kill a Brâhman accidentally, by riding him down on a dark night when returning from hunting. In consequence of this he was perpetually tormented by the spirit which pursues slayers of Brâhmans, and could not find rest. At last the god took pity on him, and directed him to rout and pursue the Chôla king, who was about to attack him, as far as a place called Mad'hyârjuna, within the limits of the Chôla kingdom, and enter the Pagoda there. The Pândya did as he was bid. and as he entered the Pagoda by the east gate, the spirit was compelled to leave him, and remain in the tower above the gateway. After this he spent some time in the Pagoda of Madd'hyârjuna, expending large sums in repairing and beautifying it: and then returned to Mad'hurâ, leaving his tormentor behind him. Subsequently, the king was seized with an inextinguishable desire to see the heaven of Siva; and in order to please him Siva vouchsafed to him a vision of his heaven and all its glories in the Mad'hurâ Pagoda Everything was shown to him: even Siva himself seated on his throne, and surrounded by crowds of the blessed. So great was the splendour of the scene, that the Pândya swooned away, unable to endure it; and when he recovered the vision had disappeared.

When the Rishi Agastya had finished his narration of this last sacred amusement, his auditors asked him, why it was that the Pândya could not get rid of the spirit in Mad'hurâ, if Mad'hurâ was indeed the holiest of holy places. And the Rishi explained that the god effected the king's relief in another holy place than Mad'hurâ as a warning and example to men. For they might be led to imagine that all sins, however heinous, could be removed by a single visit to Mad'hurâ, and the results of such a belief would be very evil.

41ST STORY—During the reign of Varaguna there came to Mad'hurâ from some northern country a very excellent musician He performed before the king, and gave so great satisfaction, that the king rewarded him handsomely and assigned him a lodging. The king sent for the chief of his musicians, soon afterwards, (his name was B'hadra, and he was of the Bâna caste,) and asked him if he could excel the stranger He said he could with Siva's help and a

match was made But having heard of the performances of some of the stranger's pupils, he felt convinced that he would be worsted, and in great distress applied to Sundara linga to assist him. The god heard his prayer; and having disguised himself as an old laborer for hire, went and sang and played on a guitar outside the foreigner's house. His performance being superlatively excellent, he soon attracted the foreigner's attention. and on being questioned by him informed him that he was once a pupil of the Mad'hurâ master. Hearing this, the foreigner very naturally came to the conclusion that he had no chance of vanquishing his opponent, and secretly left the city. B'hadra was therefore highly honored: and directed to sing daily in the Pagoda before the god

42nd Story—Whilst so employed, B'hadra gave great satisfaction to Sundara linga and was rewarded by valuable presents of money, which the god abstracted from the royal treasury But after a while the thefts were discovered, and sentries were posted round the treasury: and the god being unwilling to bring trouble upon them, discontinued making presents to his favorite. However he wrote a letter to the king of the Chêra country, directing him to give the bearer of it handsome presents, and directed B'hadra to carry it to the addressee. He did as he was bidden and was rewarded with splendid presents, which be brought back to Mad'hurâ.

43rd Story.—B'hadra never omitted to sing before Sundara linga every night, whatever might be the state of the weather: and on one occasion he pleased the god so much by finding his way as usual to the Pagoda in the midst of a tremendous storm, that the god presented him then and there with a thick plate or tablet of pure gold, upon which he might stand without keeping his feet in the water which covered that part of the floor of the pagoda where he always performed.

44th Story—Varaguna died. and was succeeded by his son Râja Râja This king had a wife who was an exceedingly skilful musician and as B'hadra's wife was also an excellent musician, the two ladies grew very jealous, each of the others ability The queen therefore induced the king to send for a musician from a foreign country to vanquish and cure her rival of her conceit. and a match having been made between the two professionals, the king improperly pronounced judgment in favor of the foreigner, wishing to please his

wife. But the unsuccessful lady protested against the award, knowing it to be unjust; and begged to be permitted to try her fortune once more in the presence of Sundara linga, with a view to the god pointing out the real victor. Her request was granted, and on an appointed day the rivals met before Sundara linga, and having tuned their instruments began to play. The Mad'hurâ lady was clearly the best musician: but nevertheless the king had not the moral courage to reverse his former decision, and was about to confirm it, when Sundara linga, who was present in the form of a handsome young minstrel, miraculously caused the king to decide in favor of B'hadra's wife. The king soon became conscious of the god's interference, and worshipped him fervently Soon afterwards he was blessed with a a son Suguna, by whom he was afterwards succeeded.

45TH STORY.—During Râja Râja's reign the god was pleased to perform the following miracle. In a place on the south side of the river, called the Guru Tîrt'ha, from the Guru of the gods having passed sometime there meditating on god's perfection, there were twelve brothers, who having been left orphans at an early age had grown up to be wild unmannered youths. One day these boys saw the celestial Guru intent on his meditations, and jeered him. The Guru thereupon cursed them, that they should be born as pigs in another life: but taking pity on them he was pleased to add a blessing to the effect that Sundara linga should himself suckle them, make them ministers of the Pândya, and eventually admit them into heaven. In consequence of the curse the young men were in due time born as the offspring of a wild sow, which was the mistress of the principal wild boar of a certain forest Soon afterwards Râja Râja Pândya came to the forest to hunt boars, and after a terrific struggle killed both the parents of the young pigs. The dead body of their father was forthwith turned into a huge hill, which is still known as the "boar hill": but his spirit was translated to heaven in a celestial vehicle sent for the purpose.

At this point the Rishis asked Agastya to explain, how it was that so vile an animal as a boar was turned into a mountain. He informed them, that the boar was really an angel, who had been cursed by a Rishi for accidentally disturbing his meditations; and on being killed in that form, naturally resumed the form proper to him, whilst the slain body was turned into a mountain through his merits as an angel.

After the death of their mother the twelve pigs began to starve: but the god Sundara linga, who happened to come that way hunting with his wife, took compassion on their forlorn condition, and assuming the shape of their dead mother suckled and revived them. Immediately afterwards they were transformed into young men; but their faces still resembled those of pigs.

46TH STORY.—Subsequently, in obedience to a divine command, the Pândya made the young men his ministers, and married them to daughters of his nobles. They proved excellent servants, both of Siva and of the king, and administered the kingdom most excellently well. All the kings's subjects were satisfied with their government: and unruly vassals were easily reduced to obedience.

47TH STORY.—The Pândya died and was succeeded by his son Suguna. During his reign a soul that had been very pious was compelled for some transgression to enter the body of a small kind of black bird, called B'haradwâja. and was terribly harassed and chased by other and stronger birds, till at last it was compelled to live a solitary life in the branches of a big tree that stood by the side of a high road. One day the little bird overheard some travellers talking about the rare holiness of Mad'hurâ; and at once flew off to that city, bathed in the golden-lily tank, and for three days flew round and round the Pagoda. Sundara linga was pleased with its piety, and taught it a prayer, by virtue of reciting which it obtained from the god an improvement in its condition, and was enabled to hold its own afterwards amongst the birds of the air. And after death its soul was taken to heaven.

48TH STORY.—About the same time a heron was induced by hearing some devotees praise Mad'hurâ to come to the golden-lily tank, and bathed in it, and flew round the Pagoda. Afterwards, being hungry, it was tempted to feed on some of the many fish which it saw in the tank. But just as it was about to seize one, its eyes were opened to the enormity of the offence contemplated: and it forthwith prayed to the god to kill its sinful body and remove its soul to the regions of bliss. Further it prayed him to prevent the possibility of such a sin being committed thereafter by other birds, by causing the tank to cease to produce fishes and frogs. And the god graciously heard its prayers.

49TH STORY.—Suguna died; and was succeeded by twenty-three kings, whose reigns were not distinguished by any miracles. His

twenty-third descendant was Kîrti Vib'hûshana: and in the reign of that king was the general deluge. By this the whole world was destroyed with the exception of the buildings which immediately surrounded the shrines of Sundara linga and his wife Mînâkshi, the golden lily tank, the "Elephant hill," the "Bull hill," the "Cow hill," the "Serpent hill," the "Boar hill," the "Seven Seas," and the town of Mad'hurâ.

When the waters subsided, the world was re-created by Siva, and everything appeared to be as it was before the flood. Moreover in every country kings were created of the very families which had formerly given kings thereto. For Mad'hurâ there was raised up a king of the race of the moon, called Vamsha Shêk'hara, who forthwith built a small city round the Pagoda. And the population of the city having increased with marvellous rapidity, it became necessary to re-construct it within its former limits. Prayer was made to Sundara linga: who appeared in the form of a prophet, his person adorned with serpents. Taking one of these, the god pointed out with it the ancient limits of the city: and the Pândya built houses up to them on every side, and raised fortifications along them. The east gate was placed at Pushpavana Kshêtra; the west at Patrikâ-puri; the north at the Vrushaba or bull hill; and the south at Parâchala. This being done the city was named Hâlâsya.

50TH STORY.—The Chôla king Vikrama invaded Mad'hurâ with a large army: and the Pândya being unable to resist him prayed to Sundara linga. The god bade him march against the enemy. and when an obstinate battle was being fought, appeared as a hunter and shot deadly arrows into the Chôla ranks, killing and wounding many, and throwing the rest into confusion. The Chôla king examined one of these arrows, and observing that the name of Sundara linga was engraved on it, concluded that the hunter was none other than the god, and began to retreat. On the hunter abusing the Chôla's men for being cowards, the Chôla attempted to rally them: but in vain. The rout became general, and he was forced to return to his capital. Rejoiced at this victory, the Pândya made and consecrated to the use of the god a bow and arrows of gold ornamented with precious stones, and with the god's name engraved upon them.

51ST STORY.—In this reign was established the celebrated Tamil college of poets at Mad'hurâ. Brahma had performed ten *ashwamêd'ha* sacrifices at the holy place on the river Ganges called Kâsi, and was

about to bathe in the Ganges with his three wives. As he was going to the bathing place, Saraswati loitered behind, listening to the melodious times of a celestial minstrel: and finding fault with her husband for bathing without her, she was cursed for her impudence with the curse of undergoing forty-eight successive births upon earth. However, to mitigate her fate somewhat, Brahma willed that instead of assuming several forms one after another, she should take upon herself forty-eight different forms at one and the same time. There being fifty-one letters in the Samskrit alphabet, of which two were merely contractions and one the origin of all the others, she was to take upon herself a human form for each letter; each form was to become a Tamil poet of unrivalled excellence; and Sundara linga himself was to represent the forty-ninth and original letter. Fractions of Saraswati's soul were transfused according to this curse into forty-eight human beings, who became wonderful poets, came to Mad'hurâ from Mount Mêru, and were led to the Pagoda by Sundara linga himself. The Pândya received them kindly, and built a hall for their convenience in the Pagoda, which he called the College Hall. They settled in the city, and lived very happily, being greatly honored and respected: but they were much annoyed by the importunities and impertinences of envious blockheads, who fancied themselves to be their equals. Accordingly they petitioned the god to give them a bench, which would receive them, but none inferior to them, on which they might sit undisturbed: and a miraculous bench white as moonlight, measuring a cubit every way, and having the property of expanding just so much as was necessary to receive such members of the college as offered to sit upon it, was presented to them by Sundara linga. Upon this they all seated themselves, and no one was able to find a seat amongst them . for all who approached the bench were inferior in attainments to its occupants. But at last Sundara linga appeared in order to put an end to some jealousies which began to disturb their tranquillity; and the bench having admitted him forthwith, he became the principal of the college, and under his guidance numberless poems were composed in his honor. After this the king died: and was succeeded by his son Vamsha Chûdâmani.

52ND STORY.—This king obtained the surname of "Champaka," through constantly adorning the god with wreaths of Champaka flowers, of which he planted out large gardens for the sole purpose of divine worship. He was walking one day with his queen on the

upper terrace of his garden enjoying the cool fragrant breeze, suddenly smelt a perfume far more delicious than that of the flo which he fancied must come from the beautiful hair of his queen not from the flowers which adorned it: and pleased with the he went off at once to the College Hall, and offered a bag of thousand pieces of gold as a prize, to whoever should write a sonn disclosing the conceit which had presented itself to his imaginatioı No one was able to guess what the king had been thinking about: and there seemed to be no chance of anybody winning the prize. But a devout young Âdi Siva Brâhman, who wanted but could not afford to get married, prayed to Siva and obtained from him the key to the secret. the god at once composed a good sonnet embodying the king's thought, and presented it to the supplicant. Having taken i to the College Hall, the young man claimed and was about to take possession of the bag of coins, when Natkira one of the poets asked him a question relative to the king's thought which he was unable to answer: and eventually forbade him to take the prize. Upon this he went to the Pagoda, and again prayed to Sundara-linga to assist him. The god appeared presently before the college as a poet, and desired to know wherein lay the fault which Natkira attributed to the poem. The objector then explained that in his opinion the idea of human hair having a fine perfume of its own was ridiculous: and gave other equally futile reasons for rejecting the poem. But the god suddenly opened his terrible middle eye, and directed a glance at Natkira, the burning splendour of which compelled the poet to leap into the waters of the golden lily tank in order to prevent his body from being burnt up. After this the prize was awarded to the Brâhman.

53RD STORY.—The god then disappeared. But he was recalled by the prayers of the whole college offered up in Natkira's behalf: and was pleased to look graciously upon the unfortunate man, who was forthwith enabled to come out of the tank.

54TH STORY—After this Natkira used to bathe thrice a day in the golden lily tank, and to walk round the pagoda out of respect to Sundara linga, and to pray devoutly to that deity. And Sundara linga being much pleased with his piety, desired the sage Agastya to instruct him in the art of Tamil Grammar. And his order having been obeyed, Natkira taught the rest of the college what he had learnt from the sage.

..TH STORY.—Great jealousies prevailed amongst the members of college, and each was claiming for himself superiority over his ..ows. At last they begged the god to settle the dispute: and he ..red them to read their several compositions before a certain ..mb man, whose form had been assumed by the god's son Subra-..anya. They did so, and the arbiter showed by signs that Natkira ..abila and Bana were the three best poets among them. And thus their disputes were settled.

56TH STORY.—Vamsha Chûdâmani died: and fourteen kings succeeded him, during whose reigns no miracles took place. The fifteenth king after him was Kulêshâ, who was so learned and clever a man, that the miraculous bench permitted him to seat himself upon ..t. But he was very proud and conceited, and thought that no one could surpass him in acquirements. And, when an extraordinarily clever stranger named Madd'hyâranyêswara came to Mad'hurâ, the king paid him not the slightest respect Angry at this the stranger complained to Sundara linga: and the god, in order to punish the king's bad manners, removed with Mînâkshi from the pagoda to the place where was a linga consecrated by Kubêra, the god of riches, attended by the whole of the college. When the king heard what had happened, he was much grieved, and besought the god to return to his old quarters. A voice was heard, which declared the reason of the god's anger: and soon afterwards the gods returned to the pagoda together with the members of the college The king then made up for his former discourtesy by setting the stranger upon a throne of gold, attentively hearing his works read, and paying him every possible honor. He died. and was succeeded by his son Arimardana.

57TH STORY.—During his reign Sundara linga was one day explaining the mysteries of the Vêdas to his wife Mînâkshi. She was inattentive to what he said: and he cursed her, that she should become the daughter of a fisherman. On her complaining that existence would be insupportable were she separated from him, he promised to become a fisherman and marry her upon earth. The god's two sons Subramanya and Vig'hnêshwara were angry at their mother being cursed, and rudely threw the Vêdas into the sea. Upon this the god cursed his head porter Nandêshwara for allowing his sons to come before him without permission, and willed that he (the head porter) should become a large fish. And he punished

Subramanya by willing that he should be born as the son of a Mad'hurâ merchant. On Vig'hnêshwara he was unable to inflict any punishment, having previously granted to him the boon of being able to transfer to his father the evil consequences of any curse that might fall upon him. In due time Mînâkshi was transformed into a new-born female child, the offspring of the head man of a caste of fishers who lived in a large city on the coast of Mad'hurâ. When she had become a girl of a marriageable age, Nandêshwara, who had been turned into a huge sword-fish, picked up all the Vêdas which had been thrown into the sea, and then began to harass incessantly all the vessels which frequented the Mad'hurâ coasts. In consequence of this the putative father of Mînâkshi promised her in marriage to whoever could catch the intruder: and Sundara linga having appeared in the form of a fisherman and caught the fish, claimed his prize and married her amid great rejoicings. As soon as the ceremony was performed, the two gods resumed their proper forms, and mounted their sacred bull, Nandêshwara attending them; heavenly music was heard from on high; and showers of flowers were rained down from heaven. The pair then returned to the pagoda at Mad'hurâ; but they halted on their way at Utt'harakôsa Srî Mangai, a holy place near Râmanât'hapura, and the god there explained to his wife the mysteries of the Vêdas.

58TH STORY.—During the same reign there lived in Vâtt'hapura, on the north side of the river Veigei, a young Brâhman of wonderful talent and ability. Before he was sixteen, he had mastered the four Vêdas and the sixty-four Kalagayanas: and his fame had spread in every direction. The king heard of him, and having sent for him was so much pleased with his acquirements that he made him Prime Minister. The youth gave great satisfaction in this capacity, and was highly honored: but he nevertheless was unhappy, and could not find rest, being unable to satisfy himself with regard to the way of salvation. Religious doubts filled his mind, and troubled his heart. One day the king looked over his stud of cavalry horses, and finding that remounts were much needed, gave his Prime Minister a very large sum of money, and ordered him to go to some distant country, and purchase a number of horses. The Prime Minister took the money, and set out: but stopped at a holy place called Mahâ-tîrt'ha, and there, after being favored with a vision of Siva, spent the whole

of it in building buildings for the honor and glory of the god. He sent excuses from time to time to the king, and at last returned to Mad'huro declaring that the horses would appear in a day or two. The god had promised to help him out of his difficulty, and he felt confident that all would be right.

59TH STORY.—The horses did not come: and the king lost patience, and had his minister tortured. He was placed in the sun, with a heavy stone on his back and wooden pinchers on his hands However he prayed to Siva, and was comforted. He felt no pain in his body: and after he had been imprisoned for a few days, the god appeared as a cavalier, mounted on a white horse formed of the four Vêdas, and brought with him an immense number of horses, which were placed in the royal stables. And he instructed the king, who was much pleased with his noble appearance, in the science which treats of the proper selection of horses.

60TH STORY.—Now these horses were in reality jackals, which had been transformed by Nandêswara at Siva's command. Being unable to eat grass, they became mad with hunger after a while; broke loose from the ropes which held them; resumed their proper shapes; bit and killed some of the grooms and king's horses; and eventually ran off to the forest. Hearing of this, the king was convinced that his minister was playing him a trick, and again had him tortured. Siva became angry at seeing his favorite thus used: and sent a terrible flood in the river Veigei which soon threatened to entirely destroy the Pândya's capital. The torturers thereupon set the minister at liberty: and he went to the Pagoda, and prayed to god with a serene mind.

61ST STORY—The king called a council to determine, how the impending danger might best be averted: and it was resolved to compel every citizen of Mad'hurâ to assist in raising the bank of the river so as to keep off the flood And accordingly a certain portion of the bank was assigned to every citizen, and he was directed to raise it to a certain height within a certain time. A pious old woman named Ambu, who made a living by selling cakes, was much troubled at not being able to find a laborer to do the work allotted to her: but at last Sundara-linga took pity on her, and having assumed the form of a laborer sixteen years old, agreed to do her work in consideration of receiving some cakes. He then went off to the river with a spade and basket to raise the bank. But instead of doing as he promised,

he loitered about and amused himself: till the king, perceiving that the bank was watertight everywhere but at the place where the old woman had to raise it, took a rattan and laid it heavily across the laborer's shoulders. Upon this the laborer started up; threw a basket of earth into the gap; and forthwith to the astonishment of the king and all present the gap was securely filled up. The laborer then disappeared. While the king was wondering who the laborer could be, he perceived that a wheal had made its appearance upon his body in the part, on which he had applied the rattan to the laborer's body. And on enquiry he found out that every inhabitant of Mad'hurâ, male and female, and every living creature had been marked in the same manner. The reason of this was that, Siva being omnipresent, the blow which struck his assumed body affected every living creature in the world at the same time. The king was greatly astonished at all that had happened: and proposed questioning the old woman. But, as soon as the king and his courtiers approached her dwelling, she was so alarmed, thinking that she was about to be punished for the fault of her laborer, that she fell down dead; and her soul was carried away in a celestial vehicle, amidst the joyful congratulations of the blessed and showers of flowers from on high. The king then went to the Pagoda, and prayed to Siva to forgive him. A voice in the air replied that he must forgive his disgraced minister, and excuse him from returning the money advanced to him for the purchase of horses. This was done. and the minister was permitted to go abroad, and visit Chidambara. And the king was blessed with a son, whom he named Jagannât'ha. When the young prince had grown up, the king crowned him: and soon afterwards died. Meanwhile the minister worshipped at Chidambara the god Sab'hâpati or Siva: and thence retired to a forest on its west side, called the Thillivana, where he passed his time in meditation. Whilst he was thus employed, a number of Baûdd'has, professors of the Baûdd'ha religion and enemies of that of Siva, came to Chidambara from a certain island, and began to contend in argument with a Brâhman sect, called the "Thilli, three thousand," then settled in Chidambara. The Brâhmans prayed to the god, who directed them to fetch the minister from his place of retirement. They did so, and the minister confounded the Baûdd'has by explaining to them that his god was sex-less, was the beginning and the end, and was present in the souls of all living creatures. Moreover he took some sacred ashes in his hand, and declared that god was as white as that substance, and was used

to besmear his person therewith. Now the then Chôla king of Kânchipura, being a Baûdd'ha religionist, was greatly scandalized when he heard of the defeat of his sect at Chidambara. And he came to that city, bringing with him his dumb daughter, and promised to become a convert to the Saiva faith, if its champion could cure his child's defect. Mânikya Vâchaka, the minister, effected this by prayer, and by daubing sacred ashes on the princess' forehead, and agreeably to his promise the Chôla king became a Siva worshipper. Moreover he had all the Baûdd'ha worshippers crushed in oil presses; they having agreed to so suffer, if defeated, before they argued with Mânikya Vâchaka.

62ND STORY.—Jagannât'ha's ninth descendant was Kubja or "the hunchback." He was a valiant prince, and conquered the Chôla king. However he permitted the conquered king to retain his kingdom, and married his daughter Vanitêshwari. He also appointed the Chôla minister, Kulaband'hana, Prime Minister of Mad'hurâ. Sometime afterwards the Pândya became converted to the religion of the Shapana heretics, and imposed it so rigorously on all his subjects that the outward worship of Siva could not be observed. But Sundara-linga still had secret adherents, amongst whom were the queen and the minister. One day a Saiva Brâhman came to them from the Chôla country, and informed them that in that part of it called Bramhapura a certain Brâhman named Sivapâdâbja H'rudaya had a child, which had been nursed by the goddess Mînâkshi when three years old, and having drunk in wisdom with her milk had become while still an infant a teacher of the greatest ability. Being of the essence of Siva, the child was called Gnyânasamband'ha Mûrti: and he was now performing miracles. Hearing this, the queen and the ministerthought that by means of this illustrious youth they might perhaps win back the king to the true faith: and they wrote respectfully to him, asking him to pay Mad'hurâ a visit and purify it of its heresy. As soon as he received the letter Gnyânasamband'ha Mûrti got into his palanquin adorned with pearls, and came to Mad'hurâ at the head of 16,000 disciples, and with bands of music playing before him. The Shapana heretics became very angry: and tried to destroy the intruder by setting fire to his house. But he was too strong for the fire; and having prevented it from doing more than make a great smoke, bade it enter the body of the king, which it did causing a violent fever. The Shapana people were thereupon

called in to cure the disease; but they failed utterly. And then, very reluctantly, the king sent for Gnyânasamband'ha Mûrti. The young priest cured the fever at once, by rubbing on the sick man's body sacred ashes, over which he first recited ten extempore verses. And besides this the curvature of his back was removed instantaneously; and the king assumed the name of Sundara or "the beautiful," being possessed of a handsome fair and figure. Seeing that the Saiva faith was undoubtedly the true faith, the king adopted it without delay: and its apostle prepared to retire to his own country.

63RD STORY—As soon as the king had recovered from his fever, the queen and her brother begged of him to destroy the 16,000 Shapana heretics: and the king having consulted the god in the temple and received a favorable answer, permission to destroy them was given. In the meantime the Shapana chiefs came forward, in spite of the ill-omened dreams of their wives, and challenged the young professor of the Saiva faith to a fresh trial of strength They proposed that he and they should write prayers upon palmyra leaves, and throw them into a fire: and he whose leaves were not destroyed should be the victor. This challenge was accepted: and all the leaves were destroyed except those of the youth. Another trial was then made. Other leaves were inscribed with prayers, and thrown into the river, upon condition that he whose leaf floated upstream should be held to be victorious, and the youth was once more successful. Upon this the Shapana heretics acknowledged themselves beaten: and forthwith several thousand stakes were erected outside the city for their impalement. And all were put to death, who were found in Mad'hurâ, with the exception of those who consented to smear themselves with the sacred ashes which symbolize the faith of Siva. After this search was made for the leaf which had moved upstream, and Gnyânasamband'ha Mûrti found it at last in a forest of Bilva trees, at a spot about ten miles west of Mad'hurâ; where also a linga was then seen for the first time. Siva appeared there in the form of an aged Brâhman, blessed the young priest, and commissioned him to travel about and exterminate professors of the hated Shapana religion wherever he found them. The king carefully marked this spot, and constructed on it a church which he named Patrikâpura. This happened in the Kaliyuga.

64TH STORY.—In a certain city on the coast there lived a wealthy and pious merchant, who had no issue. After much prayer he was

at last to his great joy blessed with a daughter, who grew up a fair handsome girl, and showed signs of a good disposition. He intended to marry her to the son of his sister, then living in Mad'hurâ. But before he could carry out his wishes in this respect, he died; and his wife unable to bear her widowhood died shortly afterwards in the sure hope of meeting him in heaven. After this the merchant's relatives sent for his nephew: and after showing great sorrow, he obeyed the call, leaving his wife behind him to await his return. Having come to his uncle's house, and taken possession of his property, he was returning to Mad'hurâ with his cousin; when at a place called Sivapura he was bitten by a serpent whilst sleeping, and died of the bite. As the young lady overwhelmed with grief was passionately lamenting her hard fate, Gnyânasamband'ha Mûrti happened to pass by: and taking pity on her looked, with a compassionate eye upon the corpse. Straightway the dead man became alive: and the lately separated couple were then and there married by the advice of their benefactor. In default of witnesses a linga, a well, and a Shemi tree which belonged to the church of Siva at the place where they then were, were called upon to witness the marriage. In due time the happy pair arrived at the husband's home in Mad'hurâ: and they lived in great harmony at first with the first wife. But by and by a quarrel arose between the two women: and the first wife abused the second on the score of her not having been really married. If she had been married, where were her witnesses? The second wife thereupon consulted the god, and obtained from him the following boon. The linga, the well, and the Shemi tree came from the church and appeared publicly in the Mad'hurâ Pagoda. After this no one could gainsay the marriage. The linga and well may still be seen in Mad'hurâ

CHAPTER II.

List of the Pândya Dêvas.—Correctness of the list.—Lists of Hindû kings admissible in evidence.—The first Pândya.—The foundation of Mad'hurâ.—Other Southern Capitals before and after Mad'hurâ.—Evidence afforded by the Mahâvansi as to the date of the building of Mad'hurâ.—Extent of the ancient Pândya-mandala.—Linga worship before Brâhmanism.—Arjuna did not marry a Pândya princess.—The three-breasted Queen.—Ugra.—The Shapana heretics.—The coming of Râma to Mad'hurâ.—The Chêdi king.—Distress of the Brâhmans.—Chôla wars.—Varaguna.—The deluge and re-building of Mad'hurâ.—Vikrama the Chôla.—The Poet's College.—Parava kings on the coast.—Mânikya Vâchaka.—The Baûdd'has.—They never came as far south as Mad'hurâ.—The extermination of the Shapanas in Kûn Pândya's time.—Gnyânasamband'ha Mûrti.—The date of Kûn Pândya very doubtful.—Attempts to fix it.—His inscription.—The facts it records and points to.—Another inscription.

The Purâna furnishes the following:—

LIST OF THE PANDYA KINGS.

No.	*Name or title.*	*Its meaning.*
1.	Kula Shêk'hara Pândya. ...	...Head ornament of the race.
2.	Malaya D'hwaja P.	...Flag in the Malaya country.
3.	Sundara P	...Beautiful.
4.	Ugra P called	...Terrible.
	Hârad'hâri..	...Wearer of the *hâra.*
5.	Vîra P...	...Heroic.
6.	Ab'hishêka P.	...Anointed.
7.	Vikrama P....	...Valorous.

LIST OF THE PANDYA KINGS—*continued.*

No.	*Name or title.*	*Its meaning.*
8.	Râja Shêk'hara P..	...Head-ornament of Râjas.
9.	Kulôttunga P.	...Exalter of the race.
10.	Anantaguna P.	...Of innumerable qualities.
11.	Kulab'hûshana P.	...Ornament of the race.
12.	Râjêndra P....	...Lord of Râjas.
13.	Râjêsha P.	...Chief of Râjas.
14.	Râjagamb'hira P...	...Majestic among Râjas.
15.	Pândya Vamsha Pradîpa P..	...Lamp of the Pândya Race.
16.	Puruhûta P...	...? Synonym for Indra.
17.	Pândya Vamsha Patâka P...	...Banner of the Pândya race.
18.	Sundarêsha Pâda Shêk'hara P....	Who has for his head-ornament the feet of Sundarêsha, that is of Siva
19.	Varaguna P...	...Of excellent qualities.
20.	Râja Râja P...	...Râja of Râjas.
21.	Suguna P.	...Of good qualities.
22.	Chitra Vrata P.	...Of wonderful vows
23.	Chitra B'hûshana P.	...Of wonderful ornaments.
24.	Chitra D'hwaja P.	...Of wonderful flags.
25.	Chitra Varma P....	...Of wonderful armour.
26.	Chitra Sêna P.	...Of wonderful armies.
27.	Chitra Vikrama P.	...Of wonderful valour.
28.	Râja Mârtânda P..	...Sun of kings.
29.	Râja Chûdâmani P.	...Head-gem of kings.
30.	Râja Shârdûla P...	...Tiger amongst kings.
31.	Dwija Râja Kulôttunga P...	...Exalter of the race of the moon.
32.	Âyud'ha Pravîna P.	...Skilful with arms
33.	Râja Kunjara P....	...Elephant amongst Râjas.
34.	Para Râja B'hayankara P...	...Terrifier of foreign kings.
35.	Ugra Sêna P.	...Of a fearful army.
36.	Mahâ Sêna P.	...Of a great army.
37.	Shatrunjaya P.	...Conqueror of enemies.
38.	B'hîmarat'ha P	...Of a terrible chariot.
39.	B'hîmaparâkkrama P... ...	...Of terrible valour.
40.	Pratâpa Mârtânda P.... ...	...Valorous as the Sun.
41.	Vikrama Kanchuka P.. ...	...Armed with valour.

LIST OF THE PANDYA KINGS—*continued.*

No	*Name or title.*	*Its meaning.*
42.	Yudd'ha Kôlâhala P. ...	...Of the din of war.
43.	Atula Vikrama P.	...Of unparalleled valour
44.	Atula Kîrti P.	...Of unparalleled fame.
45.	Kîrti Vib'hûshana P. ...	...Adorned with fame.
46	Vamsha Shêk'hara P ...	...Head-ornament of the race.
47.	Vamsha Chûdâmani P. ...	...Head-gem of the race.
	also called Champaka ..	...A kind of flower.
48	Pratâpa Shûrasêna P. ...	...Of a valorous and heroic army
49.	Vamsha D'hwaja P	...Flag of the race.
50	Ripu Mardana P.	...Smiter of foes.
51.	Chôla Vamshântaka P ...	...Destroyer of the Chôla race.
52	Chêra Vamshântaka P. ...	...Destroyer of the Chêra race.
53.	Pândya Vamshêsha P. ...	...Lord of the Pândya race.
54.	Vamsha Shirômani P. ...	...Head-gem of the race.
55.	Pândyêshwara P.	...Pândya lord.
56.	Kula D'hwaja P.	...Flag of the race.
57.	Vamsha Vib'hûshana P. ...	...Ornament of the race.
58.	Sôma Chûdâmani P.	...Having the moon for a head-gem.
59.	Kula Chûdâmani P.	...Head-gem of the race.
60.	Râja Chûdâmani P.	...Head-gem of Râjas.
61.	B'hûpa Chûdâmani P. ...	. .Head-gem of kings.
62.	Kulêsha P.	...Chief of the race.
63.	Arimardana P.	...Smiter of foes.
64.	Jagannât'ha P.	...Lord of the world.
65.	Vîrabâhu P.	...Of valorous arms.
66.	Vikrama P....	...Valorous.
67.	Surab'hi P.	...The celestial cow.
68.	Kunkuma P.	...Of red powder.
69.	Karpûra P...	...Of camphor.
70.	Kârunya P...	...Merciful.
71.	Purushôttama P.	...Best of men.
72.	Shatrushâsana P.	...Punisher of foes.
73.	Kubja P.	...Hunchback.
	afterwards called Sundara P.	...Beautiful.
	and known in Tamil as Kûn or Kûna Pândya.	

This list differs more or less from each of those given by Wilson in his paper in Volume iii of the Journal of the R. A. S. on the kingdom of the Pândyas, both in the names and number of the kings. Which of them is probably the most correct, it would be too hazardous for me to attempt to show. But it is observable that Wilson's lists all with one exception end with the name Kuna Pândya, and therefore must have been derived from Vernacular and not Samskrit documents, inasmuch as Kuna is clearly a false reading for Kûn or Kûna the Tamil equivalent of Kubja, which means the dwarf or hunchback and was the soubriquet by which the last of the great Pândyas was known before he was made straight and "beautiful" (Sundara) by Gnyânasamband'ha Mûrti, the great Saiva champion. There is some ground therefore I think for supposing that the list given above is more authentic than any of Wilson's. For, as observed before, the vernacular versions and imitations of the old Purâna, such as the Telugu work known as the "Hâlâsya Mâhâtmya," and the Tamil "Tiruvileiyâdal" which Wilson appears to have relied on, contain numberless alterations of stories and interpolations of the grossest and most barefaced kinds, perpetrated with the design of pandering to the Hindû taste for the marvellous, and at the same time flattering individuals and communities by connecting the names of their ancestors or villages with great events.

But it is hardly worth while discussing the probability of this or that list being the more correct, when it is quite within the bounds of possibility that all are more or less faulty and comparatively valueless for the purposes of strict history. Though not prepared to go the length of saying with some, that the names are all purely fictitious, I must admit that I see very good grounds for doubting the fact that exactly 73 Pândyas reigned in succession in Mad'hurâ; and that the names in the list which I have prepared were the very names given to each by his parents at the time of his birth. Judging from the fact that every petty Hindû Râja of the present day has from five to twenty names and titles, most of which are known to only one or two of his servants and dependents, and the number of which is constantly being added to by fawning bards and poets, there seems to be every reason to believe that each of the Pândyas, and particularly the most famous, had a large number of names and titles, some Samskrit some Tamil of which as many perhaps as three or four were much more generally known and used than the others. These favorite names and titles would naturally be used by the poets of the day

without distinction or explanation: and thus probably it has come about that no two lists of names agree, or even appear to be reconcileable. A good illustration of this practice of Hindû Râjas bearing a large number of names and titles may be found in the translation of a Tamil inscription given at page 67 of this part. And that the practice obtained in the times of the Pândyas, appears clearly from the Purâna. The last king was called Kubja and afterwards Sundara in Samskrit, whilst his Tamil and more common name was Kûn or Kûna; the 4th king, Ugra, was surnamed Hâra-d'hâri; and the 47th king, Vamsha Chûdâmani, was also called Champaka from constantly using the sacred Champaka flower in religious worship. Moreover many of the so-called names are clearly mere titles, such as Ab'hishêka, (see story 17,) Surab'hi, Karpûra, Yudd'hakôlâhala, Chôlântaka, Chêrântaka and others, and could not possibly have been given to babies by parents.

I think therefore that the safest plan of dealing with the various lists of the Pândya kings is to assume always that each of them is to a great degree incorrect and imperfect: but is probably at the same time entitled to more or less credit. However careless and mendacious native witnesses and chroniclers of events may be, their stories generally rest upon a foundation of truth; and it would be most unwise, it seems to me, to reject wholesale the only available evidence of what happened in Mad'hurâ in ancient times afforded by our Purâna But it must come to this, if we declare the list of kings to be altogether false and valueless ; we can hardly reject the list, and at the same time receive as credible the recorded acts of the kings.

As for the objection to the credibility of lists which give Samskrit names to Tamil kings of very early ages, based on the assumption that the Samskrit language was introduced into the south of India at a later period than that in which those kings are said to have reigned, an objection put forward by many Orientalists and amongst others by the great Wilson, I would with all deference submit that it is unsound and should carry no weight with it. The Samskrit writers who composed the list would naturally do every thing in their power to avoid writing harsh and inelegant Tamil names in Samskrit letters. They would, as a matter of course, translate all titles and such names as bore meanings; and they would so alter meaningless names as to make them resemble as closely as possible Samskrit forms. But it would only be in very rare instances that they would give up a Tamil name as hopeless, and substitute a perfectly different Samskrit name or title

in its place. Thus the Tamil name Alagan would be turned into its equivalent Sundara, Kûn into Kubja, and so forth. Not only is it more reasonable to suppose that this was done, than to suppose that men deliberately sat down and composed a number of names for the mere pleasure of lying: but we have some evidence going to show that the supposition is correct, for it appears clearly from the lists of the Pândyas given by Wilson, that in some cases one and the same title was differently rendered by different writers. Thus the title *Yudd'ha* Kôlâhala of one writer is the *Samara* Kôlâhala of another

But this is not a controversial work: and I must now proceed to give in order the historical facts which appear to be deducible from the Purâna, illustrating them with a few brief remarks.

The first thing observable is the statement to the effect that the first Pândya, Kula Shêk'hara, was reigning in a capital called Kalyânapura, situated east of the Kadamba forest, before Mad'hurâ was built. Wilson tells us in his introduction to the Catalogue of the McKenzie MSS., that according to the "local traditions" the first settler in the country was a person named Pândya who came from Oude, and was of the agricultural caste: and that there was a capital of earlier date than Kalyânapura called Kurkhi, probably the "Kolkhi" of the Periplus And in his article in Vol. iii of the R A. S Journal, Wilson observes that the name is perhaps, "as D'Anville notices, still to be "traced in the appellation Kilkhar, or Kilakarai on the Coromandel "coast opposite to Rameswaram. One of the Pandya monarchs, named "Sampanna Pandya, invited the Chola and Chera princes to the "wedding of his son On their way to Kurkhi they were caught by "violent rains, and compelled by the flooded state of the country to "remain encamped on one spot for a month, in memory of which "event the Pandya built a city there and called it Kalyanapur, "which was for some time the capital of his son and successor, Kula "Sek'hara."

Now, whilst fully aware how exceedingly dangerous a thing it is to throw any doubt on statements made by this learned scholar, I think it my duty to declare that the local traditions he refers to are not now, as far as I can learn, current in the Madura District. The story of the man of Oude may doubtless be found in certain Hindû writings, but I do not believe it is traditional in the country to which it relates. And the Pândya kings of the lunar race are commonly believed to be of the Kshatriya, not of the Vellâla or any other agricultural caste.

Then the story about the foundation of Kalyânapura wo. in appear to be an idle legend of modern manufacture. The town is said in the Purâna to have been "west of the Kadamba forest" the site of the town of Mad'hurâ, and such being the case it is difficult to see how the Chôla king from the north-east could have found himself there whilst on the road to Kurkhi in company with the Chêra king of the Western Coast. And the idea of the Samskrit name "Kurk'hi" surviving in "Kîlakarei" which is a pure Tamil word of four syllables meaning "Eastern Coast," appears to be too absurd to require refutation. I am informed that there is a once celebrated town of the name of Kurikâ-puri, in Tamil Kurugûr, in the Tinnevelly District, and possibly this is the Kurk'hi referred to by Wilson.

But in point of fact it is really a matter of very little importance whether Kurk'hi was or was not situated in this or that particular locality, and was or was not the capital of a country which afterwards was known as that of the Pândya; for there can be no doubt, looking to local traditions and legends which have come down to us, that many Tamil towns of which scarcely a vestige now remains, were at different times capitals of more or less extensive tracts of country Of these the best known are perhaps Manalûr a few miles east of Madura; old Madura on the north bank of the Veigei, and about a mile distant from Madura; Mâdakulam, which till quite lately gave a name to what is now the Madura tâlûk; Uttara Kôsa Mangei near Râmnâd; and the Nallûr of the Marava country. Then it was said that there was once a large city near the Alagar mountain And doubtless many towns in the Tinnevelly District were once populous and famous.

The date of the building of Mad'hurâ is involved in the greatest obscurity. Supposing the last Pândya to have lived in the eleventh century of our era—his date will be hereafter discussed at some length—and allowing 18 years for the reign of each of his seventy-two predecessors, we might suppose the beginning of the third century B. C or end of the fourth to be the time at which Mad'hurâ was built. But of course this would be only an uncertain and at the best approximate date. According to Mr. Dowson (see his article on the Chêra kingdom in volume viii of the R A S. Journal) the Chêra dynasty arose at the beginning of the fifth century of our era: and a Châlûkya inscription given by Mr. Wathen in R. A. S. Journal volume v, page 343, dated A. D. 490, refers to the king of the Chêra country together with those of the Chôla and Pândya countries. And as it appears

inearly from the Purâna that Ugra the 4th king of Mad'hurâ was co-temporary with a Chêra prince, the first Pândya should according to this calculation be placed in the middle of the fourth century of our era. But Mr. Taylor has protested most emphatically against the assumption of Mr. Dowson that the dynasty of Konga kings, whose history is given in the MS. upon which Mr. Dowson founded his memoir of the Chêra kingdom, was a Chêra dynasty: and his protest, contained in volume xiv of the Madras A. R. A. S. Journal, certainly seems to be based upon excellent grounds. No inference therefore, I think, can safely be drawn as to the date of the commencement of the Pândya dynasty from any date deducible from the MS. above referred to.

Professor Wilson appears to have assumed in the same way as Mr. Dowson that the Konga dynasty was a Chêra dynasty, and places its foundation in the fifth century of our era (see his introduction to his catalogue, page xciii). But at the same time he states in the same page, though without giving any authorities, that "Chêra or as it is also called Kanga" (Konga ?) was probably an independent principality at the commencement of the Christian era. He places the first of the Pândyas, again without citing any authorities, in the third or fourth century B. C. in his introduction; and in the fifth or sixth century B. C. in his paper on the Pândya kingdom in volume iii of the R. A. S. Journal. It is clear therefore that he was not very well satisfied in his mind as to when the foundation of Mad'hurâ took place. And he was probably a little hasty in separating by so long an interval of time the first Pândya and the first Chêra. If as our Purâna states, the 4th Pândya and a Chêra king were co-temporary, and Wilson was right in placing the first Chêra in the first century of our era, it would perhaps be pretty safe to place the founder of Mad'hurâ at the beginning of the first century B. C. Two hundred or two hundred and fifty years would be ample time for the country to become settled and generally known as the Pândya country, particularly if Pândyas had previously reigned at Kalyânapura; and there would be nothing strange in Ptolemy the geographer so describing it in the second century of our era.

Mr. Taylor seems to think it probable that the Pândya family emigrated from the north into the Mad'hurâ country as early as 1,500 B. C. But he has not proved his point by reliable evidence: and his opinion must go for what it is worth.

A passage in the Mahâvansi shows that a Pândya was reigning in Mad'hurâ shortly after the death of Budd'ha, which event is commonly placed in the sixth century B. C.: and it may be well to quote it.* After stating that king Wijeya came to Ceylon with 700 warriors "on the day of the death of our Budd'ha," it goes on to say (see Upham's Mahâvansi page 70) he sent ambassadors "who brought "from Daccina-Madura the daughter of the king Pandy and about "700 daughters of the different chief men of that place, with a train "of men of eighteen different classes, and also five different classes "of workmen. The king was afterwards married to the princess, "the daughter of the king Pandy, and was crowned, and reigned in "tranquillity in the city Tammanah thirty-eight years." Supposing therefore that reliance can be placed on this statement, we must go farther back than has been suggested by Wilson for the foundation of Mad'hurâ and of the Pândya dynasty. It is just possible though that the first Pândya immigrated into the southern part of India and founded Mad'hurâ at the same time that king Wijeya immigrated into Ceylon, namely towards the end of the sixth century B. C., and if so Wilson is correct in one of his guesses.

With regard to the extent of the Pândya kingdom in its earliest times, it is observable that Ptolemy speaks of the country as being "Mediterranea," and I infer from this that it was of no very great size, and did not reach to any point near the sea either east, west or south. Probably the Chêra country, of which Palani it is said was then the northernmost town, hemmed it in on the south and west; the Chôla country on the north and north-east; and the Marava or Parava on the east and south-east. The Marava country I think there is good reason to believe was in early times independent: and the Paravas probably occupied the eastern coast under kings of their own. See for this my notice of the Paravas.

On the other hand it appears from Wilson's note to page 200, vol. iii, R. A. S. Journal, that "the author of the Periplus of the Erythrean "sea particularises Nelcynda or Neliceram; Paralia, Malabar, or "Travancore; and Comari, Cape Comorin as ὑπὸ τὸν βασιλέα Πανδίονα, "under king Pandion. Dr. Vincent conjectures, that the king of "Madura had extended his power from the eastern to the western "side of the Peninsula, and was master of Malabar when the fleets "from India first visited the coast (vol. ii, 401.) He also thinks it "likely that the power of Pandion had been superseded in Malabar "between the age of the Periplus and Ptolemy; for Ptolemy reckons

"the Aü next to Limurike on the south, and takes no notice of "Pandion till he is passed Cape Comorin (ibid.)"

It is therefore quite possible that some of the early Pândya kings greatly extended their power from time to time in all directions but the north. But at the same time it is most probable that their conquests were always of a purely temporary nature, and that they were defeated by their foes quite as often as they were victorious over them. There can be no doubt that the limits of the Chôla and Chêra kingdoms were constantly being enlarged and reduced, according as those kingdoms were administered by more or less able rulers; and that the limits of the Pândya kingdom depended always upon the strength or weakness of her neighbours for the time being. For this reason I think that no great weight should be attached to those poetical descriptions of the boundaries of early southern kingdoms, which are so often quoted and discussed. They were of course composed, each of them with reference to the political situation of the country at the time when the composer wrote: and, if correct then, very possibly became quite incorrect in the course of one or two years.

It will be observed that linga worship is impliedly spoken of in the Purâna as being antecedent to the settlement of Brâhmans in the Pândya country. The first Pândya is said to have discovered the shrine enclosing the linga built by the divine artificer Visvakarma, and then to have sent for Brâhmans from Kâsi to celebrate the worship of Siva in a proper manner; and it seems to follow from this that there were no Brâhmans at that time settled in the country and available for the king's purpose. A strong argument might probably be drawn from this circumstance in favor of the position, that linga worship was one of the many forms of idolatry prevalent amongst the aborigines of South India, the practice of which the Brâhmans at first acquiesced in and eventually adopted. Mr. Pope in his edition of the Abbé Dubois' work (see the note page 307, 2nd edition) says that in South India numberless legends relating to devout worshippers of the linga are current: that some of them are curious, and they are exclusively of southern origin. And Wilson states in his introduction to the catalogue that tradition uniformly points to an extension of Hindûism and civilization from the extreme south of the Peninsula. Again the Greek historians, if I am not mistaken, do not speak of the linga when describing the Brâhmans, Gymnosophists and others, although they would naturally have been struck by its external resemblance to the Phallus worship, had they come in contact

with it Is it not possible therefore that linga worship originated in the Madura country, slowly worked its way northwards, and when checked by the Shapana or Jaina sect turned aside and extended itself along the western parts of India, and finally more or less over the whole ?

The second Pândya is said to have married the daughter of Shûra Sêna Râja of the Chôla kingdom This name or rather title does not appear in any of the lists of the Chôla kings which I have come across.

From the 5th story we may gather that no Salic law was known to the early Pândyas The daughter of the second king succeeded to the throne in default of sons, and appears to have been a warlike and powerful princess. One would like to know who was the illustrious stranger whom she married Mr Taylor has argued in support of the old legend to the effect that it was the renowned Arjuna himself. but I do not see that he has made out his case. And Wilson appears to have completely cut down the evidence ordinarily adduced to prove the early prevalence of this legend, by showing that in several unimpeachable Samskrit copies of the Mahâ B'hârata no mention is made of Arjuna having married a Pândya princess or of the name Malaya D'hwaja.

The extraordinary story of the amazon Thatâthakei having three breasts and losing the middle one on seeing her future husband is told in the Râjâvali (Upham volume 2, page 172) of the female demon Cawany. And curiously enough it is there stated that the god Isewerea, whom I take to be Ishwara or Siva, had informed Cawany that she should lose the superfluous breast when she first saw her future husband: and that king Wijeya (the king of page 47 ante,) married her, and afterwards married a Pândya princess It would certainly seem as though there were here an imperfect and unintelligible reference to the legend told in our Purâna. Can it be possible that the king called Wijeya went across from Ceylon to Mad'hurâ; married the queen, lived with her some time, and then returned to Ceylon leaving her behind him ? Perhaps other MSS. may throw more light than we now have to guide us upon the early relations of Mad'hurâ and Ceylon.

The son of Thatâthakei, Ugra, appears to have been one of the greatest of his race. Tradition says he brought Vellâlans into the country. He too married a Chôla princess, the daughter of Sôma

Shêk'hara, " of the race of the sun," who reigned in Kânchipura. I cannot find this title in any of the Chôla lists.

From the 14th story it appears that there was at this time a Chêra king, and that he, Ugra, and the Chôla king were on good terms, as they all went together to seek assistance from the sage Agastya It also appears that even in these early times private individuals were possessed of whole villages.

In the 22nd story the Shapana, or as they are sometimes called Kshamana or Samana heretics, are said to have converted the Chôla king, and to have marched against Mad'hurâ under his guidance The professors of this faith, I am informed, were the predecessors of the Jains, and their religion was but little different from that now known as the Jaina. The Samskrit name *Shapana* or *Kshamana* or *Kshapana* was necessarily softened in Tamil into *Saman* and it was possibly this corruption which gave rise to the terms *Sarmanai*, *Semnoi*, *Samanœi*, *Shaman*, &c, used by Megasthenes and other ancient writers I have been assured that the word Shapana is in no way connected with *Sraman*, as some have supposed And I have also been assured that these heretics had no connection whatever with the Baûdd'hists; that their god was named Ar'han, and that they never by any chance touched flesh food, as the Baûdd'hists will when they feel weak and ailing My informant is the present Abbot of the Saiva monastery, of which Gnyânasamband'ha Mûrti, of whom we have already heard as the destroyer of the Shapanas, is said to have been the founder: and his statements on this point are therefore entitled to a certain amount of weight, as at the least he is the depositary of the traditions and legends of his sect, which sect was directly opposed to and eventually triumphed over the Shapana With regard to the much disputed origin of the term Shapana or Saman, it is observable that the god of Adam's peak was named Saman, and is often spoken of in the Ceylon chronicles as being a Deity of some importance. Possibly therefore he may have given his name to a sect.

In the reign of Anantaguna, the tenth Pândya, the Shapana heretics again invaded Mad'hurâ on two occasions: but were each time discomfited and compelled to retire. And a still more remarkable incident, if the Purâna can be believed, was the coming to Mad'hurâ of the great Râma. If the account be true, Râma must have lived about the end of the fifth, or beginning of the fourth century B. C., supposing the first Pândya to have lived at the beginning of the sixth.

Probably however the story is a mere interpolation, extracted from some other Purâna. But see post, page 112.

In the next reign the country was threatened with an invasion by the Chêdi king of a caste of hunters It does not clearly appear who this potentate was. Wilson merely says " The eighth king of Madura, " Anantaguna, also, is said to have been assailed by the *Kiratas*, " foresters of *Chedi* or according to the Tamil version of the Halasya, " the barbarous tribes of Marava Marava however was part of the " Pandyan kingdom from the first, and the assailants were probably " from some other country or from the mountainous regions along the " western ghauts." It appears from Mr. Dowson's paper on the Chêra country alluded to before, that his 32nd Chôla king married one Chitrâ the daughter of Chati Raya : and probably that princess was a descendant of the Chêdi Râja of our Purâna. The syllable " chê" is constantly spelt " cha," and " ti" and " di" are constantly confounded. The Chêdi country has been identified with Chandail in Berar. The blunder alluded to by Wilson of confounding the Chêdi Râja with the king of the Maravas must have arisen from some Tamil author wildly fancying that Chêdi Râja meant the same as Sêthu-pati, the title borne by the chief of the Maravas Or perhaps he wished to flatter the Sêthu-pati of his time by pretending that his ancestor was spoken of in the Purâna.

The 31st story shows that the Brâhmans of Kulab'hûshana's time were so poor, that they were compelled to earn their living by working with their hands. This seems strange One would have supposed, judging from the accounts of historians, that in old times all the wealth of the country was placed at the disposal of the Brâhmans, that if they wanted anything they had only to ask for it.

The 33rd story shows that Kulab'hûshana was on bad terms with the Chôla of Kânchipura. but eventually became reconciled to him

The 35th story describes in very equivocal terms a Pândya victory over the Chôla. The Pândya may have been the victor in one battle. but from the end of the story it would certainly seem as though the Chôla must have ultimately defeated his enemy.

During the next five reigns, it is said that no event of any importance occurred, that is of importance to the Pagoda. And then comes the reign of the 18th Pândya. This king was very religious, and careless in all temporal matters · and accordingly the Chôla king attacked and routed him However the god interfered in his behalf and saved him from destruction

The 19th king Varaguna is said to have been a very religious man, and to have gained some slight advantage over the Chôla by help of the god Wilson says of him that he "holds a more prominent place "in *Chola* history than in that of Madura, a blank in the former being "ascribed to his marriage with the princess of *Chola*, and the con-"sequent union of the two sovereignties. This must have occurred "after the Christian era, as we have the capital of the *Chola* kings "distinguished by Ptolemy from that of the *Pandyan*, and the *Chola* "kings do seem to have merged into the *Pandyan* for some consider-"able time in the first ages of Christianity." This remark may be very just: but it is to be regretted that no authority is quoted for the assertions that Varaguna married a Chôla princess, and the two kingdoms became one, and remained united for several ages. Not a word is said about all this in our Purâna: and if the union of the two kingdoms had really taken place, one would certainly have expected to find the author of the Purâna mentioning its occurrence in the most prominent manner, and ascribing all kinds of honor and glory to Varaguna. The observation about the blank in the Chôla history being accounted for by this union cuts both ways, as it happens, for after Varaguna's time there is a blank in the Pândya history extending over no less than twenty-five reigns! It is therefore just as reasonable to suppose that the Pândya kingdom was for several centuries merged in the Chôla kingdom, as that the latter was merged in the former.

From the 49th story it appears that in the reign of the 45th king Kîrti Vib'hûshana was the general deluge. and the whole world was destroyed with the exception of a few remarkable places in and near Mad'hurâ I shall not attempt to explain away this frightful anachronism Wilson appears to think that all that was intended by the writer was to show that a change of dynasty took place: but the wording of the Purâna would seem to be opposed to this interpretation

The first king after the deluge was Vamsha Shêk'hara He re-built the city, which is described as having bounds so extensive, that it must have been almost as large as London now is. Possibly all that is meant is, that the district round the capital was surrounded for the purposes of defence by a wall some thirty or forty miles in length, with gates at certain important places The Chôla king Vikrama attacked the Pândya, but was signally defeated. The name Vikrama appears in one of the lists of Chôla kings given by Mr. Dowson,

namely No. 3, and it seems that he is said to have died after a long reign in 827 A.D. Possibly this was the king meant by the writer of the Purâna. The name also occurs in one of Mr Taylor's lists. Another and most remarkable incident in the reign of the 46th Pândya was the establishment of the Mad'hurâ college of poets

The 56th story would seem to point to the tradition that the Pariah poet Tiruvalluvan came to Mad'hurâ, and after a great struggle gained admission into the college in spite of the opposition of the Brâhmans.

The 57th story seems to show that at the time to which it refers there was a king of fishermen ruling on the coast in a town of some importance. He was probably a Parava. See the notice of this caste in the ethnological portion

The 61st story tells us about the great Mânikya Vâchaka, and his victory over the Baûdd'has, heretics who came to Chidambara from a certain island, which we may perhaps assume was Ceylon. There is nothing to show who these heretics were: but there is probably every reason to suppose that they were worshippers of Budd'ha. They were, it is said, exterminated by crushing in oil-presses As I have remarked before, it is believed that the Baûdd'has had nothing in common with the Shapana sect or Jains And it does not appear from the Purâna that they ever came as far south as Mad'hurâ: but Chidambara was the scene of their defeat Wilson is inclined to place Mânikya Vâchaka's date in the seventh century . but he quotes no authorities, and it is impossible to guess why he places it in that particular period. The Vâdûr St'hala purâna, abstracted in page 135 of the Catalogue Raisonné, states that Mânikya Vâchaka was born in Vâdûr in the Pândya country, and was early distinguished for ability and conduct, and became a great proficient in the *Tatwa* system of philosophy; and gives his history much in the same way as our Purâna gives it, but with two important variations. In the first place it seems to show that the great controversialist either introduced the Saiva faith, as pointed out by Mr. Taylor, into the southern countries of the Peninsula, or else reformed the existing Saiva religion. And secondly it makes out the king of Ceylon to have been converted by him from Buddhism, and declares that Mânikya Vâchaka preached in Ceylon. These last circumstances seem to be of considerable importance, seeing that they are apparently corroborated by the following passage in the Râja Ratnâcari (Upham, volume ii, page 8,) "when Budhu had been dead 1362 years, in the "year of Christ 819, a king called Matwalessen Rajah was made

" monarch of Ceylon, and in this king's time a man in the habit of a " priest came from Jambu-dwipa to Ceylon, and took up his abode in " the garden of the king This king's character answered his name " for he was an ill-timed worthless person, and the abovenamed " priest turned him away from the religion of Budhu ; and thus as a " grass-hopper taking the light of a lamp to be gold, springs into the " flame, so this king, by his works, rejected what was good and chose " what was evil, and choosing what was evil rejected what was good, " for he rejected and laid aside the precepts taught by the books and " sermons of Budhu, and adopted the maxims of other systems of " religion, yielded his country to the Malabars, and went to live in " the city called Polonnaro, where he died." If Mânikya Vâchaka went to Ceylon and preached there and converted the king of Ceylon, I think there is every probability that he was the man who " in the habit of a priest came from Jambu-dwipa," of the Râja Ratnâcari And if so, his date may be almost said to be known for certain to be 819 A. D

After the extinction of the Baûdd'has nothing is recorded until the reign of the 73d and last of the Pândyas, in which occurred the final overthrow, at least in the Pândya kingdom, of the great Shapana or Jaina heresy Kubja, or the hunchback Pândya, called in Tamil Kûn Pândya, appears to have waged war against the Chôla, and after completely vanquishing him to have restored to him his kingdom, and married his daughter. Sometime afterwards, it is said, the Pândya was perverted to the Shapana faith; and was brought back to the true faith only by the miraculous cure of his disease and removal of his deformity by the champion of the Saiva religion, the great Gnyânasamband'ha Mûrti

As the ancient history of the Pândya kingdom—such as it is—ends abruptly with the overthrow of the Shapana or Jaina heretics, and as the date of that important event is involved in almost hopeless obscurity, it is exceedingly desirable that every circumstance calculated to throw light upon it should be made public · and I trust therefore that my humble efforts will not be pronounced uncalled-for and unnecessary, if I endeavour to the best of my ability to do something towards the determination of this knotty question.

That great authority, Wilson, says in the introduction to his Descriptive Catalogue, see page lxvii, " in the *Pandyan* kingdom the " *Jains* rose upon the downfall of the *Bauddhas*, and were sup- " pressed in the reign of *Kuna* Pandya, which could not have

"occurred much earlier than the ninth or tenth century, or might "have been as late as the eleventh."

Farther on, page lxxix, he says, "*Kuna Pandya*.........is placed "by some accounts in the Saka year 950 or A. D. 1028, and this "agrees tolerably well with the date deduced for him from that of "the translation of the *Halasya Mahatmya*" Now, as Mr. Taylor observes in his "Oriental MSS," no authorities are quoted by Wilson. And one would much like to know the great Professor's reason for placing "Kuna Pandya" in the eleventh century: particularly as Mr Taylor disbelieves altogether the correctness of this late date, and for reasons too long to be given here, (see O H. MSS., volume ii,) and which certainly do not appear to be conclusive, supposes that "Kuna Pândya" reigned about 1320 B C!

Whether any attempts have been made lately in Europe to fix this important date, I have been unable to discover and I must content myself with setting out before the reader the evidence bearing on it obtainable in Madura.

The most remarkable, and if only it could be depended upon, the most conclusive evidence of the date, is that afforded by the fact of the existence in Madura at the present moment of a Saiva *Math* or monastery, which, it is alleged, was founded by the great Gnyâna-samband'ha himself, and is presided over by the 277th hereditary manager If this allegation were only true, then allowing eighteen years for each manager, we should have to assign to Sundara Pândya a date of a very respectable antiquity, namely B C 3119 I regret however being constrained to admit, that it is impossible to believe that the present worthy manager of this institution is the 277th. Every effort was made to induce him to disclose the facts, which led him to believe in the extraordinary antiquity claimed for his *math*; but no proofs were adduced by him, though confidently and repeatedly promised, and there is no reason to suppose that any proofs are in fact in his possession or within his knowledge.

Although, however, I was disappointed so often in this matter, I have to thank the manager of the *math* for kindly pointing out to me the existence, and furnishing me with a copy of a remarkable inscription of the time of Sundara Pândya, which will no doubt enable experts to fix the required date with tolerable precision. The inscription is cut into the solid rock which forms the side of an old ruined Saiva Church, known as "Sundara Pândya's Church," situated

a little to the south of Thirupparankunram, near Madura. The character is modern Tamil, with Grant'ha letters interspersed; and the metre the *akhaval.* The following is a translation of it, as correct as I am able to give :—

PROSPERITY !

SUNDARA PANDYA DEVAR,

Who bears on his shoulders Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, that dwells in the beautiful lotus flower. and Bhûmi Dêvi, the goddess of the earth.

Who enjoys the auspices of Saraswati, that dwells in the tongue of Bramha: and of Vîralakshmi, the goddess of strength

Who terrified the flags bearing respectively the emblems of the furious tiger and the strong bow; and compelled them to hide themselves

Who caused the high flag representing the fish to play in the golden mountain

Who made the virtues to flourish in the wide sea-girt world

Who swayed the sceptre everywhere, avoiding sins, in such wise that the whole world lived in happiness under his one umbrella; that the three forms of Tamil proper to Prose, Poetry, and the Drama continued to flourish, that the four Vêdas the Ruk, Yajuhu, Sâma, and At'harvana continued to be taught orally, that the five kinds of sacrifices, Bramha, Daiva, B'hûta, Pitru, and Mânusha were offered according to rule; that the principles of the six sub-divisions of the Saiva faith the B'hâirava, Vâma, Kâlamuk'ha, Mahâvrata, Pâshupata, and Saiva were well observed, that songs were sung according to the acknowledged seven notes or modulations of the voice, that his commands were obeyed in all the eight directions of the world; that the kings of Konkana, Kalinga, Kôsala, Mâlava, Singala, Trilinga, Chîna, G'hûrjara, Villava, Magad'ha, Vikkala, Sembya, Pallava, and other countries came in rivalry, one before the other, with their fixed tributes, and begged that he might restore to them their kingdoms.

Who wore the large breast-plate given by Indra.

Who was crowned with a crown set with gems.

Who enforced the laws of Manu, created by Brama that dwells in the lotus flower.

Who wore on his head the crown set with gems.

Who destroyed the power of the tiger-flag in the country surrounded by the Kâvêri river; and made the fish-flag of the Pândya kingdom, which is bounded by Cape Kumâri, to fly everywhere; and marched and spread abroad his forces, furnished with high-couraged horses and elephants; set Tanjore and Uriûr on fire; spoiled the clear water of the tanks and rivers in order to deprive the *Karunkuvalei* and *Utpalam* flowers of their beauty; demolished the houses, high walls, towers, dancing halls, storied houses and palaces; made the tears of the wives of refractory kings flow like a river; and caused the sites of the buildings to be ploughed with asses and sown with cowries.

Who in his anger drove the Chôla from his dominions into a barren place; took away his crown of pure gold, and gave it to a poet who sang in praise of him; anointed himself king with all proper ceremonies in the *Mantapam*, which was the Chôla's anointing hall at Âyirattali surrounded with golden walls, the top of which reached the orbit of the sun of indescribable splendor; extended his fame everywhere, mounted on a brave must elephant, accustomed to cut off the heads of famous hostile kings, and return home; made himself the sole possessor of the sea-girt world; went with his weapons the sharp-edged *Chakra*, &c., to the fine *St'hala* in divine Chidambara, wherein resided Brâhmans of undoubted proficiency in the Vêdas; visited the fine and beautiful god Nâtêsha dancing in the *Kanaka Sab'hâ*, (hall of gold) in the presence of the goddess, and overjoyed at the sight prostrated himself at the god's feet which resemble the red lotus-flower and are invisible to Brahma that resides in the lotus, and to Vishnu decorated with the cool garland of *Tolesi* flowers; seated himself in a grand manner, like the Mountain Mêru, which is the anchor of the earth, in the hall decorated with bright gems, and resembling the golden city of Amarâvati, the hall surrounded by the tank which is full of lotus flowers inhabited by beetles which by their noise disturb the rest of the swans with the curved feathers; and there commanded kings wearing crowns and adorned with garlands of flowers to send for the Chôla, in order to give him as a gift the Chôla kingdom, which abounds with fields surrounded by plantations.

Who, when the Chôla, who had fled after being deprived of his kingdom and city, returned in confidence and presented to him his (the Chôla's) son, declaring (complimentarily) that his son bore the

title of Pândya, and prostrated himself before the Pândya's victorious throne, and humbly besought him; who then went and took hold of his hands, putting aside all anger, and pouring water on them presented the conquered territory to the son of the Chôla. Then the kings of all the countries of the world surrounded by the ocean which has great waves, paid their respects to the Pândya, the benefactor of all, and begged of him that this kingdom presented by him with his free will to the son of the Chôla, to whom had been joyfully (or out of compliment) given the Pândya's name, should thenceforward be known as "the kingdom once conquered by the Pândya."

Who then presented him with the Chôla kingdom, and with the *Srîmuk'ha* or order to use as his signature a seal representing a bright fish; entitling him "the king of the country which was before lost;" and giving him also the old capital city; and then gave him leave to depart. The kings of the northern countries, bearing bright and victorious spears, then prostrated themselves at the Pândya's feet with all alacrity.

Who wore the *Vîrag'hanta* (hero's bell) on his leg, seated himself on the throne supported by noble lions and adorned with bright gems; was fanned on either side with beautiful fans made of the hairs of white deer; and had in his company his Empress, Mangeik-k'arasi, who treated all her creatures as her own children, and at whose feet the queens of other countries, who never left the shoulders of their husbands possessed of proud elephants which roared like the ocean, and who wore fragrant garlands, and in their ears brilliant pendants, prostrated themselves and made obeisance.

Who is like Vishnu; who has in his breast, Lakshmi; who is the Emperor of the three worlds; who bears the title of MÂRAN; and

Who had the pleasure of giving as a gift the Chôla kingdom. (This monarch makes the following grant—that is to say—

Whereas, at the suggestion of the Âdisiva Brâhmans and the managers of the temple of Sundara Pandyêshwara Mudayar, (the idol) who was placed in the *Palliyarei* of the Mad'hurâ temple, situated to the east of Mâdakulam in the excellent *nâdu* of Mad'hurâ, by Pallippîda Malava Râyan, and was subsequently consecrated in the temple built on the south of Thirupparankunram by us, Srî Sundara Pândya Râja, the most beautiful and elegant of all beautiful men and one possessed of divine powers, the aforesaid Malava

Râyan has requested us to grant to the aforesaid Dêvast'hâna the mahs of land producing two crops per annum and six *mahs* of land producing one crop, in all, as measured by the rod, twelve *mahs* or 12/16 of the fields called Kandulavan bounded on one side by a rock and a sluice, and situated in Pulimkunrûr otherwise known as Sundara Pândya Pura which lies east of the Vîra Nârâyana tank, with the privilege of cultivating and using and occupying the same rent-free from and after the eighth year (of our reign); and in addition the cess leviable for the support of blind men; the treasure-trove cess; that for the maintenance of ferry boats ; together with the trees standing on the road leading to the said lands; as also the cess payable to the officer who watches the crops; and all kinds of taxes leviable on account of the expenses of the *Padikattalei* rice and other articles required for the performance of the Pûjah of the said Sundara Pândyês'hwara Mudayar and for the repairs of the same:—Now we do grant on this 325th day of the seventh year (of our reign) to the aforesaid Dêvast'hâna six mahs of land, &c., &c., &c. (The grant is set forth in the same terms as those given above.)

And we do further direct, that you do receive a deed bearing the attestation of witnesses and that of the engrosser and (the mark of) our order, and do continue to maintain the charities (under the head of *Tiruppani* (repairs) and *Padikattalei* (ordinary expenditure) that inscriptions be made on stone and on copper for the continuance of this our grant so long as the sun and moon shall endure.

(After this come the attestations of nine witnesses, whose n and titles are so curious that I cannot refrain from giving then full length. As no native to whom I have shown them can make thing of them, I must be excused if I blunder sadly in attempt to show their exact equivalents in English.)

1. Attested by Kula Shêk'hara Mâd'hava Râyan, Vichchiyûr (born in or perhaps I should more correctly say resident in the vil of Vichchi, which is situated in) the western *Kûttu* (? small grou Vellâla villages arranged for revenue purposes. Tamils do not k the revenue meaning of the word.) of the Milalei *Kûttam*, (? a l group than a Kûttu. See under the head of Vellâlans in the E logical portion ante.) (bearing the title of) Mummudi Udeiyân (seised of lands in the villages of) Chôlanallûr (and) Vettanûr, Udeiyân (Chief known by the title of) Vengâdu Thêvar Ti kârônam.

2. Adhika Mân, inhabitant of Vilattûr in the Milalei *Kûttam* Udeiyân (in or of) the victorious Chôlanallûr (and) Vilattûr, (also) Udeiyân (known by the title of) Srî Vallavan Sundarattôl.

3. Nilakangareiyân, alias Monneippîrân Alagapperumâl, Udeiyân (in or of) Pullûrkudi (and) Ponmathi (of the) Nadavira *Kûttu* of the Milalei *Kûttam*.

4. Vijaya Râyan, Udeiyân (in or of) Tachchanûr, Mandeiyâlwân, and Kathirâyiram, (villages in the) Kilavambada *Nâdu* (country).

5. Sêtâppallava Râyan, alias Ponnan Upakâri, Udeiyân (in or of) Puttûr in the Parapparalei *Nâdu*, (apparently attached or subordinate to) the excellent *Nâdu* of Mad'hurâ.

6. Kôla Râjan, Udeiyân (in or of) Arayan, Ulkudi (or permanent ryot in ~~the~~ village of) Kângei-Irakkei in the excellent *Nâdu* of Mad'hurâ.

7. Kuru Kulattareiyân, alias Sendu Uyya Nindrâduvân, Udeiyân (in or of) Tadanganni (and) Chittûr in the Thirumalli *Nâdu*.

8. Râjá Râja Viluppareiyân, alias Kilavan Pallân Râman (or ? ıllân Râman, headman or senior) (of) Malangudi in the Kîlach-mbala *Nâdu*.

9. Pallava Râjan, alias Mantri (or ? minister) Râman of great ûr in the Anda *Nâdu*.

ıe attestation of these nine chiefs and great men appears to have insufficient for the purposes of security; and another writing ws to the effect that)

/hereas Malava Râyan has requested us to grant to the Âdi Siva ımaus and St'hânâpatis of the Sundara Pândyêshwara Mudayar urch which was consecrated by us, Râma Narab'hûshana Dêvar, peror of the three worlds, and who never esteemed other kings, &c.

'he terms of the grant are then set out as before, but the date of ıew and confirmatory grant is the eighth year of the grantor's The new grant is attested by three witnesses, namely :—)

1. Tennavatheiyân, Sundarattôlan Muttan, Ulkudi (old estab- or permanent ryot) (of the village of) Kângei-Irakkei in the ent *Nâdu* of Mad'hurâ. On the 70th day of the eighth year.

Uttama Pândya Viluppareiyân, Udeiyân (in or of) Kothu-

3. (The name, &c., are the same as in attestation No. 9 of the first grant: they were perhaps those of an official.)

(After the second or confirmatory grant comes a third grant set forth in precisely the same terms and giving precisely the same lands, &c., and again in the eighth year, attested by more than fifteen witnesses, whose names and titles as far as I can make them out are as follows, viz:—)

1. Vijaya Râyan, alias Thiruvakku Têvan, Udeiyân (in or of) Ponapatti in the western *Kûttu* of the Milalei *Kûttam* in the Varitineikkala-Nâyakkan *Puravu* (? a revenue term meaning a large territorial division containing several *Kûttams*. Further on it will appear as though a *Puravu* was even larger than a *Mandalam* or country.)

2. Tulampadareiyân.

3. Srî Râma Sundara Pândya Kâduvetti, Arul8'- ing gracious,) Udeiyân (in or of) Vappâdi Pâttu (an Chirunambûr in the Milalei *Kûttam*.

4. Tondayan.

5. Kôla Râyan.

6. Kâlanga Râjan.

7. Gângêya Râjan.

8. Chetta Râyan, alias Naravalagan, Udeiyân (in or chananamali (in the) Naduvira *Kûttu* in the Milalei *Kûttam* Varitineikkala-Nâyakkan *Puravu*, (and) Udeiyân (in or of) Er

9. Virâta Râyan.

10. Vatta Râjan.

11. Sundara Pândya Tattipan Mân.

12. Muniyada Râyan.

13. Uttamaya Viluppareiyân, alias Akitti (?) Visâleiya Na râriya Mâlalagan (of) Kîlavattûr in the Karungudi *Nâdu* in Varitineikkala-Nâyakkan *Puravu*.

14. Pattiyata Râyan, alias Adichcha Têvan Âliyankeiyân or of) Isanûr in the excellent *Nâdu* of Râjêndra Chôla in *Mandalam* (country) (in the) Varitineikkala-Nâyakkan *Pura* the victorious Chôla *Mandalam* at this time a mere provinc Pândya kingdom; and did it with other countries from a administered by a Pândya general.)

15. Villava Râyan, alias Sôma Têvan Âlagiya Maneivêlan (of) Alaga Pândya Nallûr, Udeiyân (in or of) Uttu Ayaku (?) in the Visâleichchambilei *Nâdu* in Varitineikkala-Nâyakkan *Puravu.*

(A few more signatures, &c., follow, but they are illegible.)

Assuming that this elaborately composed inscription is not a forgery, and I know of no possible reason for supposing it to be such, it cannot but be useful to orientalists in determining Sundara Pândya Dêvar's date. It would be out of place in a work like this to examine it critically, and to prove by intrinsic evidence that it must be a comparatively modern document: but at all events a few of the more remarkable facts set forth in it may be briefly noticed.

In the first place then the victory over the Chôla king commemo-ted by the inscription would seem to have been very decisive and -uite different from the mere temporary successes which .d from Pândya invasions of the Chôla, and Chôla Pândya country. And the inscription is strongly .ı this point by our Purâna.

name or title " Pândya" and the right to use the fish-'hurâ are said to have been conferred on the son of the Chôla king.

-ıtion is made of the famous " *Kanaka Sab'hâ*" or golden ..ıdambara.

4. The Pândya is said to have burnt Tanjore and Uriyûr: ;t nothing is said about Kânchipura.

5. No mention is made of the Chêra country.

'. The grantor's wife was Mangeikk'arasi.

7. A *nâdu* in the Chôla *mandalam* is called the Râjêndra ôla *nâdu.*

'hese facts seem to show almost conclusively, that Sundara Pândya t have flourished at a period later at all events than the ninth ury of our era.

may be gathered from Mr. Dowson's paper on the Chêra king- R. A. S. Journal, Vol. viii, p. 7), and also from Mr. Taylor's the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. xiv, that ıaka *Sab'hâ* was built by Vîra Chôla Râya, the 30th of the mentioned in the MS. translated in those papers, about the ..ıa of the tenth century: and assuming that this was so, if Sun-

dara Pândya visited the *Kanaka Sab'hâ* as stated in the inscription he must have lived at a later time than A.D. 950.

We are also told in Mr. Dowson's paper that Ari Vari Deva, th 34th and last of the Chôla kings of his MS., certainly died in tl year A.D. 1058; that in the early part of his reign he, or rather h brother for him, conquered the Pândya kingdom; that subsequen through the intercession of the Pândya's mother, who was his n relative, he restored the Pândya kingdom to the conquered king, ar lived in great amity with him; so great, indeed, that one Am B'hujânga, the Pândya's general, came to the Chôla Râja, and bei placed in command of his armies conquered the Kalinga and ma other countries, some of which lay as far north as the river And we are further informed that this was the Chôla kin in one of Mr. Walter Elliot's famous Chálûkya inscripti ns A.D. 1071, (see R. A. S. Journal, Vol. iv, p. 14) as the outcast " I Chol, who had forsaken his usual course, and left off practisin virtue of his race," having invaded the Châlûkya dominions destroyed many Jaina temples; and was defeated and killed Châlûkya forces. Very possibly too this Pandi Chol was the dara Pandya Sholun" who stands No. 21 in Mr. Dowson's lis

Now I can see no great difficulty in the way of supposing t story told in the remarkably valuable MS. from which Mr. gathered these facts was a misrepresentation, not extrao gross, of the actual facts of Sundara Pândya's connection last Chôla Râja mentioned in the MS. abovementioned that the very unusual circumstances of the con son receiving the title of "Pândya" is pretty co in the inscription of Sundara Pândya's time ab The Purâna tells us that the Pândya's wife was known by the title of Vanitêshwari (the Samskrit eq Tamil Mangeikk'arasi, or queen of women, given in and that it was mainly through her instrumenta induced to adopt the true Saiva faith in lieu of th may be, that this was the energetic Pândya lad exertions are alluded to in Mr. Dowson's MS. Chôla kingdom appears to have been at this tim last kings of the MS., at the height of its power up the Konga country; and annexed more or less northern countries, the grand and boastful lang

·ion becomes readily intelligible on the supposition, that Sundara Pândya conquered the Chôla country; gave back the conquered territory to the son of the 34th king, together with the title of "Pândya;" ·d afterwards having placed his general Amra B'hûjânga in com-·nd of the united armies of the Pândya Chôla and Chêra countries, ·aded with considerable success many portions of the Peninsula, l continued to show the liveliness of his zeal for his religion by using to be destroyed a number of Shapana or Jaina churches.

Supposing then that the leading events of Sundara Pândya's reign responded to some extent with those just suggested, his approxi-te date should be readily ascertainable. Ari Vari Dêva is stated he MS. to have made a grant in A D. 1004: and Mr. Dowson ·ly places the death of the king whom he takes to be the last , ·· out cast "Pandi Chol," in the year A. D. 1058, relying on Châlûkya inscriptions; and it seems from what Mr. Dowson that according to Mr. Ellis' calculations that event cannot have ·ned much earlier or much later.

next fact to be considered is the statement of Wilson to the ·at Mangeikk'arasi, the wife of Kûn Pândya, is called in an , of the *Gôpura* of the Baûdd'ha temple at Pudcovaily (see ·. J., vol. iii, p. 219, note 2) the daughter of Karikâla Chôla. ng t· some of the McKenzie MSS. abstracted in Mr. Taylor's e Raisonné, Karikâla was the last of the ancient Chôla ·nd from one if not more of them—see page 478—it ·ly that Karikâla was set upon the throne by a Pândya ·s at the time master of the Chôla kingdom. It is there-·ssible that Karikâla was the title commonly borne by i Vari Dêva · and Kûn Pândya's wife may have been s grand-daughter as well as Karikâla's daughter.

·is was so or not, the statement as to Mangeikk'arasi's · the greatest importance: and every effort should be ·in the date of Karikâla Chôla in order that through · at that of Kûn Pândya.

·us (see his introduction to his catalogue, p. lxii, ·. 182) that various traditionary accounts make the great Vaishnava preacher, flee from the Chôla ecuted by Karikâla: and if this be true, there should xing Karikâla's date. Râmânuja fled to the Court ·eddata, who was converted by him, and thereupon

assumed the well-known title of Vishnu Vardd'hana: and the dates of grants of this king so entitled, appear to range between the years 1099 and 1138 A. D. See for this Mr. Taylor's translation of the Konga-dêsa-râjâkkal, Madras Journal of C. and S., vol. xiv, p. 20; and compare with it what Mr. Walter Elliot says of Vishnu Vardd'hana, R. A. S. Journal, vol. iv, p 24. Then again the valuable MS. abstracted at p. 34 of the Catalogue Raisonné says (see p. 38) that Sundara Pândya Dêvar lived A. D 1050, and that Râmânuja lived in the time of the son of that Pândya, in 1117 A. D. Supposing therefore that Râmânuja was persecuted by Karikâla, and that Mangeikk'arasi was the daughter of the latter as alleged, it is very possible that Kûn Pândya reigned in the latter half of the eleventh century. And if Karikâla was also called Pândya Chôla, and was the king defeated by the Châlûkya as recorded in the inscription of 1078, he could not have been killed in battle as Mr Dowson supposes; but he must have enjoyed a long reign of perhaps fifty-five years, as stated in the MS. If he lived to the age of 80 or 90, it is quite possible that Kûn Pândya married his daughter in about the year 1060, and Râmânuja was persecuted by him shortly before 1098.

Next we must notice the allegation that Sundara Pândya burnt Tanjore and Uriyûr. It would appear from the Purâna that up to the time of the defeat of the Baûdd'has by Mânikya-Vâchaka the Chôla capital was Kânchipura. But no mention is made of this town in the inscription, and it would therefore be reasonable to suppose that when the last Pândya conquered the Chôla country, either Uriyûr, which was undoubtedly a great city at one time, or Tanjore, or perhaps each of these two towns, had become a capital. Now, Mr. Taylor has shown that according to tradition Uriyûr was entirely destroyed by a shower of mud or sand, and the seat of power was then transferred to Kamb'hakônam. And the MS alluded to above, which tells us that Karikâla Chôla was placed on the throne by the Pândya, also tells us that he was installed at Kamb'hakônam, and afterwards resided there. Taking these facts together, we may perhaps infer that the story of the shower of mud alludes metaphorically to the destruction of the capital city of Uriyûr by the Pândya; and that the immediate consequence of this act was the elevation of the city of Kamb'hakônam into a capital by Karikôla Chôla. The fact that Tanjore appears from the MS relied upon by Mr. Dowson to have continued to be the capital, or at least one of the capitals of the

the Chôla country during the whole period of Chôla history touched upon by the MS. is a fact of considerable importance: inasmuch as it goes to show that, if the destruction of Tanjore and Uriyûr led to the rise of Kamb'hakônam, it must have taken place at all events later than A. D. 1004.

The negative fact that nothing is said of the Chêra kingdom, although no less than thirteen kings are enumerated as being tributary to the Pândya, goes to show that at the time when the inscription was made, the Chêra kingdom had in all probability ceased to have an independent existence. And those who agree with Mr Dowson in thinking that Konga *dêsam* and Chêra *dêsam* are interchangeable terms, and that the Chêra kingdom was conquered and annexed by the Chôla about A. D 900, will probably see in this omission of all allusion to the Chêra kingdom some evidence showing that the inscription was written later than A D 900 Nor will the fact that the inscription does speak of the Pândya scaring the bow-flag, the *insigne* of the Chêra country, operate very strongly in rebutting this presumption For we can well understand the flag of a nation long surviving the downfal of that nation and nothing can be more natural than that Chêra officers and soldiers fighting under Chôla generals should raise their own banners. However the inference is not worth very much in itself, seeing that Mr. Taylor has shown pretty conclusively that there is no sufficient reason for believing that the Konga was in fact the Chêra country; and until we know for certain that it was, we must of course assume that it was not. Ordinarily a country is not known by two distinct names.

There now remains but one more point requiring notice, as appearing from the inscription namely the description of a *nâdu* in the Chôla country as the " Râjêndra Chôla excellent *nâdu* If, as seems likely, the title Râjêndra was given by or in memory of the mysterious Chôla king Râjêndra to whom the poet Kamban dedicated his work in 886 A. D, then of course the inscription must have been written later, and probably was written considerably later than 886 A. D., and we have another piece of evidence going to show that Kûn Pândya lived in comparatively modern times. On the other hand, it would seem to be by no means improbable that Râjêndra was merely a title common to many Chôla kings, and it is quite possible that the title was given to a *nâdu* without reference to any particular king; and if so, the occurrence of it here will not

help us. Possibly some light might be thrown on the matter by the discovery of the situation of the Râjêndra Chôla Vala Nâdu. If it was outside and north of the Chôla *mandalam* proper, it might be presumed I think that it formed part of the conquests of Râjêndra or Râjêndra's father: and was named after Râjêndra about the same time that the Tonda *mandalam* was made over to the illegitimate Adondei and received its new name.

Having said as much as the limited space at my disposal will permit touching the bearing of the Pândya inscription on the date of the last Pândya, I must now pass on to the consideration of the next piece of evidence. Before doing so, however, I should perhaps give a summary of the facts of which the existence is more or less clearly indicated by the wording of the inscription, and of other facts connected therewith They are as follow, viz :—

1. Kubja, Kûn, or Sundara the last Pândya completely conquered a Chôla: who was probably Mr Dowson's 34th king.

2 He burnt Tanjore and Uriyûr: and placed the son of the conquered Chôla on the throne, giving him the title of Pândya

3 Many kings were tributary to him his dominions were extensive

4. He married Vanitêshwari or Mangeikk'arasi, the daughter of Karikâla Chôla, who persecuted Râmânuja Âchârya.

5 Karikâla Chôla was probably the son of the last Chôla of Mr Dowson's MS.

6 After the burning of Tanjore and Uriyûr Kamb'hakônam became the Chôla capital

And in these circumstances the presumption arises that the last Pândya reigned in the latter half of the eleventh century of our era.

The next piece of evidence to be considered is an inscription in modern Tamil, which exists on a stone in a certain piece of land north of the river Veigei and near Madura, known as the "Gôri-pâleiyam." It appears that this piece of land, with six villages attached to it has been enjoyed rent-free by the Mahometan community from time immemorial; and the inscription declares that it was originally granted by Kûn Pândya, and that the grant was confirmed by Vîrappa Nâyakkan, after personal enquiry into its validity. As the inscription is in many ways remarkable, the following rough translation of it is given.

PROSPERITY!

The affairs of Kumâra Krishna Râyar (who was descended from,

or else was the successor of eight Râyars) (1) Râma Râyar, (2) Krishna Râyar, (3) Kumâra Narasinga Râyar, (4) Anaikonda Vencatapati Dêva Mahâ Râyar, (5) Vîra Narasinga Râyar, (6) B'hujabala Râyar, (7) Virupâkshi Reyar, (and 8 and last) Mallikârjuna Râyar Dêva Mahâ Râyar. Who was (or who were each of them) the Srîman Mahâ Mandalêshwara. The vanquisher of the army of Arya Râyar. The Lord over promise-breaking chieftains. The Lord of the three Râyars. The conqueror of lands seen and the holder of lands conquered. The King of the seven seas in the east, west, north and south. The *Âchârya* of the Kshatriyas in the Pândyamandala. The *Pratist'hâpanâchârya* of the Chôla kingdom. The *Chandaprachanda* of the Tondamandala. The king of kings. He who conquered the Ila (Ceylon,) Konga, and Kambala countries, and Vyâpânanây-akkapattana, (Jaffnapatam,) and hunted lions. The Râja Paramêshwara. The Râja Mârtânda. The Râja Gamb'hîra. The ruler doing his duty according to the ethics of kings. The terror of the people of the eight quarters. The wicked to the wicked. The enemy to the vicious. The destroyer of the kingdoms of the wicked. The destroyer of the Turk army of the Orukal Sultân who was the protector of the wicked. The humiliator of the Turks. The conqueror of the Ôttiya (Orissa ?) army. The humiliator of the Ôttiya people (two or three titles cannot be made out) The Nârâyana of darkness. The Nârâyana of his race The Pratâpa of wisdom, of heroism, of victory, of gold, of renown. (a title here is unintelligible) The man whose mind shakes not even when the mountain shakes. The most distinguished of the brave. The hero foremost in battle. The man who was a Vijaya with the bow, a Harischandra in veracity; a Karna in liberality; a Kubêra in wealth: a Manmad'ha in beauty. Who had in his breast the eight Lakshmîs, viz., Heroism, Success, Issue, Wealth, Liberality, Happiness, Prowess and Fame Who held the eight quarters of the globe and the seven seas under his one umbrella.

The affairs (of this Lord) have been managed by us, Vîrappa Nâyakkar Ayyan Avargal, the son of Krishnappa Nâyakkan, who was the son of Visvanât'ha Nâyakkan.

And whereas during our said administration a dispute has arisen between the Râjas and the Malakas (Mahometans) respecting the six villages, Sorikkudi, Sokkikulam, Vîvîkkulam, Kannarêmbal, Sirudûr and Tiruppâdai, forming the gôripâleiyam, whereof the lands were priced at 14,000 gold pieces at the rate of one for each foot, were

marked with boundary stones bearing the emblem of a bow; and granted and continued by a former ruler, Kûn Pândya, to the mosque of the Delhi Orukol Sultan in the said gôripâleiyam, situated north of the Veigei river in the Valanâdu of Mad'hurâ.—

Now we, the said Vîrappa Nâyakkan, having held a just enquiry in the course of which it hâs been proved that the Pândya fixed the price (of the villages) and sold them to the mosque, are therefore pleased on this day of auspicious Yôga and Karana, the 11th day of Tei of the year B'hava, 1495 of the Sâlivâhana Sakâbda, (A D 1573,) to continue the grant to the mosque: and the boundaries shall be as heretofore those marked by the stones set up by the Pândya. The whole income of these six villages shall be enjoyed uninterruptedly for ever, so long as the sun and moon shall endure. ——

It will be observed that it is distinctly stated in this inscription that, previous to its being inscribed, the then ruler of the country made a personal enquiry into the truth of the allegation of the Mahometans (Malakas) to the effect that certain lands had been granted to them by Kûn Pândya in consideration of the sum of 14,000 pieces of gold: and that he decided in their favor and confirmed the grant. Here then we seem to have very satisfactory evidence of Kûn Pândya having been co-temporary with Mahometans, and having ruled the country at a period not very considerably earlier than the date of the inscription A D. 1573. For whether the inscription be or be not what it purports to be, genuine evidence of a grant, it at all events shows that at the time when it was inscribed on a stone in a public place, it was not impossible in the judgment of those who set up the stone, or rather I should say it was thought by them to be exceedingly probable and natural, that Kûn Pândya should have made a grant of the nature of that commemorated; and that the ruler of the country in A D 1573 should have held an enquiry into the truth of the fact But that the inscription is actually what it purports to be, I can see no sufficient ground for doubting It is in the Tamil character, and must have been written by a Tamil of some education and acquirements, though in favor of Mahometans; it is found just where one would expect to find it in a public place, and it is regarded by the Mahometans of Madura as evidence of their title, though probably not one of them could read it Moreover it is, so far as I can learn, a solitary instance of an inscription supporting a Mahometan claim to land in the Madura District. And lastly the lands

to which it alludes are at this present moment in the occupation of the Mahometans, and apparently no one has ever challenged their right.

Assuming then that the main facts set forth in the inscription are genuine, the difficult question arises, when was the land sold for the purpose of endowing this "Delhi Orukol Mosque?" "Orukol" is I presume an incorrect form of "Orukal" the original and correct mode of spelling the name "Warankal" and according to Ferishta, whose authority is usually relied on, Arinkil (Warankal) was not finally annexed by the Mahometans until 1323 in the reign of Tughlick I. And according to Hindû accounts the first Mahometan invasion of Madura took place in 1324. If therefore the mosque was endowed in the manner described after Orukal became a Mahometan city, and gave a title to a Sultân, Kûn Pândya must have lived after 1323. And this, as will be seen hereafter, would seem to be simply impossible. The difficulty must be got over, I conceive, by supposing that Kûn Pândya sold the land to some Arab merchants, who were perhaps tempted to settle in Madura by the prospect of carrying on a profitable trade with the cities on the Malabar Coast; and that a long time afterwards, probably in the 14th century, the mosque was built and endowed with these lands. In the course of time Mahometan tradition would very naturally begin to connect Kûn Pândya's name with the endowment of the mosque: and when the enquiry was held in 1573, the anachronism of the inscription would be a trifling blunder which none could detect. On this supposition Kûn Pândya's date would probably have to be placed in the 11th or 12th century. It could hardly have been much earlier: and it certainly could not have been later.

These are the only two inscriptions throwing light on Kûn Pândya's date which I have been able to discover. Possibly others exist: but no one seems to know anything about them. I must therefore conclude this chapter with the observation that it appears from Caldwell's comparative grammar of the Drâvidian languages (see the note, pages 58 and 59) that that writer thought there were good grounds for supposing that Sundara Pândya lived in the 13th century, and was the "Sender Bandi" of Marco Polo; and he hoped to be able to publish at some future time the reasons which had led him to this conclusion. I am not aware that this expectation has been realized, and can only hope that Dr. Caldwell will be able to do so as he has promised.

CHAPTER III.

Anarchy after the death of Kûn Pândya —A succession of illegitimate Pândyas reigned in different cities.—Wilson's remarks on this period.—The record office MS.—Another list of Pândyas.—Its accuracy probable.—The events of the two centuries or so after Kûn Pândya's death.—Mahometan invasion.—Subjugation by Ceylon.—Invasion of Kanara.—The Sender Bandi of Marco Polo.—Another Mahometan invasion.—The Mahometan invasion under Kafûr.—Atrocities committed by the invaders.—Mahometans driven out by the Vijayanagar General.—The Udeiyârs.—The Nâyakkan Generals.—The Vilivânâthi dynasty.—Other Nâyakkan Generals.—Râma Râja.—Anarchy.—Another Pândya.—His expulsion by the Râja of Tanjore.—The consequences thereof.

In the last chapter an attempt was made to assist in fixing the date of the last of the true Pândyas, or Pândya Dêvars as they are called in Madura. It now becomes necessary to endeavour to fill up the blank between the reign of Kûn Pândya and the first subsequent event of which the date is allowed to be tolerably certain, namely the taking and occupation of Madura by the Mahometans in the year 1324 A. D. Supposing that the last Pândya died somewhere about the end of the eleventh century, we shall have a period of from two centuries and a quarter to two centuries and a half to account for.

This period appears to have been one distinguished throughout by anarchy and confusion. Tradition says that Kûn Pândya died without legitimate issue, and that after his death a number of illegitimate descendants of the old race fought with one another for supremacy, and reigned, each as long as he could maintain himself in power, in

various cities and over larger or smaller tracts of country And tradition is in perfect agreement on this point with such meagre historical notices as have come down to us.

The Srî-tâla book, which appears to have been written about sixty years ago, and was probably compiled from brief Tamil chronicles then in existence, states that the Pândya race became extinct upon the death of Kûn Pândya: and the children of concubines and of younger brothers who lived in former ages fought one against another, split up the country into factions, and got themselves crowned and ruled one in one place, another in another. But none of these families succeeded in getting possession of Madura, the capital, which consequently fell into decay. And further on it tells us, rather inconsistently, that up to 1324 A. D. the kings who ruled the Madura country were part of the time Pândyas, at other times foreigners.

From Mr Taylor's supplementary MS, which must have been written about the same time, and in which that gentleman—I cannot conceive for what reason—seems to place extraordinary confidence, it appears that the "Abiral the Kartapyal and the Yavanal" ruled the country for some time, and were at last driven out by one Sôma Sundara Pândya; who managed to reign for twenty years, and was succeeded by his son Karpûra Sundara. He was succeeded by a long line of heirs, and 23 kings in all reigned nearly five centuries and a half until 1249 A. D. After them, it says, certain kings, of whom Parâkkrama Pândya was the last, reigned seventy-five years.

Certain very brief notices of remarkable events connected with the reigns of some of these kings accompany the list: and should not be disregarded. The sixth of them is said to have ruled over the Chôla and Chêra countries as well as his own: and his son released the Chôla king from captivity, placed him on the Chôla throne, and married his daughter. The ninth king abdicated; went on a pilgrimage to Benares; and died there. That is to say, I suppose, he lost his crown, and fled for his life. The eleventh king is represented to have been a great conqueror. The thirteenth carried on commerce by sea to a considerable extent: but after amassing much wealth, during a reign of only four years' duration, was drowned at sea in a great storm. He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Kundala, who "grieving much would not reign in Madura," but removed his capital to a place a short distance from Madura. Did he reign in the Madura

country at all? His son was a conqueror, and hence his name Shatru B'hîkara. The tenth king married the daughter of the Chôla king; and as the latter had no male issue to succeed him, the younger son of the Pândya succeeded to the Chôla throne. The 17th king conquered the Malayâla country. The 19th was killed in battle against the Chôla. But his grandson succeeded in conquering the Chôla of his time. The 22nd king was a close ally of the Chôla: and the two kings together conquered many countries.

Wilson says in his paper on the Pândya kingdom, see page 221, "According to one authority, which brings down the Pândya history "from the earliest to the latest periods, the first series of monarchs, "consisting of seventy-two princes, was followed by another of "twelve, with the last of whom Kodocola P. the succession of Pân-"dya princes of the ancient royal family ceased." And he states that the first of these twelve was Sôma Sundara: and that there is reason to suppose that Madura was burnt in the reign of the last of them. After a period of anarchy the throne was seized, according to the professor's authorities, by the illegitimate son of a Brâhman by a dancing girl of Kolam near Madura (*sic*), who assumed the title of Chandra Kula Dîpa, and was succeeded by fourteen princes, in the reign of the last of whom occurred the first Mahometan invasion. Wilson also notices the tradition which makes out a distinguished Tamil author, named indifferently Hari Vîra and Âdi Vîra Pândya, to have been a king of Madura, and gives him the date A. D. 1041: and identifying him with a king called Vîra, the professor connects his reign with the burning or subjugation of Madura by the Chôla Divya Râja, who, as stated in the last chapter, is stated to have been the brother of the last Chôla mentioned in the Kongadêsa-râjâkkal MS.

These notices of kings are sufficiently meagre and unsatisfactory: but they are by no means to be despised, and I find that they corroborate to an extent far greater than I could have hoped a short historical memorandum, which I found amongst the records of the Collector's Office, and which appears to have been prepared by some learned man many years ago for the information of the then Collector. From this it appears that after the reign of Kûn Pândya, illegitimate descendants of the Pândya family began to reign over different parts of the country, making different places their capitals. The following purports to be a list of them, forty-one in number:—

No.	Name.	Its meaning.
1.	Sôma Sundara Pândya	Beautiful as the moon.
2.	Karpûra Sundara P.	Beautiful as camphor.
3.	Kumâra Shêk'hara P.	Having Subramanya for a head-ornament.
4.	Kumâra Sundara P.	Beautiful as Kumâra.
5.	Sundara Râja P.	Beautiful king.
6.	Shanmuk'ha Râja P.	The six-faced, *i. e.*, the son of Siva.
7.	Mêru Sundara P.	Beautiful as Mêru
8.	Indra Varma P.	With Indra's armour.
9.	Chandra Kula Dîpa P.	Lamp of the lunar race.
10.	Mîna Kêtana P.	Having the fish flag.
11.	Mîna D'hwaja P.	Do do
12.	Makara D'hwaja P.	Do. do
13.	Mârtânda P.	The sun
14.	Kuvalayânanda P.	Like the moon, or that pleases the whole world.
15.	Kundala P.	Possessed of the *Kundala*, a sort of ear-ring
16.	Shatru B'hîkara P.	Scarer of foes
17.	Shatru Samhâra P.	Destroyer of foes.
18.	Vîra Varma P.	Possessed of hero's armour.
19.	Vîra Bâhu P.	With hero's armour.
20.	Makuta Vardd'hana P.	Maintainer of the crown.
21.	Vajra Simha P.	Adamantine lion.
22.	Varuna Kulôttunga P.	Exalter of the race of Varuna.
23.	Âdi-Vîra-Râma P.	First of hero's, Râma
24.	Kula Vardd'hana P.	Exalter of the race.
25.	Sôma Shêk'hara P.	Having the moon for his head-ornament.
26.	Sôma Sundara P.	Beautiful as the moon.
27.	Râja Râja P.	King of kings.
28.	Râja Kunjara P.	Elephant amongst kings.
29.	Râja Shêk'hara P.	Head-ornament for kings.
30.	Râja Varma P.	Armour for kings.
31.	Râma Varma P.	Having Râma as his armour.
32.	Varada Râja P.	Rajah who gives boons.
33.	Kumâra Simha P.	A young lion

No.	Name.	Its meaning.
34.	**Vîra Sêna P**.......................	With heroic army.
35.	**Pratâpa Râja P**....................	Valorous Rajah.
36.	**Vîraguna P**.........................	Having heroic qualities.
37.	**Kumâra Chandra P**..............	Young moon.
38.	Varatunga P........................	Who has excellent gifts.
39.	Chandra Shêk'hara P..............	Having the moon as his head-ornament, i e, Siva.
40.	Sôma Shêk'hara P	Do. do
41.	Parâkkrama P.......................	Invincible.

The first thing observable in this list is the fact that it begins with the title Sôma Sundara, as do Wilson's list and that given in the Supplementary MS. of Mr Taylor. In the next place it is noticeable that 23 of the first 24 titles and the last are clearly the same as the 23 and the last given in the Supplementary MS. And the two Pândyas noticed by Wilson namely Âdi Vîra and Chandra Kula Dîpa as being mentioned in legends, appear in it Then Parâkkrama Pândya is stated in the Srî-tâla book to have been the prince conquered by the Mahometans. Lastly the names from 25 to 39 inclusive appear in the Supplementary MS. in a wrong place. There is good reason therefore to believe that the list is in the main correct, and furnishes the names of a number of Pândyas who actually ruled, some in the capital, some in other towns situated probably south of Madura and so less exposed to foreign invasion. And assuming this to have been the case, I shall now endeavour to clear up to some extent the mystery which envelops this portion of Madura History

The first point which requires elucidation is the fact of the downfal of the ancient Pândya kingdom consequent upon the death of Kûn Pândya. There can be little doubt that during his reign it was powerful and well organized, and considerably advanced in civilization: or if proof of this be required, it may be found in the inscription translated at page 56 How then has it come about, that nothing is known of the circumstances in which the kingdom fell to pieces, and that apparently no inscriptions or writings have been discovered which throw any light upon the matter? If, as seems to be indicated by the brief historical fragments above alluded to, the country fell a prey to foreign invasion immediately or soon after the death of the last Pândya, how comes it that the fact

is not recorded in any of the boastful memorials prepared by Hindu kings and generals which have come down to us? Châlûkya inscriptions of 1059, 1071, 1081, &c., declare that the Châlûkyas, the great rulers of those times, triumphed over the Chôla and more northerly kings, in terms which show clearly that substantial successes must have been obtained. How is it that they do not record the subjugation of Madura also? There are of course to be found statements to the effect that the Pândya was trodden down, bowed the neck, and so forth: but this much is said of most of the Indian kings whose names were known to Châlûkya writers of inscriptions. What I mean is, there does not appear to be in existence any certain memorial of a thorough subjugation of the Madura kingdom, such as we might reasonably have expected to find. May it not be possible, therefore, that the Pândya kingdom was invaded and broken up by some Mahometan chieftain at the end of the eleventh century? It seems to be taken for granted by most writers that the Mahometans never came down into the Dekkan until the beginning of the fourteenth century: but I do not know upon what grounds this assumption is based. And very possibly it is ill-founded. The leading Mahometan in the town of Madura kindly furnished me with a brief resumé of the traditions of his caste: and it appears from this that he believes that the earliest invasion of Madura by his countrymen took place in A. D. 1050, under the leadership of one Malik-ul-Mulk: and as he makes out the invasion of Malik Naib Kafûr to have taken place in 1320, it is clear that his dates are to be to some extent depended upon. And this tradition is strongly corroborated by a statement in the MS. above referred to in page 65, to the effect that Mahometans invaded the Karnatic for the first time in or shortly after the time of Râmânuja, who lived (according to the MS.) in the time of Kûn Pândya's son, Vîra Pândya Chôla: the Chôla, I presume, to whom Kûn Pândya gave his name and the conquered Chôla country. Moreover the inscription given in page 67 connects Kûn Pândya's name with the presence of Mahometans in the country.

Very possibly therefore further enquiries will lead to the discovery, that the Pândya kingdom was subverted by the Mahometans about the year 1100.

The next event which appears to be certain is the subjugation of Madura by the king of Ceylon. All the three works translated by Upham, the Mahâvansi the Ratnâkari, and theRâjâvali, speak of this

event; and the first of them describes it with some minuteness. It appears that in 1153 A. D Parâkkrama Bâhu ascended the throne of Lanka, and soon distinguished himself by his energy and bravery: and conquered many of his enemies in Jambu-dwîpa, or the continent. About the twentieth year of his reign, that is to say in 1173 A.D., he organized a formidable expedition against the Madura kingdom. The landing of his troops was opposed at "Talatchilla in the kingdom of Pândy;" (what port can this have been ?) but after a while their disembarkation was effected under a heavy fire of arrows: and after five bloody battles had been fought, the island of "Ramiswer" was taken and held. The enemy then brought up reserves, and fought obstinately no less than ten battles: but always unsuccessfully. They were completely worsted, and thousands of the Tamils were taken over to Lanka, and there forced to work as slaves After this a desultory war was carried on between Madura and Lanka: but at last Kula Shêk'hara Pândya, who appears to have been king both of the Pândya and the Chôla country, turned the tables on his opponents, and invaded Lanka at the head of a large army. He was defeated in a general engagement, and forced to shut himself up in a fortress, the name of which is not given. This was stormed shortly afterwards, and the Pândya barely saved himself by flight. However he collected more troops, and again invaded Lanka: but he was again defeated, and pursued right into his own dominions Many more battles were now fought, always with the same success; and at last the Tamils sustained a crushing defeat whilst "encamped from Tirippottoro up to Amarawaty, being a space of three gows," and Amarawaty was taken by storm. However Kula Shêk'hara carried on the war a little longer, and it was not until he had lost some more battles that he threw down his sword. At last he confessed himself vanquished, and the "Soly and Pandy countries" were annexed by the Lanka government.

Supposing that this invasion and subjugation of the Madura kingdom took place, and it is difficult to believe that the long account of it is pure fiction, the question arises, who was the Pândya entitled Kula Shêk'hara ? The title does not occur in the list given above, and as it occurs several times in the Ceylon annals, I think it must have been a dynastic rather than a personal title. It seems not unlikely that the spirited prince who fought so long for his throne was Mîna Kêtana, the Pândya who is said to have resigned his kingdom and gone on a pilgrimage to Benares, and died there (see ante

page 72. He was the tenth in succession after Kûn Pândya, and if we allow five or six years for each of the reigns in these troublous times, and twenty or thirty years for the anarchy which ensued after Kûn Pândya's death, the date 1173 A D would suit him very well. And the fact of him being king of the Chôla country may be accounted for by the statement that his grandfather and great-grandfather were masters of the Chôla country, and his grandmother was a Chôla princess.

The next event of which I have been able to find any record was an invasion of Kanara by a Pândya prince. There is the authority of Wilks—see his South of India, Volume I, page 152—for the statement that in A.D. 1252 a nephew of the then Pândya invaded Kanara by sea and reduced it to submission. The title or nickname of this invader is said to have been Bootê Pandê Râja, but we are unfortunately not told what was his name, or that of the Pândya his uncle; and therefore the date, supposing it to be genuine, only goes to show inferentially that there must have been ruling at that time a Pândya prince of some power It is just possible however that Kuvalayânanda, the king who is represented in the supplementary MS. to have carried on commerce by sea, and to have been drowned in a storm, was the uncle, and that the invader was Kundala, who, as we have seen before, "came to grief" and did not reign in Madura. It is quite possible that he was driven away from the Madura kingdom, and being accustomed to join in naval adventures with his father-in-law attempted to carve out a kingdom for himself in Kanara, and succeeded in his plan.

Next we have the authority of the supplementary MS. for placing the last king of its 23, namely Kula Vardd'hana, in A.D. 1249. This authority unsupported is not of much value: but supposing that some of these Pândyas reigned simultaneously, the date is not inconsistent with those already suggested, and may perhaps be allowed to stand for the present, no better being forthcoming.

It was not very long after this, according to the memorandum furnished to me as stated above by a Mahometan gentleman, that Madura was again taken by the Mahometans, under a general known as the Hazarat Sultân Ali Udhin Saheb; who governed the country for some time, and died in Madura in 1290. Two traditions connected with his coming to Madura survive. One of them is to the effect that a celebrated Khâzi named Sayud Tahz Udhin Saheb accompanied

the conqueror to Madura, and settling there became the progenitor of the Khâzi caste now living in the Khâzimâr street at Madura. The other is to the effect that the Sultân's remains were buried in the Gôripâleiyam (see ante page 67). My informant did not known in whose reign this took place, but it would seem to be probable that it was in the reign of Kula Vardd'hâna (No. 24), for a MS abstracted at page 394 of the Catalogue Raisonné states that the Mahometans came to Madura in the reign of Kula Vardd'hana and overthrew the fanes, &c., and were subsequently driven away by a Hindû army from the Karnatic. And the MS goes on to say that the deliverers placed Sôma Shêk'hara (No 25 it may be presumed) on the throne, and afterwards gives a list of 16 Pândyas who succeeded him, placing the last of them apparently some centuries too late. This evidence appears to be not unworthy of credit, and the probability that Kula Vardd'hana was the Pândya conquered by the Mahometans on this occasion is strengthened not a little by the circumstance that the Supplementary MS. of Mr. Taylor shows inferentially, that after his reign there was a period of anarchy or of trouble, about which nothing needs to be recorded.

Wilson has suggested with his usual acuteness that the *Sender Bandi* mentioned by Marco Polo, who must have ruled over some portion of the old Pândya country towards the end of the thirteenth century, may have been the Chandra Kula Dîpa, the son of the Kolam dancing girl. This could hardly have been the case, however, because if our list be at all correct, this king must have flourished not much more than fifty years after Kûn Pândya, or in the first half of the twelfth century. To place him at the end of the thirteenth century would be to allow two hundred years to eight kings, and only twenty-four to the remaining thirty-three. Moreover, what is to become of the Kula Dîpa part of the title? We must therefore I think reject the suggestion: but we may notwithstanding make use of it in a manner not intended, and endeavour to find some other Pândya with whom the *Sender Bandi* may be identified. Now, as far as sound goes, either a Sundara or a Chandra would do for our purpose: and as the list contains several Sundaras and almost as many Chandras, it is rather difficult to make a choice. As however it appears from the remarks appended to the Record Office list, that Parâkkrama obtained the throne by fighting against and driving out some foreigners; and that before his reign there was a period of anarchy: and as we know that he was in turn driven away from the kingdom in 1324, we should look for a

Sundara or a Chandra who reigned not very long before the last of the list. Accordingly Chandra Shêk'hara No. 39 and Kumâra Chandra No. 37 appear to be the most eligible names; and next to them Sôma Sundara No. 26. On the whole we may perhaps preferably choose Sôma Sundara, as Sôma is an unimportant portion of the title, and Sundara can stand alone as a title far better than Chandra; and place him A.D. 1275.

Of the events, if any, which happened between the second Mahometan invasion and the third, no memorial, so far as I can ascertain, is in existence: and I must conclude my necessarily imperfect notice of this obscure period with the observation that, however incorrect it may be, it seems to show that the date assigned by Wilson to the 23rd king Âdi Vîra, the poet, namely 1041 A.D., is probably much too early: and that that king could hardly have been the Vîra Pândya referred to in the Kongadêsa râjâkkal MS. as having reigned before 1004 A.D.

We have now arrived at a more easy and pleasant stage in our travels; and shall henceforward find ourselves guided by dates which can be in the main depended upon.

About the year 1324 A D a Mahometan Chief, described in Tamil Chronicles as Âthi Sultân Malak Nêmi, invaded the Pândya country, and driving away the king, Parâkkrama, took possession of the capital. This invader must have been the notorious Malleck Nâib Cafoor of Ferishta, the pathic of the infamous Alla I. See Dow's Ferishta, volume i, page 270. The words Âthi Sultân mean "original Sultân," and must have been a title conferred on the man by the people of Madura: and Nêmi (நேமி) is obviously a mistake for Nêbi, (நேபி,) the Tamil way of writing Naib. See also ante page 76.

The Mahometans soon saw that the Hindûs of Madura were altogether at their mercy, and that they might safely indulge to the utmost their cruel and fanatical propensities, and they seem to have behaved on this occasion, as on so many others, with unparalleled ferocity and brutality. Excesses of every kind were perpetrated by the more violent of them with impunity; no respect was paid to life and property; trade and commerce were paralysed. On the other hand, so rigorously were police regulations enforced as against the terrified and helpless Hindûs, that one durst not converse with another in the open street, and even private condolence was not without its danger. Public worship, without which social life is

for Hindûs aimless and abortive, was put an end to apparently for all time. The golden idol named Mathurei-Nayanâ-Veittha-Perumâl, which graced the festal processions of the god Siva, had been carried for safety to the Malabar country, when Parâkkrama fled for his life, and there mysteriously lost together with much treasure. And, the old temple, which had made Mad'hurâ glorious amongst cities for many hundreds of years, was after a while sentenced to destruction. The outer wall with its fourteen towers was pulled down, not we may suppose without jeers and ribald laughter; then the streets and buildings which it protected were destroyed, and soon nothing was left but the shrines of the two gods Sundarêshwara and Mînâkshi, together with the buildings which immediately surrouned them. [illegible] were for some reason spared. Either the menacing attitude of the people now [illegible] to despair foreboded danger; or dissensions amongst the conquerors caused a [illegible] and happily prevented the perpetration of this shameful cri[illegible] latter would seem to be the more eligible reason to assign. For it seems clear that the monster Kafûr stayed in the Madura country only a short time, during which all was anarchy and confusion: and at the end of three years the administration devolved upon one Allâh-ud-dhîn Khan (?) He ruled for six years; and was succeeded by Uttum-ud-dhîn Khan (?) who ruled only three years, and was succeeded by his son-in-law Kutub-ud-dhîn (?) This chief ruled for five years: and was succeeded by Nakal-ud-dhin (?) who ruled seven years. After him two chiefs Savâda Malik (?) and Ahad Malik (?) ruled between them twelve years. And lastly Fandak'h Malik (?) ruled for a like period. Altogether eight chiefs administered the country during forty-eight years.

The day of deliverance from this hateful yoke came at last. About the year 1372 a general named Kampana Udeiyâr marched to the relief of Madura: and in a short time succeeded in driving away the Mussulman invaders, or at all events reduced them to submission. This general is called in the Srîtâla book a Mysorean, and his title of Udeiyâr to some extent confirms the statement: and tradition says he was related to the then king of Mysore. But it is doubtful whether there was in fact a king of Mysore so early as 1372. A manuscript abstracted in page 438 of Mr. Taylor's catalogue speaks of a Kampanra Udeiyâr as being in 1371 the agent of Buk'ha the Râyar of Vijayanagar, and as a Buk'ha was the Râyar of that time, there seems to be good reason to suppose that Kampana Udeiyâr was

a general in the service of the Râyar, and was sent by him to oust the Mahometans from Madura.

The effect of the expulsion of these tyrants was instantaneous. Within a few days the temples of Siva and Vishnu had been everywhere re-opened; worship was performed once more with extraordinary solemnity and fervour: and that nothing might be wanting to restore confidence and energy to all classes of men, the Brâhmans contrived a great miracle significant of the pleasure of the god and of his perpetual regard for his faithful worshippers. Kampana was taken on an appointed day to witness the re-opening of the great Pagoda, and on his entering and approaching the shrine for the purpose of looking upon the face of the god, lo! and behold! everything was in precisely the same condition, as wh[illegible] temple was first shut up just forty-eight [illegible] previously. The lamp that was lighted on [illegible] was still burning; and the sandal-wood powder, the gar-[illegible] flowers and the ornaments usually placed before the idol on the morning of a festival day were now found to be exactly as it is usual to find them on the evening of such a day. Kampana was, or at least affected to be greatly delighted: and gave large sums of money to the Brâhmans for their own support and that of the temple worship.

The government of the country was then provided for; and after ruling for some time Kampana went away, leaving Madura in the charge of his son Embana Udeiyâr, who was after some time succeeded by his brother-in-law Porkâsa Udeiyâr. These three chiefs ruled altogether for a period of about thirty-two years.

About the year 1404 Porkâsa, the last Udeiyâr, was succeeded as ruler of Madura by a man named Lekkina Nâyakkan, who was succeeded by, or ruled jointly with another Nâyakkan named Mathanan. The two ruled altogether it is said forty-seven years, which brings us down to 1451.

Who these two Nâyakkans were, where they came from, and how they contrived to get possession of the capital, there is absolutely nothing to show. Mr. Taylor supposes, or supposed when he translated the Srîtâla book, that they and their successors were Mysoreans, and his view is supported by the historical memorandum of the Record Office alluded to above. But on the other hand it appears, as before shown, that the Râyar of Vijayanagar obtained possession of the country through the agency of Kampana, and in the absence of

evidence to the contrary we must presume that he kept possession of it: and that these Nâyakkans were his servants and Telugus. The title Nâyakkan, it should be explained, is the Tamil equivalent of the Telugu Nâyadu and Nâyani, and is borne by most members of the Kavarei caste now resident in the Madura District. I think there is some reason to suppose that it is altogether distinct from the title Nâyaga, which means leader, and is still borne by certain castes of Brâhmans.

In 1451, it is said, a third Nâyakkan named Lakkana brought to Madura four persons, whom he declared to be of the true Pândya stock and set them, or one of them (the Tamil text is horribly bad) upon the throne. The names of these four are given as follows, namely :—

1. Sundara Tôl Mahâ Vilivânâthi Râyâr.
2. Kâleiyâr Somanâr.
3. Anjâtha Perumâl.
4. Muttarasa Tirumâlei Mahâ Vilivânâthi Râyar.

The first of them is described as being "a son of the body of Ab'hirâmi, a dancing girl of the Kâleiyâr Pagoda, (Anglicé Caliar Coil,) who was the kept mistress of a (or the) Pândya Râja :" and, looking to the indescribably slovenly style of the Srîtâla book, it is quite possible that the above description applies to all four. It is probable at all events that they were members of one and the same family, resident in Kâleiyâr Kôvil; and that their mother was the mistress of some petty Pândya chieftain Whatever they were, they appear to have been crowned, and to have enjoyed a certain amount of kingly power in the Pândya country during a period of forty-eight years. Their names still survive in legends. And it would seem to be by no means improbable that it was these illegitimate Pândyas who built the four lofty towers (*Gôpuras*) which rise from the walls surrounding the great Pagoda at Madura. The building of them is always ascribed by natives to "the Pândyas ;" and if it be true that the Mahometans destroyed the whole of the temple with the exception of the two inner sanctuaries—and there is no reason that I know of to doubt the fact—it is difficult to see, who but the Vilivânâthis could have undertaken these extensive works. It is to be hoped that some light will be thrown upon their reigns by researches in the country south of Madura. A couple of inscriptions on the south side of the Nâtchiyâr Pagoda at Srîvelliputtûr in the Tinnevelly District

show, that a grant of lands, &c., was made in 1453 by Vîra Valivânâthi Râyar of the Mad'hurâ country, and that another was made by Valivânâthi Râyar in 1476 of lands situated in Sundara Tôl Nallûr, a village which may have been named after that Sundara Tôl who was the first of the four.

About the year 1500 what may be called for convenience' sake the Vilivânâthi dynasty retired from Madura: and a Nâyakkan named "Narasa having come and worshipped at Râmêshwara, got possession of the Madura fort." The Srîtâla manuscript says nothing more than this about him, and it is impossible to conjecture with any amount of probability in what circumstances he rose to power. Possibly he was sent by the Râyar to collect tribute withheld.

He stayed only a few months; and was succeeded by a Nâyakkan named Tenna, who is said to have ruled the country during a period of fifteen years: but about him also nothing is known.

About the year 1515 the administration of the country devolved upon one Narasa Pillei, who is said to have ruled four years. Curiously enough this man is called a Pillei in the Srîtâla book, an Âyyar in an inscription of 1515, and both an Âyyar and a Nâyakkan in another of 1516. As the title Âyyar is one usually borne by Brâhmans alone at the present day—that is of course in the Madura District—and the title Pillei is usually borne by Vellâlans and men of a few other castes, I doubted at first whether the Narasa of the Srîtâla book could be the Narasa of the inscription. But all doubt on this point was set at rest by the discovery, that in the inscription of 1515 the names of the ancestors of Narasa are given, and they are said to have been Pilleis of Tanjore. Very probably therefore Narasa was a Brâhman, (I am told that Brâhmans formerly bore the title of Pillei not infrequently, as being "sons" of the gods Râma, Subramanya, and others,) and on becoming Governor of Madura in behalf of the Râyar of Vijayanagar endeavoured to assume the more dignified titles of Âyyar (Ârya) and Nâyaka, leader.

The two inscriptions above referred to show that the Governor was the servant of the great Krishna Râyar: and an additional proof is thus given of the fact that the date usually assigned to that illustrious Emperor is correct, and of the fact that his empire extended as far south as Cape Comorin.

It will have been observed that in 1500 a Narasa Nâyakkan took possession of Madura, and stayed in it for a short time; and it seems

not unlikely that this man was the Narasa who was Governor of the country from 1515 to 1519.

In 1519 Narasa was succeeded by a Nâyakkan named Kuru Kuru Timmappa, who ruled five years.

In 1524 a Nâyakkan named Kattiyama Kâmeiya succeeded, and made way for another named Chinnappa two years afterwards.

This Governor ruled for four years, and was succeeded by a Nâyakkan named Iyakarei Veyyappa, who ruled five years.

In 1535 the government of the country fell into the hands of a man named Visvanât'ha Nâyakkar Âyyar. He ruled nine years: and was succeeded in 1544 according to the Srîtâla book by the Vâthamannans, or Varathamannans, who ruled for only one year. This name, as well it might, has puzzled Mr. Taylor sorely: but it is only a slight mistake for Varathappa Nâyakkar, the name which comes in here in the list given by the historical memorandum of the Record Office.

In 1545 Dumbicchi Nâyakkan was governor. After twenty months he was succeeded by Visvanât'ha Nâyakkan; who after a little better than one year was succeeded by one called in the Srîtâlá book Vittilapû Râja, and in the historical memorandum Vittila Râja.

This Vittila Râja is said to have ruled for twelve years, namely from 1546-7 to 1557-8: and I think there is every reason to suppose that he was no other than the great Râma Râja or Râz of Vijayanagar. An inscription running round the *garb'ha griha* of the old Perumâl Pagoda at Madura states, that certain things were done in the period beginning with the year *Plavanga* and ending with the year *Nala*, during the time of Râma Râja Vittala Dêva Mahâ Reyar; and seeing that both those years fall within the period assigned to Vittila Râja by the Srîtâla book; that the northern title Vittila or Vittala is one that occurs most extremely rarely, if at all, in the Madura district; and that Râma Râja was undoubtedly alive and powerful at this time; looking to all these facts, I think it extremely reasonable to suppose that the great Râma Râja was the person meant by the Vittila or Vittala of our authorities, and that he governed the Madura country more or less directly for a period of twelve years.

In 1557 Vittila Râja ceased to rule: and during the next three years the country seems to have been in a state of anarchy and confusion.

The names of no less than three Nâyakkans are given as rulers. And during this same short period we find that a Pândya contrived to get himself crowned king; the Râja of Tanjore drove him away; a Vijayanagar general drove out the Tanjorean, and endeavoured to make himself independent; and finally the son of this general drove out the intruder, and himself assumed the reins of government.

This last event happened in 1559. We have now reached a very eventful period in the history of Madura: and one which fortunately admits of considerable illustration. I shall therefore bring this meagre and unsatisfactory chapter to a close, and in the next commence the history of the famous Nâyakkan dynasty of Madura, which remained in power for very nearly two centuries, and raised the country to probably the highest level of civilization attainable by it under a native government.

CHAPTER IV.

Visvanât'ha.—His birth and parentage.—The circumstances in which he came to Madura.—The great Arya Nâyaga Muthali.—His parentage and early advancement.—Visvanât'ha restores the Pândya, but allows him no power.—Settlement of the country.—Generosity of Visvanât'ha.—Effects of his policy.—Acquisition of Trichinopoly.—The five Pândavas.—Their subjugation.—Settlement of the Tinnevelly country.—Creation of the Poligars.—Accounts of their ancestors.—Death of Visvanât'ha.—His son.—Rebellion—Invasion and subjugation of Ceylon.—Arya Nâyaga brings his relations to Madura.—The Nâyakkan Governor dies, and is succeeded by his two sons.—The Mâvilivâna Râja.—The fortification of Chidambara.—The joint Governorship comes to an end.

The founder of the Nâyakkan dynasty of Madura was a chief named Visvanât'ha. All the authorities appear to agree upon this point: and it will therefore be unnecessary to prove it. The date of his accession to power was, as has been already stated, 1559. This is the date given by the Srî-tâla book, by the historical memorandum of the Record Office, and by the most trustworthy of the MSS. translated by Mr. Taylor; and it is perfectly consistent with precedent and subsequent dates, the accuracy of which there can be no reason to doubt. On the other hand, the "History of the Karnataca Governors," which was prepared by some servants of the descendants of the last of the line, ascribes a much earlier date to Visvanât'ha. And some of the Chronicl[illegible] [illegible]e Madura Poligars, who owe the origin of their greatness to Visva[illegible]'ha, claim very naturally a very much higher antiquity for that origin than is usually allowed. But evidence of this kind is of course unworthy of credence when antagonistic, as in the present case, to that given by disinterested persons: and I see no sufficient reason to doubt the fact that 1559 is the correct date of Visvanât'ha's assumption of the government.

The birth and education of Visvanât'ha, like those of many other eminent men, are involved in considerable mystery: but a few facts connected with them stand out in bold relief, and may without much hesitation be accepted as historical. He appears to have been the only son of an officer of the Vijayanagar government who was named Nâgama or Nâgappa and well known by the title of Kôtiya, which he bore as being in charge of the palace *Kôtis* or store-houses. His father had been for a long time childless, and resolved at last to perform a pilgrimage to Kâsi (Benares,) in order to propitiate the deity if possible, and procure the birth of a son and heir, who might in time to come rescue his soul from the torments of purgatory. The desired effect followed this pious act, and Visvanât'ha was born. The date of this event is unknown: but he must have been an elderly man when he began to rule, in 1559; and perhaps we should not go far wrong in assigning to this event the date 1500. Visvanât'hâ appears to have early distinguished himself as a warrior, and to have gained the approbation of the Râyar on several occasions by successfully opposing the forces of the Mahometan kings, who subsequently combined together and almost overthrew the last of the great Hindû governments. And it would seem to be not unlikely that he was so early as 1535 rewarded for his services by being made governor of Madura: though I have no direct authority for the suggestion. But see page 84. His father Nâgama appears to have been no less brave and active; and all the authorities seem to agree in stating that he rose eventually to one of the highest posts in the gift of the Râyar, namely that of commander-in-chief of the armies of the south. And it was during the time that he held this command that the following circumstances occurred, which led to the final aggrandisement of the family and the establishment of the Nâyakkan dynasty.

By some means which cannot now be traced, a man known as Chandra Shêk'hara Pândya had contrived to get himself crowned as king of the Madura country, and shortly after the administration of Vittala Râja came to a close (see page 85) [illegible]ther nominally or actually ruler. Possibly the last of the th[illegible] Nâyakkans who succeeded Vittala Râja dragged the so-called Pândya out of obscurity, and attempted to prop up his own authority by the support of a great and familiar name. However this may have been, a Pândya was undoubtedly placed on the throne: and ruled for a short time, until the Chôla king of that time named Vîra Shêk'hara, took the

opportunity of invading the country, and annexing it to his own dominions. Upon this the mock Pândya fled with his son to the court of the Râyar, and begged for protection and support After hearing his tale, which no doubt was composed with considerable skill, the Râyar determined to assist him, and ordered Kôtiya Nâgama Nâyakkan to march against Tanjore, chastise its rebellious Râja, and reinstate the refugee upon the throne of the Pândyas. Agreeably to this command the general put himself at the head of a sufficient number of troops, and marched southwards. It did not take him long to attack and defeat the king of Tanjore : and he soon afterwards gained possession of the fort of Madura, and within a few days reduced the surrounding country to submission. But having obeyed his lord to the letter up to this point, he suddenly threw off his allegiance · and declining to do anything for the self-styled Pândya, began to administer the country on his own account and for his own sole benefit. What induced him to venture upon this hazardous move, to defy the Râyar in the very plenitude of his power, and at a time when the Empire appears to have been more than ordinarily secure from foreign invasion, is a problem which no authorities that I have come across do anything to solve We may suppose however, that the now old and experienced Nâgama saw the political horizon darkened by the clouds which discharged their full fury upon the state in 1564 : and selfishly hoped to save something for his family out of the wreck which he felt to be inevitable.

But if this was his expectation, he was doomed to disappointment. As soon as the Râyar came to know what had taken place, he became deeply and violently angry, and resolved upon instant action. Hastily summoning a council, he laid the case before his most faithful servants, and amongst others Visvanât'ha, and after reviling the name of the traitor to whom he had shown so great kindness and favor, called out in a voice quivering with passion, "where amongst you all is he, who will bring me that rebel's head ?" The councillors looked round one at another, but no one spoke a word. Again the question was asked . and again there was no reply. At last, to the astonishment of all present, Visvanât'ha stood up and declared his willingness to undertake the duty required. The Râyar was naturally enough at first inclined to mistrust the fidelity of his servant, the moreso seeing that the father of that servant had turned traitor after serving faithfully for a whole life-time : but Visvanât'ha succeeded in reassuring him, and was eventually permitted to march against his

father at the head of a considerable army He soon justified the extraordinary confidence placed in him, and Nâgama was defeated in a pitched battle, and taken prisoner and placed in close confinement. This done, the rebellion collapsed forthwith; and Visvanât'ha, who had probably undertaken this expedition with the sole object of saving his father from destruction, had the happiness shortly afterwards of procuring for his father an unconditional pardon.

Before going on to describe the more important consequences which flowed from this expedition, I must introduce my readers to a very remarkable man who accompanied Visvanât'ha to Madura. This was Arya Nâyaga Muthali, or as he is commonly called Arya Nât'ha, the king-maker and the patron saint of the Madura *Pâleiyakârans* or Poligars. The history of this hero has been told in so many different ways, and is enveloped in so much that is purely legendary, that it is anything but easy to feel one's way to the truth regarding him. And whereas on the one hand we are merely told that he was the general and prime minister of Visvanât'ha, on the other hand we are told that he was the most powerful general in the service of the Râyar and came near to being Râyar himself after the death of Râma Râz in 1564 There can be no doubt however that he was a man of great power and authority Tradition makes much of him The Poligars pray to him as the founder of their order. An equestrian statue was erected in memory of him by the greatest of the Nâyakkans in the *Puthu Mantapam* at Madura, and is still crowned with garlands by the hero-worshippers of to-day And the splendid thousand-pillared hall which he built within the enclosure of the great Pagoda still affords evidence of his magnificence. He is said to have been born in Meippôdu in the Kânchipura district, of poor parents belonging to the Vellâla caste His future greatness was foreshadowed by the circumstance of a cobra-di-capella rearing its hood over him when an infant, and protecting him from the rays of the sun. And when he was a youth, a Brâhman foretold that he would rise to power, and took a written agreement from him to the effect that when the day of his greatness should come, a portion of his wealth should be granted to the fortune-teller. Shortly after this he went to the Court of the Râyar, and obtained employment in one of the departments under the charge of Kôtiya Nâgama Nâyakkan. His remarkable energy and ability soon brought him forward · and he had not been long employed, when he was so ortunate as to attract the attention of the Râyar himself, by readily

answering a mathematical question which none of the ministers and courtiers could understand Having shown himself to be a man of parts, he next distinguished himself by showing an athlete how to cut off with a single blow the head of an enormous buffalo. It was customary for the Emperor to go out into the jungles once every year, and personally preside over the capture in a net of a wild buffalo When caught, the animal was offered up to the guardian goddess of the capital: and it was necessary to cut off its head with one stroke of a sword; or the sacrifice would be quite ineffectual, and good luck would desert the Emperor for ever. On one occasion a huge and very fierce animal provided with exceptionally long and powerful horns was taken, and every one shrank from the responsibility of attempting the sacrifice: but young Arya Nâyaga stepped forward, and offered to show how what was wanted might be done, and his advice was followed with complete success. A subordinate office in the palace was immediately conferred upon him; and then a better one; and after rising to power with marvellous rapidity, this fortunate son of a peasant became in a few years one of the Emperor's trusted ministers and generals. He was discharging the duties of his office with eminent zeal and ability, when the expedition against his patron Nâgama was undertaken, and he accompanied Visvanât'ha to Madura, as has been shown above

We may now return to Visvanât'ha He appears to have reinstated the refugee Pândya on the throne, in obedience to his instructions, and it is just possible that he intended at first to make him something better than a mere puppet. But if so, circumstances were too strong to be resisted, and Visvanât'ha very soon found himself to be the only authority in the country capable of enforcing obedience and respect. The various tribes which inhabited the neighbourhood of Madura were far too turbulent by nature to obey a man of Chandra Shêk'hara's calibre: and the leading men had profited too long and too largely by anarchy to submit to the will of any but a man of energy and conduct, well supported by trained soldiers. Now Visvanât'ha was undoubtedly a man of energy and conduct. And he was at the head of a large body of troops accustomed to be led by him. And moreover he was supported by a considerable number of his own countrymen, who had during the preceding two or three centuries emigrated from the north and settled in great numbers in the more promising of the unoccupied tracts on all sides

of the Palani mountains, and in the neighbourhoods of Dindigul and Madura. Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at if Visvanât'ha found it inexpedient to imperil the interests of the country by trusting Chandra Shêk'hara with any portion of power. if he preferred taking the whole responsibility of the administration upon his own shoulders, to indulging in the luxury of being generous and kind. As was natural, he kept the helpless Pândya on the throne as directed by his lord: but at once began to govern on his own account.

The "history of the Karnataca governors," which very naturally paints the actions of the Nâyakkans only in the most pleasing colors, declares that soon after the Pândya was restored, he died and was succeeded by his son; that the latter also died very shortly afterwards; and the Pândya race thereupon became extinct. In consequence of this, it goes on to say, the Râyar [illegible] Visvanât'ha and caused him to be anointed with Ganges water as king of the Madura country, and gave him the magnificent title of "Lord of the Pândya throne;" declaring at the same time that the grant was for all time, and giving him the image of the guardian Durga of Vijayanagar to carry away with him to his newly-acquired capital Other chronicles say that the Pândya had no son and made over the whole kingdom to Visvanât'ha in order to prevent the Chôla king from again usurping it. These accounts are in themselves exceedingly suspicious: and their falsity is I think established by the existence of a copper-plate inscription in the possession of the great Pagoda authorities, which shows clearly that the Pândya had two sons, Vîra and another, both of whom grew up and were actually invested with a kind of mock sovereignty during the time of Visvanât'ha and his immediate successors. The inscription may of course be a forgery: but if it is, it nevertheless shows what was the received belief with regard to the position of Visvanât'ha at the time when the fraud was perpetrated or attempted. But I can see no reason to suspect it to be other than what it purports to be: a genuine grant of lands made by the Nâyakkan governor with the permission of the Pândya quasi-king for the time being.

Having resolved to rule the Madura country, and having doubtless received permission from the Râyar to do as he intended, Visvanât'ha set to work in earnest His first step was to secure the co-operation of his friend Arya Nâyaga, who fortunately for him agreed to take

office in the double capacity of commander-in-chief and prime minister, and was duly appointed with the usual title of Dalavây. The safety of the capital was then provided for by the demolition of the Pândya rampart and ditch which at that time surrounded the walls of the Pagoda only, and the ruins of which can still be traced in places, and the construction in their place of an extensive double-walled fortress. And whilst this work was being pushed on, the new Governor did everything in his power to secure the good-will and support of the Brâhmans and of the people generally. Pagodas were repaired, and new ones built. *Agrahâras* or Brâhman streets were constructed in suitable spots. And observing that cultivation was in a very languishing condition, and the population of the country very scanty and insufficient, he proceeded to remedy these defects by taking off large channels from the upper portions of the river Veigei—probably the Peranei and Chittanei owe their origin to him—and by building new villages in the tracts watered by means of those channels. The cost of these improvements was defrayed, it is said, out of the considerable treasures which had been accumulated by the Governor's father, Nâgama and if this was so, we have in it a striking proof of the nobility of Visvanât'ha's character. Possibly too, Arya Nâyaga contributed a portion of the sum expended. It is at all events certain that the public treasury could not have provided the funds requisite for the heavy expenditure incurred.

In a very short time the natural results of Visvanât'ha's beneficent policy began to appear. Relying on the hopes and inducements held out to them, all classes of ryots bestirred themselves, and set to work with more than their wonted vigour. Men who had not cultivated an acre for years, came forward in crowds with applications for small holdings. The holders of small, were clamorous for larger parcels of land. And everywhere extraordinary excitement and activity prevailed. In the northern and more settled portion of the country the demand for arable lands became so great, that some enterprising individuals pushed on close under the walls of the fort of Trichinopoly, which then belonged to the king of Tanjore.

Partly in consequence of these encroachments, partly in consequence of the roads to Sri-Rang'ha and Râmêshwara being so infested with robbers as to deter pilgrims from resorting to the shrines at those places, and there being no likelihood of the weak government

of Tanjore being presently able to grapple successfully with this difficulty; Visvanât'ha and Arya Nâyaga were induced to make a demand for the cession of Trichinopoly in exchange for the fortress of Vallam. And after putting some little pressure on the Râja of Tanjore, they succeeded in effecting their object No sooner was this important transfer effected, than Visvanât'ha hastened to turn it to the best account. Having taken possession of Trichinopoly, and personally inspected its fortifications, he commenced forthwith to repair and enlarge them. A long double-wall was carried round the town, and flanked by a deep ditch capable of being filled with water from the river Kâvêri. And towers and gateways were erected at suitable spots. Meanwhile, houses were built within the limits of the fort for the accommodation of merchants, artizans and others desirous of living under the shadow of the Governor's protection. And the Brâhmans were conciliated by the construction of Agrahâras and Pagodas, and more especially by the repairing of their favorite temple at Srî-Rang'ha The banditti question was very speedily disposed of. The jungles on either side of the river which harboured the miscreants, were all cut down: and bodies of troops patrolled the roads and made them safe The fruits of this energetic administration were soon apparent. Wealthy pilgrims came flocking along the roads, and merchants of all kinds hastened to supply their wants And ryots came from all quarters to settle on the lands near the fort; and being assisted with advances and by the digging of wells, tanks and channels converted many an arid wilderness into fields and gardens.

In the meantime news came from the south, which made it clear to Visvanât'ha that his presence there was urgently required. Arya Nâyaga had undertaken to settle the Tinnevelly country, whilst the Governor strengthened his hands in Trichinopoly: and had wholly failed in effecting his object On marching southwards with a small force he had discovered that five chieftains, who styled themselves "the five Pândavas," had formed a confederacy against the Nâyakkan, and were resolved to fight to the death before acknowledging his supremacy, or giving up the government of their territory, of which Kâyatâttûr and the surrounding tracts appear to have been the most important part. Who these chieftains were, I am unable to say with certainty. But it is stated in the "Genealogy of Râma B'hadra," abstracted at page 376 of the Catalogue Raisonné,

that the Pancha Pândavas (five Pândavas) were the illegitimate sons of the grandfather of Chandra Shêk'hara, whom Visvanât'ha set upon the throne; that it was in consequence of their interference and intrigues that Chandra Shêk'hara was unable to maintain his authority; and for this reason he resigned the sceptre into the hands of Nâgama Nâyakkan. And this account would seem to be very probably correct. The copper-plate inscription referred to at page 91 speaks of Kula Shêk'hara Pândya as the son of Parâkkrama Pândya, and by Kula Shêk'hara, a most common dynastic title, Chandra Shêk'hara must I think be meant. And an inscription on the wall of the principal Pagoda at Srîvelliputtûr shows, that a grant of lands was made in 1546 by Parâkkrama Pândya Dêvar, with the sanction of his father who seems to have been at that time the ruler of some part of the southern country, but whose name is unfortunately not given. Very probably therefore the ruler referred to in this Srîvelliputtûr inscription was the grandfather of Chandra or Kula Shêk'hara; and seeing that his grant is found in the very same place in which occur grants of the Vilivânâthi dynasty, which had disappeared from Madura only forty-six years previously, it is also very probable that he was a descendant of that family. And the presumption arises at the same time that the Vilivânâthi family; of whom we shall hear once more as our history advances, although they ceased in 1500 or thereabouts to rule in the capital of the Madura country, did not cease until a considerably later period to exercise power in the southern part of the country, and that their authority there continued to be extensive And this presumption is considerably strengthened by the evidence afforded by an inscription at Conjeveram, of which the purport is given in page 331 of the Catalogue Raisonné. According to this inscription the Râyar Achyuta succeeded in 1530-31 and in the following year conquered many persons; subdued the Pândya king, and took one of his daughters, and fixed a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tâmbiraparni, the river of Tinnevelly. It may I think be fairly concluded that this Pândya king who reigned in 1531-32, was either the Pândya of 1546 or his father: and that he was a king whose defeat the Râyar held to be of no slight importance.

Supposing this to have been so, nothing could be more likely than that some illegitimate sons of the Pândya ruler of 1546 should combine against his grandson, Chandra Shêk'hara, a few years later, namely in 1558 or 59, when Nâgama was sent to place him

upon the Pândya throne; should then endeavour to procure for themselves a share, if not the whole of the good things which Nâgama was in a position to bestow; and should afterwards reso lutely resist Visvanâtha's attempt to extend his authority over their own proper territory. There is nothing forced or unnatural about such a hypothesis: and possibly researches in Tinnevelly will at some future time prove it to be correct. In the meantime it must be left as it is.

These five Pândavas then, as they call themselves, had entrenched themselves in almost impenetrable retreats, and from having great local influence were in a position to render the settlement of the country quite impracticable Arya Nâyaga tried what he could do by alternately coaxing and threatening them, but soon found that his endeavours were perfectly fruitless; and he was forced to change his tactics. Throwing his troops into the jungles and fastnesses of the enemies' country, he resolved to effect by force what he could not effect by negotiation But he was still unsuccessful. After eluding him for some time, the confederates surprised him one day in a disadvantageous position, and gave him a severe check . and in consequence of this, and of his being ill-supplied with troops, the commander-in-chief was compelled to fall back in the direction of Madura; and to call on the Governor for reinforcements..

On receipt of his general's despatch Visvanât'ha perceived that no time was to be lost, and at once took the field in person. He joined his forces with those of Arya Nâyaga: and the two marched into the Pândyas' country, and offered them battle. The chiefs declined to try the issue of a general engagement, having neither men nor money in abundance, but they were quite ready to fight in their own way; and they resorted to a harassing guerilla warfare, which there appeared to be no prospect of bringing to a close. The Governor's troops were worsted in several petty engagements, and his patience began to fail him, when at last a simple method of getting rid of the difficulty suggested itself to his mind. He challenged the chiefs to fight against him, five against one: the conditions to be these, they should leave the country if unsuccessful, rule it if successful. The challenge was accepted; but in a modified form. The chiefs were too gallant to fight all of them against one man, and so chose one of their number to be their champion. At the appointed time he came forth into the field, mounted on a charger, encased in body-armour, and

armed with a heavy sword: and Visvanât'ha went out to meet him. At the Governor's request the Pândya struck first, and ineffectually. A second blow was struck: and then a third: but with no better fortune. And then Visvanât'ha struck. The blow fell true and heavy, and the Pândya champion fell to rise no more. Upon this the others kept their promise, and retiring to another country, left the Governor in undisturbed possession of Tinnevelly and all the territories dependent thereon Such is the romantic story told in the "history of the Karnataca governors:" and it is corroborated in its main features by certain memoirs relative to the lives of some of the Madura Poligars. It seems probable however, that Visvanât'ha did not himself engage in a personal contest with the champion

Having satisfactorily disposed of what had threatened to be a very dangerous business, Visvanât'ha began in accordance with his usual policy to consolidate his acquisitions in the south by familiarizing the people with the blessings of good government, and by securing the good-will of the Brâhmans The town of Tinnevelly was re-built and enlarged, pagodas were erected on every side; and the mean villages which lined the banks of the river Tâmbiraparni were pulled down, and new ones built in their places. Water-courses were planned and cut, and old works of irrigation repaired and strengthened. In short, the wants of the whole country were attended to, and the seeds of a lasting popularity sown.

Whilst these improvements were being effected, Visvanât'ha found it necessary to march up the great valley of Dindigul and lay seige to the fortress of Kambam It appears from page 377 of the Catalogue Raisonné that the chief of the Kambam and Gûdalûr country had ceased to pay tribute to the Madura governor, in consequence of his fort having been taken by the Chôla Râja. It is difficult to understand how this could have been. For the Chôla Râja had only a short time before been compelled to cede to Madura his strong fort of Trichinopoly · and supposing him to have been anxious and able to revenge himself on Visvanât'ha so soon afterwards, he would scarcely have selected for attack so remote and unimportant a place as Kambam However, the fact is of no great consequence. The fort was soon taken. and nothing came of the conflict, if a conflict there was, between the two neighbouring governments.

Whilst the settlement of the southern districts was being effected, Visvanât'ha found it necessary to attempt to provide for the stability

of the dynasty of which he hoped to be the founder, by identifying its interests with those of the principal men of the country; and by rendering his rule equally popular with all classes of society. But the task appeared to be one of almost hopeless difficulty. He had brought with him to Madura crowds of dependents and adherents of his own caste, who had as a body proved themselves to be faithful and obedient and had done his work excellently well. These men were all of them greedily looking for their rewards: and unless provided for with lavish liberality would very soon show their teeth Then there were the old Tamil hereditary chieftains, whom he had found possessed of considerable territories and power. Their good-will it was at once most necessary and most difficult to secure. Accustomed from generation to generation to perpetually recurring periods of anarchy, they knew only too well how to draw profit from misrule and as they sulkily looked on at the doings of the Telugu intruder, it seemed ridiculous to expect that they would ever acquiesce in the establishment of order and sovereign power. Moreover they could not but regard with feelings of the bitterest jealousy and hatred the foreigners who surrounded the Governor's person, and who seemed about to appropriate to themselves all the highest offices and emoluments in his gift Then again there were the impoverished and discontented adherents of the Pândyas: men who could hope for every thing from revolution, from peace and quiet nothing And lastly there were the bold and turbulent Telugu and Kanarese adventurers, whose ancestors had seized with a strong grip the northern and western divisions of the country; who paid no man tribute; and whose lawless tempers could ill brook the curb and spur of a strong government. It was Visvanât'ha's task to reconcile the conflicting interests of all these classes, to smooth away differences, and to conciliate affection: and to do this in a strange country and with an empty purse! At last he contrived a scheme by which it seemed possible to attain success. Its object was to enrich and ennoble the most powerful of each class, and at the same time secure their and their descendants' allegiance to himself and his successors. This scheme, though possibly as good as any that could at such a time be devised, was nevertheless fraught with all the elements of danger, and in the end contributed largely, as we shall see, to the subversion of the Nâyakkan dynasty. Its details were as follows. There were seventy-two bastions to the fort of Madura: and each of them was now formally placed in charge of a particular chief, who was bound for himself and

his heirs to keep his post at all times and under all circumstances. He was also bound to pay a fixed annual tribute; to supply and keep in readiness a quota of troops for the Governor's armies; and to keep the Governor's peace over a particular tract of country. And in consideration of his promise to perform these and other services, a grant was made to him of a tract of country consisting of a certain number of villages, and proportioned to his rank and the favor with which Visvanât'ha and Arya Nâyaga respectively regarded him, together with the title of *Pâleiyakâran* (Poligar) In addition to this, each grantee was presented with valuable gifts; titles and privileges were conferred upon him amid much pomp and ceremony, and nothing was omitted, which could in any way add to the solemnity and importance of the Governor's act.

Such was the origin of the famous Madura Pâleiyakârans, of some of whom the descendants are still possessed of their ancestors' feuds, if not of their rank and power I have not been able to find any list of the names of the chiefs actually appointed by Visvanât'ha and Arya Nâyaga: and the lists of Poligars given in Mr. Taylor's O. H MSS. are inconsistent, scarcely intelligible, and almost valueless. However from the Catalogue Raisonné and from Ward's Survey report I have been able to gather some information respecting the original chieftains, of a highly interesting character. and I think that a brief abstract of the history of the origin of a few of the principal Poligars will not be out of place here

The ancestors of the Pâleiyakâran of Virupâkshi were of the Kambala caste, and lived in Gûti under the rule of the Mahometans. Being oppressed and insulted by their rulers, they fled southwards and received protection from Tirumala Râyar. Afterwards, when a Mahometan named Bûla Saheb (?) invaded their protectors' dominions, their chief Chinnappa Nâyakkan distinguished himself in battle, and was rewarded with the permission to occupy the country round Kûttu Iluppei, his brother Kuppaya was permitted to settle in the Dâdampatti country; and another brother in Ideiya-kôttei. His followers rapidly spread themselves over the country and founded many villages. And his son was now made a Pâleiyakâran, and entrusted with the defence of the *Thirumanjana Vâsal* bastion.

The ancestors of the Pâleiyakâran Bôdi Nâyakkan lived in Gûti: and in consequence of Mahometan invasions emigrated to the Pândya country in 1336. At that time the Pândya king had fled into the

Malayâla country: and the District they came to, which lay north of the river Veigei, was occupied by ten families subject to the rule of the Malayâla country. Eight chiefs of the tribe ruled it in succession, of whom the last was named Sila Bôdi Nâyakkan, and his son Bangâru Muttu was appointed keeper of the 60th bastion.

Râma B'hadra Nâyakkan was a servant of the well-known Kôtiya Nâgama, and acted as his deputy when he went on a pilgrimage to Kâsi (Benares) to pray for a son. He served under Nâgama in the expedition against the Chôla Nâyakkan and afterwards under Visvanât'ha in the expedition to Madura Having rendered good service in storming the fort of Kambam, he was made Pâleiyakâran of the Vadagarei District on the north bank of the Veigei river, (hence the name,) and near the Palani mountains.

The ancestors of the Pâleiyakâran of Thavasi-madei, or the pool of penance, were Tottiyans living in Gûti They fled from the oppression of the Mahometans to the district north of the Sirumalei, where they discovered the pool from which the district derived its name. Their chief, named Shotala Nâyakkan, was so fortunate as to cure Nâgama of a serious illness whilst on his way to pray at the Palani temple. and was rewarded with a grant and the charge of the 72nd bastion He lost his life at Kâyatâttûr

In other cases the ancestors of the Pâleiyakârans had immigrated into the Madura country at a very much earlier date. For instance it appears from page 384 of the Catalogue Raisonné, that the ancestors of the chief of Nadava-Kurichi came from the Kiluvai Kundiyan fort at so early a date that he was the 29th in succession when appointed to the charge of a bastion. They had exterminated the Kallans and Kurumbas of various tracts, for instance Varasing'ha Nâdu (? Varsha-nâd) the Kurumba Nâdu and Nadava-Kurichi in the times of the Pândyas: and had been rewarded for their services by grants of territory. And in later times they assisted the king Kula Shêk'hara Pândya against the ruler at Kâyatâttûr. That is to say, as this is stated to have happened shortly before the Nâyakkan governors began to rule the country, they assisted Kula or Chandra Shêk'hara against the "five Pândavas" of Kâyatâttûr. The statement is valuable as showing that, as suggested above, Kula Shêk'hara and Chandra Shêk'hara must have been one and the same person: and that he must have been engaged in hostilities against the five Pândavas during the period preceding the expedition of Visvanât'ha. Mention is also

made in this MS. of king Parâkkrama Pândya, just before Kula Shêk'hara is spoken of: and I think there is reason to believe that Parâkkrama, the father of Kula or Chandra Shêk'hara, must have been a puppet king. The copper-plate inscription mentions him in such a manner as to show clearly that he was the first of a short dynasty: and it is quite possible that whilst his father was ruling in the country round Srîvelliputtûr (see ante page 94) Parâkkrama was sent for to Madura by the governor of the time—perhaps Vittala Râja —and set upon the throne.

After carrying his great scheme into execution Visvanât'ha Nâyakkan ruled peaceably for a short time, and then died in December 1563 in great honor and glory. Indeed, the name of Maha Râja Mânya Râja Srî Visvanât'ha Nâyani Âyyalu Gâru is still affectionately remembered by the people of Madura, as being that of a great and good ruler to whom the country owes much. And his immediate successors held him in so high esteem, that some of them adopted the curious custom of placing his name before their own in grants, as if he had not died but were still ruling conjointly with the grantor.

At the close of 1563 the office of Governor of the Madura country descended to the son of Visvanât'ha, named Kumâra Krishnappa (or Krishnama) sometimes also called Periya Krishnama. His official title—if I may so call it—appears from an old painting on the wall on the south side of the celebrated golden-lily tank in the Madura Pagoda, to have been the same *mutatis mutandis* as that borne by his father, namely Maha Râja Mânya Râja Srî Kumâra Krishnappa Nâyani Âyyalu Gâru. And for convenience' sake I may here state that this title appears from the above memorial to have been borne by all the Nâyakkan successors of Visvanât'ha.

Kumâra Krishnappa appears to have been a brave and politic ruler: but beyond that nothing is known of his character He had not been long in power when a formidable rebellion was organized by Dumbicchi Nâyakkan, one of the seventy-two Pâleiyakârans We are not told, what were the circumstances which led to this rising. or how it came about that a single Pâleiyakâran dared to oppose the armies of the Râyar's Vicegerent, more particularly when that officer was supported by such a man as the great Arya Nâyaga Muthali. But the rebellion can be very easily accounted for by supposing that this Pâleiyakâran was that Dumbicchi Nâyakkan, who some years previously, namely about 1543, had been master of the

country. Be this as it may, some of the many chiefs who were ever longing for wealth and power, ever hoping for the opening of some door to their ambition and greed, determined now to make a struggle for what they coveted : and Dumbicchi led the movement Alarming Mussulman combinations in the north had compelled Arya Nâyaga to hurriedly quit Madura; and his return, or at all events his immediate return, seemed to be very improbable · and it was clear that now or never was the time for the discontented to strike a sudden and effectual blow. Accordingly the confederates made preparations with speed and secrecy, collected a large body of troops, and taking the field without any warning overran and reduced to submission a considerable extent of country. The Governor seems to have been unprepared for an attempt of this kind. Foolishly relying perhaps on the generosity of men who had been handsomely treated by his father, and that so recently, he had not looked for ingratitude and treachery. And thus it came about that Dumbicchi was enabled to entrench himself in a strongly fortified camp at Parama-kudi, and to commence plundering the whole of the surrounding country in defiance of the Governor's authority. But Kumâra Krishnappa was not to be provoked with impunity. He soon made all necessary arrangements both for the protection of his person and the capital and for the quelling of the rebellion : and showed unmistakably that if taken unawares, he was nevertheless quite equal to the occasion His general Periya Kesavappa marched to Parama-kudi at the head of a detachment of troops, and invested the rebel camp; but was unfortunately killed in action within a few days. The general's son was then appointed to act against the rebels with a large force, amounting it is said to 18,000 men and officered by thirteen chiefs. After sustaining some checks, he at last stormed the fort and took Dumbicchi, whose head was forthwith cut off, and sent to the king as a warning to other disaffected Pâleiyakârans This formidable rebellion was thus nipped in the bud. But Kumâra Krishnappa was a politic prince, who knew when he could afford to be generous : and he treated the rebels' widows and two sons with marked kindness The feud was of course confiscated but the village of Parama-kudi was granted to the children for their maintenance, and the elder of them was permitted to assume the title of Pâleiyakâran.

Soon after this Kumâra Krishnappa heard that the king of Kandi had grossly insulted his name, being a friend of the rebel Dumbicchi and much annoyed by his execution; and unable to endure the insult,

or possibly because he thought a foreign war and the hope of booty would greatly tend to keep his Pâleiyakârans and other dangerous classes in good humour, he put himself at the head of a large army officered by no less than fifty-two Pâleiyakârans and their relations and subordinates, and marched against the king of Kandi. He embarked at "the nine stones," a place so called as being the remains of the great bridge set up by Râma in his war with Râvana: and reaching the coast of Ceylon in safety, sent an ultimatum to the king of Kandi, which however was barren of results. He then began to move on in the direction of the enemy's capital. The king of Kandi despatched an army of 40,000 men commanded by four *Mantris* or ministers and eight *Dêsanât'has* or prefects of countries, to oppose the invaders: and this force was posted at Pattalam awaiting attack. After observing the position of the enemy, Kumâra Krishnappa sent forward his commander-in-chief at the head of a division of 20,000 of the best troops to attack him, and himself taking the command of the remainder of his forces judiciously kept them in the rear as a reserve. After some skirmishing a general engagement was brought about, attended with great loss on both sides, the result of which was entirely favorable to the Madura general; who succeeded in taking a great number of prisoners, amongst whom were two of the ministers and five of the prefects. These were treated with great humanity: their wounds were dressed and medicines and separate tents were provided for the reception of the sick. In the course of a day or two the four *Mantris* undertook to procure from their king such reparation for the insult as the Madura ruler considered necessary; in default of which they engaged to place themselves and their territories at the disposal of the invader. An embassy was accordingly sent to the capital of Kandi, which however proved altogether unsuccessful: and the king himself marched out to repel the invaders at the head of an army of 60,000 Cingalese and 8,000 Kaffers. A sanguinary battle took place soon afterwards, in which the king and ten of his near relatives fought with the utmost valour: but to no purpose, as their undisciplined hordes were quite unable to cope with the steady and disciplined troops of Madura. At last the king of Kandi, after all his relations had been made prisoners, and every effort had been made to take him alive, was shot dead by an arrow aimed at him by Kumâra Krishnappa. Upon this the defeat became a rout, and when the sun set that day, Kandi was at the mercy of the conqueror. Kumâra Krishnappa took possession of the capital, and spent three days in it, during

which the funeral ceremonies of the dead king were performed with due magnificence, and his widows and family suitably provided for. He then appointed his brother-in-law, Vijaya Gôpâla Nâyakkan, viceroy of the conquered country, and returned to Madura in triumph.

I should here observe that the story of this subjugation of Kandi by the Madura governor is not to be found in the "History of the Karnataca governors," nor in any of the memoirs of the Poligars. Mr. Taylor says it is told only in one MS called the *Singala dwipa cat'ha*, which is abstracted at page 183 of the Catalogue Raisonné But it is there told in a manner so clear and straightforward, as to inspire great confidence in its truth. I have not been able to find anything in Upham's Mahâvansi &c., which appears to refer to it: and it certainly seems rather strange that the Portuguese should not have been alluded to by the writer of the memoir, unless indeed the 8,000 Kaffers were Portuguese But I see nothing improbable in the story as it stands, and have therefore given it entire

The Governor does not appear to have been troubled by any more émeutes, or to have engaged in any other wars after this. The Vijayanagar empire had been terribly shaken by the disastrous defeat of the Hindûs at Tali-kôta and the death (or abdication ?) of Râma Râja in 1564; and tradition says that Arya Nâyaga, perceiving the impossibility of long preserving its northern portions, resolved to allow them to be annexed by the victorious Mahometans without a struggle, and if possible establish himself firmly in the southern provinces. These were evidently capable of yielding a goodly revenue, if properly administered; and they were not much exposed to Mahometan invasion. As Râma Râja died leaving no issue, Arya Nâyaga intended at first, it is said, to have himself crowned king of the southern countries; but he was laughed out of this project by a Guru, who pointed out to him that it was the business of a Vellâlan to till the soil rather than to wear a crown, and that men's prejudices would be shocked by seeing one of Arya Nâyaga's caste seated on the throne. He therefore contented himself with the following arrangement. The kingdom of Mysore was left in the hands of the then ruler of Srîrang'ha-pattanam (Seringapatam) that of Tanjore was made over to a Nâyakkan named Vîra Râg'hava, and that of Madura to Kumâra Krishnappa, but the Muthali appointed himself commander-in-chief and prime minister of all the three countries, and resolved to exercise a kind of general superintendence over their governments. Having so arranged matters, he returned to Madura probably in the year

1566 : and finding that the country was in a tranquil state, sent for some of his relations and friends living in the Perunâdu of the Kânchi district of the Tondamandala and made them reside on the fertile lands of Sôlavandân a village a few miles west of Madura. A fortress and three hundred houses were built for their protection and convenience. A temple was also erected : and a Guru was brought from Kânchipura (Conjeveram) to officiate therein, and perform the services to which the Muthali's caste people were accustomed. Slaves, free pariahs, and artisans of all kinds were supplied to the new town in sufficient numbers, and nothing was omitted to be done that was considered necessary to the immigrants' comfort. This was in 1566. Other dependents of the great Muthali are said to have been placed in Nagari, others in Tirumangalam, Pattanêri, and other villages.

Arya Nâyaga having shown clearly by thus acting that it was his intention to reside permanently or at least principally in Madura, the happiest results followed. The hopes of the disaffected were completely crushed, all intrigues against the government ceased for the present, and the country began to enjoy undisturbed tranquillity.

There being thus no serious occupation for the Governor, he amused himself with building a town on the east of Palamcottah, which he called after himself Krishnapura · and he spent considerable sums in furnishing it with Siva and Vishnu temples, and streets for Brâhmans, and in building a *teppakulam* or sacred tank of a square shape paved and faced with granite The new town being a great success, he built another of the same sort west of Tinnevelly and named it Kadiyang Krishnapura After a prosperous and on the whole peaceful rule of ten years he died in 1573.

He was succeeded by his two sons Krishnappa or Periya Vîrappa and Visvanât'ha II, who were permitted by Arya Nâyaga to rule the country with co-ordinate authority. No particulars are recorded from which the characters of these two Governors can be learnt . but probably their characters affected the happiness of the country either not at all or only in a very remote degree. We may be pretty sure, I think, that nothing important was done by them without express sanction from Arya Nâyaga ; and that they never attempted to offer the slightest opposition to his will. And as the country was in a peaceful and prosperous state, they could have seen no occasion to exert themselves greatly in its behalf. No doubt they passed their time very pleasantly and very idly within the walls of their palace, in the enjoyment of such sports and amusements as the times afforded.

CHAPTER V.

Lingaya and Visvanât'ha III.—The death of Arya Nâyaga.—Important results.—Extent of the Madura territory.—The Râyar Venkatapati Lord Paramount of Madura.—The murder of Kastûri.—Re-establishment of the Sêthupati.—Origin of the Marava dynasty.—Its antiquity.—The seven chiefs of the Mahâvansi.—History of the Sêthupatis.—The Governor dies leaving three sons, of whom the eldest succeeds him.—The state of Christianity—Robert de Nobilibus.—He calls himself a Brâhman from Rome.—His success.—He is suspended for improper practices—Sad results.—War with Mysore.—War with Tanjore—The Virupâkshi Poligar.—The Râyar still interferes in the government of the country.—Misrule and corruption.—End of the reign.

LINGAYA, known also by the name of Kumâra Krishnappa, and his brother Visvappa or Visvanât'ha III ruled together for a few years, doing probably much as their father and uncle had done before them; and then a very momentous event took place This was the death of the great Arya Nâyaga Muthali in 1600, the results of which were the emancipation of the Nâyakkans from immediate control, and the at least partial independence of the Madura country That this was a beneficial change there can be no question. The protector of the Nâyakkans had grown old and feeble, and his continued presence in Madura must have checked all desire for improvement on the part of her rulers, and prevented that rapid development of the resources of the country which was subsequently effected At the same time, it must not be forgotten that it was entirely owing to his fostering care, that the young and ricketty state was enabled to survive its early troubles Rebellion and disaffection would have soon brought back anarchy and desolation, but for the awe and respect which Arya Nâyaga's name everywhere inspired And probably if he lived long enough, he lived not one moment too long

At the time of his death, the Madura territories seem to have included the whole of the country between Cape Comorin on the south, the western Ghauts on the west, and the towns of Uttatûr and Valikondapura (Wolconda) on the north . and the Governor's treasury received supplies from every part of this very considerable territory There was therefore no lack of such power as money can give to a state. And there was now not a single enemy, at home or abroad, likely to disturb the Nâyakkan's peaceable administration. The country was in a flourishing condition: and if the dynasty which ruled it proved very shortly after this to be unequ to the task of preserving it from dismemberment and ruin, it only because the Nâyakkans were for the most part weak, indol and hopelessly vicious.

Although the removal of Arya Nâyaga freed the Governors Madura from that immediate control and supervision to which had hitherto been subjected, they did not dare as yet to attemp make themselves independent of their Lord Paramount in the north. An inscription on a stone which stands nearly in front of and close to the porch of the Perumâl Pagoda in the town of Madura shows that in the year 1602 Srî Bhûvanêka Vîra Srî Vîra Pratâpa Râjaya Râja Râja Paramêshwara Srî Vîra Venkata Mahâ Râyar was "the ruler of the world," but does not so much as mention the local rulers names. And it must I think be presumed from this, not only that the abovenamed descendant of the old Vijayanagar family claimed to be the Lord Paramount of Madura after if not before the death of Arya Nâyaga; but also that his supremacy was unhesitatingly and fully allowed. It appears from the preface to Mr. Campbell's Telugu grammar that Venkatapati Râyar began to rule in Pennakonda twenty-one years after the death of Râma Râyar in 1564, and eigned for twenty-eight years; and doubtless this was the sovereign ntended in the inscription. Venkatapati Râyar appears to have died or to have been deposed in 1613; and with him his dynasty is said to have come to an end. Before he died however his hold over Madura would appear to have been very considerably relaxed; for an inscription of 1609 gives the name of the Nâyakkan Governor of the time, and does not mention the name or in any way indicate the existence of a Lord Paramount It may be inferred therefore that the supremacy of the Pennakonda family was acknowledged only for a few years

The younger of the two brothers, Visvappa or Visvanât'ha III,

The most, if not the only important event that happened during their joint tenure of power was the chastisement of a prince named the "Mâvilivâna Râja." Mr. Taylor has curiously enough suggested that the name given to this person was a corruption of Mahâbalipuram, and that he was king of the country round "the seven pagodas," south of Madras, the correct name of which was Mahâbalipuram. But it is perfectly clear from the name that the man was a descendant of the sons of Ab'hirâmi mentioned in page 83; and whilst living as was natural at Kâleiyâr Kôvil, was guilty of contumacious and rebellious conduct, probably on the strength of being a scion of the old Vilivânâthi family. The rebellion, if it amounted to so much, was quelled; and it does not appear to have disturbed the general peace of the country. But the particulars of it are not to be found in any of the McKenzie MSS After this, Krishnappa and his younger brother were induced to turn their attention to the state of the defences of the kingdom on the northern frontier, and after strengthening the fortifications of Trichinopoly, they fortified Chidambara (Chellumbram). They also built many agrahâras for the Brâhmans.

We are not told when this joint governorship came to an end: but it is presumable that the younger brother died first. For when Krishnappa (or Periya Vîrappa) died in 1595, he was succeeded by his two sons Lingaya and Visvappa: and in some MSS. no mention at all is made of Visvanât'ha II.

ably did not survive Aryâ Nâyaga, or if he did it was only for ort time. The elder brother, Lingaya, died in 1602, leaving a Muttu Krishnappa entitled to succeed him But an uncle of prince, one Kastûri Rangaya, being an ambitious man, usurped ow hereditary government; and this illegal act led to the com- ion of the first of the sanguinary crimes which disgrace the annals e Nâyakkans Some friends and adherents of Muttu Krish- a murdered his uncle just one week afterwards, whilst he was ged in praying in the *Santiyâna Mantapa* or hall of worship at hnapura, a small town on the north side of the Veigei And ttu Krishnappa thereupon became Governor.

With the exception of this crime, the one remarkable event of ttu Krishnappa's governorship was the re-establishment of the ient Marava dynasty of Sêthupatis or guardians of the Isthmus of mêshwara on the throne of Râmnâd It is not quite clear how this ne about· nor what was the actual extent and political position he Râmnâd country at this time From a comparison of the istory of the Karnataca Governors" with a short "account of the hupatis" translated by Mr Taylor, and with an historical memoran- kindly furnished to me by Ponnusâmi Têvan the present manager he Râmnâd Zamindâri, it seems probable that in the time of Muttu Krishnappa the Râmnâd country, that is to say all the coun- try between Madura and the sea coast, was under the management of two Commissioners apppointed by the Governor of Madura; and that these officers were quite unequal to the task of keeping the dependency in order Thick jungles had sprung up in every direction; the roads were infested with gangs of robbers, every village had its fort, and levied black mail from pilgrims passing on their way to the holy shrine at Râmêshwara; and nothing in the shape of revenue could be collected from the wild, untameable race who owned the cultivable lands The Vairâgis, the lawless Vaishnava votees from the north, who were accustomed to flock every year in thousands to Râmêshwara were daily petitioning the Governor, and clamouring for the restoration of the country to a Marava prince, entitled Sadeika Têvan Udeiyân Sêthupati, who was, or was supposed to be a direct descendant of the ancient Râmnâd stock, an who alone, it was believed, could keep the country in order an protect pilgrims and travellers from violence. And yielding at last the importunate solicitations of these self-styled holy men, and p bably being perfectly sensible of the advantage of making th

prince a friendly vassal in place of an angry enemy, the Gove somewhere about the year 1605 sent for him; and having satis. himself as to his fitness to govern the dependency, had him crow as Sêthupati in a town in the Râmnâd country called Pôkalûr great pomp and ceremony; and at the same time made him chi the seventy-two Pâleiyakârans The newly-appointed Sêthı was a man of energy and conduct, and soon gave the Governor (to congratulate himself on having acted as he had. The ۱ lands were gradually reclaimed, robbery and violence were chec and in a short time the country began to wear a new and heal aspect. The towns of Râmnâd and Pôkalûr were fortified and proved. The important villages Vadakku-Vattakei, Kâleiyâr-Kô and Pattamangalam were taken from refractory chiefs; and a c siderable annual tribute was remitted to Madura, after allow for all the expenses of the subordinate government and for personal expenditure of the Sêthupati Nor was this satisfact state of things merely transitory. For Sadeika Têvan ruled people for several years, firmly but with moderation; and when died in 1621 (?), his son Kûttan was allowed to succeed him.

I think there can be but little doubt that such in substance the circumstances in which the Sêthupati was restored. But question naturally arises, how ancient and important was the territory which he thus gained? Professor Wilson has given in his catalogue (see vol. i, p 195) an abstract of a manuscript in the McKenzie collection, from which it appears that the author of it understood the Maravas to be a tribe which had been originally transplanted from Ceylon, and of which certain members had been appointed Sêthupatis or custodians of the Isthmus of Râmêshwara, by Râma the hero They were long subject to the Pândyas, but in the course of time became sufficiently powerful to shake off their yoke; and at last made their masters their servants; and they remained lords paramount of the Pândya kingdom for no less than eleven generations; and during three reigns ruled over the whole of the south of India. Finally they were driven back to the south of the river Kâvêri by the Kurumba prince of Alakâpuri, and Madura and Tanjore were taken from them by the officers of the Vijayanagar Râyar. Then again the appointment of Sêthupatis by Râma is expressly mentioned in Ponnusâmi Têvan's memorandum referred to ove. And from the Karnatic history it clearly appears that there as already a Sêthupati in the time of Muttu Krishnappa. So too

in the Chronicle of the acts of the Sêthupatis translated by Mr. Taylor. at the end of his work, the O. H. MSS. it is stated that "In the early times when the Chakravertis flourished, seven persons from among the inhabitants of this Râmnâd peninsular coast were appointed in order to be its guardians. When thus through a long "and remote traditionary period they had continued for many "generations to guard it, one among the seven persons, the son of hethunga Deven, who was named Sadaica Devaiyen Udiyan Sêthupati.........being the chief of the seven received authority to rule this Râmnâd kingdom, &c" Lastly it appears from a paper ead before the Royal Asiatic Society by Mr. Priaulx in the month f November 1860, and published in Vol xviii, part II, of the R A. S. Journal, that the writer, looking to the fact that according the Mahâvansi the last of the three Tamil invasions of Ceylon hich took place in the third and second centuries before Christ s under the leadership of seven chieftains; and looking to the t of the silence of the Pândya Chronicles with regard to Pândya lings with Ceylon; thinks it probable that these invasions were by mere adventurers, and not by the generals of the Pândya gs. Supposing this ingenious suggestion to be one of truth, it uld seem to be very probable that these seven adventurers, who e described in the Râjâvali more than once as coming from the ly rata (Chôla country), were the seven chiefs whose existence is orded in the Chronicle translated in Mr Taylor's work, and had hed their conquests north of their modern boundaries. And the bability is greatly increased by the circumstance that Sir Emerson nent states (so says the paper) that the Tamils who invaded lon were ruled by a dynasty of Râjas who held their court at ûr, coupled with the fact that Ponnusâmi Têvan's memorandum ressly states that, at one time, the Sêthupatis made Vîrava llûr (one of the many towns in South India called Nallûr) their capital. This Vîrava Nallûr is situated near Râmnâd and the sea coast, and there can be no ground for supposing that Pândya kings ever made it their capital.

There is therefore a considerable amount of evidence which goes to support the claim to high antiquity put forward by the Râmnâd royal family: and I am not aware of the existence of any evidence which would tend to invalidate it. And seeing that Râmêshwara has been for centuries resorted to annually by large bodies of pilgrims,

and that this would have been simply impossible, unless some strong-handed prince or princes were ruling over the country in its neighbourhood, I think it may be pretty safely concluded that the principality of Râmnâd had been in existence for many centuries befor Sadeika Têvan was made Sêthupati; and also that the explanatioı of his restoration given in Ponnusâmi Têvan's memorandum is not very far from the truth. This explanation is to the effect that Kul B'hûshana, one of the last of the Pândyas who preceded Visvanât Nâyakkan,—the title given does not occur in any history so far I know—treacherously murdered Sadeika Têvan Udeiyân's granc father, Jayatunga Rag'hunât'ha, through fear and jealousy of his dail increasing power; and that the Udeiyân, being a clever man, con trived to procure his restoration by making interest with the Vairâg as mentioned above.

The story told in the "History of the Karnataca Governors" diff from this, though not very materially. and is to the following eff A great part of the country east of the city of Madura was ly waste and inhabited only by robbers and cut-throats, when occurred to the Governor to put it under the management of headman of the village of Pôkalûr The newly-created official powerless at first to establish his authority: and rapine and mur went on much as before But after a while, being energetic a having some influence amongst the rude tribes of the neighbourho he was enabled to afford protection to pilgrims passing by on th way to Râmêshwara. Amongst others he safely escorted Governor's spiritual adviser (Guru); and thinking that he m possibly take something considerable by it, accompanied him all way to the town of Madura on his return. By this mean obtained an interview with the Governor; and played his card well as to obtain a vaguely-worded grant of men and money which great use might be made by an active and clever man. went back to Pôkalûr greatly pleased, and set to work at once to turn his good fortune to the best account He built a mud fort round his village; reduced to submission the refractory tribes amongst whom he dwelt; and having managed to collect taxes over a small tract of country, got together a considerable sum of money which he took and made over to the Governor. This apparent humility and uprightness of conduct had the desired effect. A larger and more effectual grant was made; and the Udeiyân was enabled under its cover to exercise a still wider authority, and pay

still larger sums from time to time into his master's treasury. At last he had become so powerful, that the Governor was pleased or perhaps compelled to make over to him a larger slice of the country between Madura and the sea, and confer on him the title of "Sêthupati." More than this, the Udeiyân was actually anointed in Madura with holy water from the Ganges, and made king of the country granted to him. and afterwards went home to his capital, and ved in great state: though he by no means gave himself up to xury. He built a strong mud fort at Râmnâd, and ruled with eat vigour, collecting the taxes regularly and remitting his tribute Madura with great punctuality.

So much only can be gathered at present with regard to the ppointment of the Sêthupati by Muttu Krishnappa. As regards the story of the Sêthupatis of more ancient times, all the information t I have been able to obtain is derived from Ponnusâmi Têvan's emorandum, and is very inconsiderable in amount: but a short tract of it may he not altogether devoid of interest.

It is stated that when Râma appointed the first Sêthupati, the ndya regarded the appointment with favor, and granted him free ribute all the jungly tracts of country adjoining the sea coast.

Afterwards, when the Chôla invaded the Pândya country and as about to defeat the king, Âthi Vîra Rag'hunât'ha Sêthupati drove n back with loss, and he was rewarded for this service with the pointment of warden of Tondi harbour.

fterwards, when the kings of Kanara and other countries led the Pândya's dominions and caused him great loss, Para (?) Sêthupati came to the rescue and drove back the enemy. his service he was given the title of "Establisher of the Pândya ne," and was granted the districts of Tiruchuli, Pallimadam and uppûvanam.

After a long period, in the time of Varatunga Rag'hunât'ha some Telugu invaders drove the Chôla out of his kingdom. The Chôla came for help to the Pândya, and the Sêthupati was sent to repel he invaders. Their expulsion was successfully effected: and the thupati was rewarded with the title of "Establisher of the Chôla untry."

After many generations, in the time of Kulôttunga Sêthupati the iôla invaded the Pândya country. He was driven back to Pattuttei and Arundângi: and this portion of his kingdom was annexed

by the victorious Sêthupati, who thereupon assumed the title of "He who conquers countries seen, and never lets go countries conquered."

Samara Kôlâhala Rag'hunât'ha Sêthupati was sent by the Pândya to settle a boundary dispute between him and the Chôla. He executed his commission with fidelity, and was rewarded by the Chôla with the monopoly of the pearl fishery in the gulf of Manâar; whilst the Pândya conferred the following titles on him, namel Râjaya Râja, Râja Paramêshwara, Râja Mârtânda, and Râ Gamb'hîra

After this, when all the countries between Cape Comorin and tl river Narmada were under the authority of the Râyar of Vijayanagar and the countries north of the Narmada under that of the Bâdish (Pasha), a confederacy of Hindû kings was formed against tl Mahometans by order of the Râyar, and amongst others the Sêth pati was sent by the Pândya, as his representative The Sêthup performed distinguished service and the Chôla, who also took p in the war, ceded to the Sêthupati (apparently by order of t Râyar) the districts of Manâr-Kôvil, Thiruvârûr, and Thîvu-Kôt And the privilege of raising the monkey banner and the Gar banner was bestowed upon him, as appears from the heraldic wo the *Viruthâvali*

At various times the capitals of the Sêthupatis have been Dêv pura or Râmêshwara, Tondi, Rag'hunât'hapura, and Vîrava Nallûr

The above are the only facts set forth in the earlier portion of memorandum If it shows nothing else, it shows two impor circumstances most clearly, viz:—

1 The Sêthupati was always a vassal of the Pândya: and is no ground for the supposition that the Maravas were at one the dominant race in the South of India.

2. The supremacy of the Râyar of Vijayanagar over all the kings of the south was more than nominal at the commencement of the sixteenth century.

It appears to me, however, that as far as it goes, the memorandu is worthy of great credence. Tested by the letters of the Madı Jesuits, that portion of it which gives the modern history of Râmı is on the whole fairly correct: and if the latter portion is found be generally credible, we may suppose, nothing appearing to t contrary, that the early portion also contains much that is true.

We must now revert to the history of Madura. Besides the esta-blishment or restoration of the Sêthupati, the only recorded acts of Muttu Krishnappa were the digging of sundry tanks for the benefit of worshippers, and the building of some Pagodas and *Agrahâras.* He also built a small town between Madura and Skanda-malei, which he called after himself Krishnapura, and the ruins of which (it is said) may still be traced But his rule was very peaceful, disturbed by no rebellions or invasions: and the country continued to grow rich and prosperous. The Governor died about 1609 A. D., leaving three sons, Muttu Vîrapa, Tirumala and Kumâra Muttu.

Before passing on to another reign, it will be necessary to notice here briefly the state of Christianity in the Madura kingdom towards the end of the 16th, and at the beginning of the 17th century. From a letter written by Father Albert Laerzio to the General of his Society, dated 20th November 1609, it appears that there was at that time a church in Madura, resorted to by the Paravas, a caste of fishermen who lived on the sea coast and had been originally converted by Francis Xavier Being tributary to the King of Madura—the title of Governor or Superintendent appears to have been dropt—some of the Paravas had occasion to visit the capital from time to time; and a church had been built for their use by permission of the King, who was in alliance with the Portuguese, and placed under the care of Father Fernandez This Missionary soon began to see that, if he confined his attention to the Christians who occasionally visited Madura, he would have little or no work to do. and he therefore attempted to convert the Vadukans or Telugu people who had settled in Madura. But in spite of his zeal and austerity of life, which could not but command respect and admiration, he failed altogether in the attempt The Vadukans would not listen to him: and he made not a single convert The reason of this was the abhorrence in which the Portuguese were held by all classes of Hindûs, as being men who ate the flesh of cows, drank intoxicating liquors, and mingled freely with the vilest pariahs The Portuguese or Parangis as they were contemptuously called, were held to be the worst and filthiest sinners who had ever polluted the country by their presence: and it was simply impossible that a preacher suspected of being connected with them, however remotely, could in any way influence the minds of the idolaters of Madura, or even overcome the prejudice and loathing which his efforts were sure to excite. And thus it was that for fourteen years Father Fernandez worked on in vain. But

at last things began to mend. In December 1606 Robert de Nobilibus visited Madura: and his master-mind at once comprehended the difficulty, and devised the means of overcoming it. And then, fired with a noble zeal for Christianity and emulous of the heroism of St Paul, he resolved to dedicate his whole life to one object, and to become himself a Hindû in order to save Hindûs. Accordingly, with the consent of the Archbishop of Cranganore, he represented to the Brâhmans of Madura that he was not a Parangi, nor a Portuguese but a Râja or Prince from Rome and a *Sanniyâsi* or religious devotee. And he began to live from that day forth the life which commonly lived by Hindû ascetics of the strictest and most reputable sort. A little rice, a little milk, and some bitter vegetables formed the single meal which he ate each day: a long yellowish linen robe, a veil, a turban, and a pair of clogs were his only garments. In token of his religion and caste he wore a cross suspended from his neck by five threads, three of which were of gold and symbolized the Trinity, whilst the other two were of silver and symbolized the body and soul of our Lord.

Besides adopting this distinctive diet and apparel, the Missiona withdrew himself from all intercourse with Father Fernandez a other priests; and having obtained a suitable piece of ground in t Brâhmans' quarter, upon which to build a church and presbyter lived there immersed in study and in the strictest seclusion, attend upon by Brâhman servants alone and observing in the minute particulars the customs of those in whose midst he sojourned. I fame was soon noised about. Every one came to hear of the forei ascetic who lived like a hermit amongst the inhabitants of the busy capital. Curiosity compelled enquiry: and Hindûs of all classes thronged the gates of the Missionary's house, in the hope of being permitted to see and converse with him. At first the servants' invariable reply to the questions of visitors was to the effect that, "the master was "meditating upon God: he could not receive visits, he must not be "disturbed." After a time, a few visitors were permitted to approach the recluse, and found him seated cross-legged on a settee covered with red cloth, before which were spread a carpet and a handsome mat. On entering the reception room, all were required to raise their joined hands above their heads and formally lower them towards the ground with a deep bow. Even the greatest nobles of the court conformed to this rule: whilst those who wished to become disciples went through this performance three times, and finally

prostrated themselves full length on the ground. The few who were so fortunate as to obtain an interview were charmed with the affability and politeness of the distinguished teacher of religion; and at he same time astonished at the purity of his Tamil accent, the pro-undness of his oriental learning, and the versatility of his intellect. ithin a very few days his popularity was firmly established in adura; great numbers of visitors were received; and the King ent him repeated invitations to come to the palace, which were eclined on the ground that the ascetic ought to keep within doors, raying and meditating on God, and should not go forth in public ere the purity of his eyes might peradventure be soiled by lighting upon a woman.

His efforts having been so far crowned with success and native ejudice having been overcome, Robert de Nobilibus began to turn s attention more particularly to the work of conversion. He soon iscovered that his task was by no means one of hopeless difficulty; d his first attempt in this direction produced the happiest results. Ie argued with a clever Guru or spiritual adviser for four or five ours a day during a period of twenty days, at the end of which the eathen confessed himself vanquished and became a convert. More han this, he became an active preacher of the gospel: and the ice aving been fairly broken, conversion followed conversion with arvellous rapidity. Brâhmans, priests, Râjas, courtiers, pro-essors, Nâyakkans, men of the best castes and most respectable rofessions, flocked to the presbytery and humbly implored the great Roman Guru to point out to them the way of salvation. Even Dumbicchi Nâyakkan, the chief of all the Tottiyans from Vèipâr to Vijayanagar, of the most powerful clan then resident in the country, was anxious to become a disciple: and was only prevented by fear of the King's displeasure. The progress of Christianity was everywhere rapid and decided and there appeared to be every reason to hope that within a few years heathenism would fall into decay.

However Robert was not destined to carry every thing before him. The Gurus who had lost the fees customarily paid to them by their disciples, but withheld by those disciples when converted to the Christian faith, grew angry at their losses; other Gurus became alarmed; the chief priest of the great pagoda claimed the land on which the new church was being built; and clouds of persecution began to gather round the mission. However the storm passe over for a while: and the church found a powerful protector in a

nobleman named Hermâ-katti, who, though he did not become a convert, largely patronized Robert and took great delight in his society.

But a worse thing than persecution arrested the progress of Chris tianity in Madura. This was the suspension of Robert de Nobilibu ministration by a peremptory order from his superiors in Euroj It seems that Father Fernandez, piqued by Robert withdrawii himself from all intercourse with him, and perhaps too sincerel believing that Robert's mode of working was not in accordance wi the genius of his religion, had made certain representations in hig quarters which seriously affected Robert's character. And others Goa, influenced doubtless by mean and petty motives, had accused the great missionary of debasing Christianity in the eyes of th world by permitting his converts to retain many of their heathenis customs, and by himself adopting certain practices wholly inco sistent with the character and position of a Christian pastor. Tl practices and customs of which the retention and adoption we: principally complained of were the following:—

1. Robert's adoption of the heathenish title of Guru.

2. His constant denial that he was a Parangi

3. His adoption of certain Tamil superstitious terms an phrases, and of certain hybrid and barbarous words, as equivalent of the peculiar terms, phrases, and words by which the doctrine of his faith are distinguished and formulated.

4. His permitting his converts to wear their hair in the fashior peculiar to Hindûs; to wear the sacred thread round the neck; to mark their foreheads with sandal-wood paste and other substances; to perform ablutions on various occasions; and to do many other things customary from time immemorial amongst all classes of Hindûs.

Robert was suspended from his office after he had worked for about five years, and when his mission was flourishing to a greater extent, than he had ever ventured to anticipate: and for ten long years he was not permitted to resume his labors This was a very severe blow to Christianity, and it is probably impossible to say at this time, how disastrous its effects may not have been. Had Robert de Nobi-ibus been allowed to carry out uninterruptedly the great plan which e mapped out for himself, it is within the bounds of possibility that he might have converted in a few years the great majority of think-

ng men in Madura and in the country dependent upon that capital: ut his strenuous labors were cut short, and he was succeeded by en in no way comparable to him in ability and enterprise, and who vere moreover fettered by a fear of responsibility such as he had never for one moment felt.

Muttu Vîrappà, the eldest son of the late King of Madura—I shall enceforth use the term King in place of Governor—was crowned robably in 1609, and reigned until the end of 1622 or beginning 1623.

Nothing very certain is known with regard to the events of his eign. In the early part of it he was at war with Tanjore; and there as also some fighting with the Mysoreans: but the results of these ostilities do not clearly appear. It seems probable however that ey were not very important. From a history of the Virupâkshi oligars, a translation of which is to be found in Captain Ward's urvey Report, it appears that about this time, the north-west poron of the Madura country was ravaged by a body of horsemen mmanded by a Mahometan; and that the Poligars of the neighourhood united their forces and drove back the invader after he ad penetrated as far as Dindigul. The Virupâkshi Poligar is said to ave specially distinguished himself on this occasion, and to have een rewarded with the "Pâthei-Kâval" or office of warden of the gh roads in the neighbourhood of his territory. It also appears rom an historical memoir to be found in Mr. Taylor's O. H. MSS, that bout this time one Mukilan came from Mysore and besieged the Fort of Dindigul; that he was defeated and driven away by the eighteen Dindigul Poligars under the leadership of Poligar Nadukatalei Chinna Kâtthira Nâyakkan; and that this Poligar was confirmed in his position as chief of the Dindigul Poligars and keeper of the Fort, and given the honorable title of The Chinna-Meisûrân or the young Mysorean. There can be but little doubt, I think, that these meagre notices of invasion are trustworthy. And it is presumable that the defeat of the invaders was sufficiently marked to prevent them from again trying their fortune in the Madura country during a period of some years.

It is noticeable that in Captain Ward's translation the Râyar is said to have ordered the expulsion of the invaders by the Poligars, inasmuch as the mention of this fact points clearly to a belief that tl Lord Paramount of Madura had not yet ceased to interfere directly

in the government of the country. Probably this was the last occasion on which he so interfered.

The Church underwent some slight persecution during this reign. It was openly said that the austerity of life practised by the priests at Madura was discontinued by them to some extent at Cochin and other places: and the old accusation that they were nothing more nc less than Parangis was revived.

From one or two hints contained in the few letters written b Jesuits at this time which have come down to us, it may be inferre that nothing very important took place during Muttu Vîrappa's reign and also that the King allowed his favorites to tyrannize over the people unchecked. But, as stated above, no certain information car be given on these and other points: and we must pass on to the ne› reign, during which the Nâyakkan dynasty both reached its greate height of power and suddenly began to fall into decay.

CHAPTER VI.

The great Tirumala.—An accident causes him to make Madura his capital.—His sickness.—His dream.—His vow —Great public works.—Madura unsuited for a capital.— Tirumala determines to make himself independent.—Weakness of the Empire.—War with Mysore.—Râmappayya.— Cabal against him.—Tirumala's generosity.—Robert de Nobilibus resumes his labors.—Persecution.—The Kallans.—Râmnâd affairs.—The Dalavây Sêthupati and the Tambi.—Tirumala sends Râmappayya against the Dalavây.—Râmappayya's conduct.—His causeway.—Bravery of the Maravans.—Death of Râmappaya.—The Dalavây imprisoned: and restored.—The Tambi murders him.— Tirumala divides the dependency.—It is re-united.—Vîra B'hôga Vasanta Râyar.—Tirumala changes his policy.— Death of the Râyar.—His son declares war.—Confederacy against him.—Tirumala enters into an alliance with Golkonda.—Miserable fall of the Râyar.—Golkonda attacks the Nâyakkans.—Siege of Gingi.—Tirumala's false policy. —He submits to the Mahometans.—His cruelty to his subjects.—Unpatriotic conduct.—The Mysorean invasion.— The Sêthupati's fidelity.—Treachery.—The Mysoreans utterly routed.—The "hunt for noses."—Tirumala dies. —Circumstances of his death.—He was not a Christian.— Statements of the Jesuits.—Tirumala's character.

The successor of Muttu Vîrappa was the Maha Râja Mânya Râj Srî Tirumala Sevari Nâyani Âyyalu Gâru, the greatest withou exception of all the rulers of Madura in modern times. He appea to have succeeded to the throne, and to have been crowned king of Madura in the month of January 1623, when he was between thirty and forty years of age. And his long and glorious reign extende over a period of thirty-six years.

Before attempting to describe the principal events of Tirumala' reign, it will be proper to observe that the circumstance of his making the town of Madura his capital seems to have been purely the result of accident, or, as the Brâhmans would say, was owing to a special interposition of Providence in the Brâhmans' behalf. Before he came to Madura to be crowned, the Court had been held at Trichinopoly for some ten or twelve years: and he doubtless would have continued to reside there permanently, had not the following event occurred He had been suffering for a long time from a severe attack of catarrh The royal physicians were wholly unable to effect a cure; and th great gods of the Kâvêri, Rang'ha Nâyaka and Jambukêshwara, eithe would not or could not help him in his distress Whilst he was on the march to Madura, his sickness waxed worse and worse, until at last he could hardly bear the fatigue of travelling. He halted for while near Dindigul; and as he was sleeping uneasily in his tent, th god Sundarêshwara and the goddess Mînâkshi appeared to him in vision, and declared that, if he would only make Madura his capit and permanently reside there, they would cure his malady. An having said so much, they appeared to give him sacred ashes of whic he was to swallow part, and with the remainder rub his body. Tiri mala awoke out of this dream just before dawn . and calling togethe the Brâhmans and others in attendance upon his person, told then what he had seen and heard. They very naturally advised him to obey the clearly expressed will of the gods, and accordingly he vowe then and there that not only would he make Madura his head-qua ters, if cured of his disease, he would also expend five lacs of *pon* or £100,000 in sacred works. Immediately afterwards whilst he w leisurely cleaning his teeth, as is usual with all Hindûs in the ear morning, he felt the disease leave him. Overjoyed at this, he deter mined to devote his life thenceforth to the worship and service of the gods of Madura, and to adopt in its integrity that faith, of which sacred ashes and the five letters (Na-Ma-Si-Va-Ya) are the symbols, namely the Saiva faith.

Having come to Madura and received the sceptre "in the presence f the goddess Mînâkshi," he became sensible of a continued daily nprovement in his bodily health: and gratefully set about the fulfilment of his vow, and the erection of various great buildings. Public works of beauty and utility were vigorously pushed forward in all irections. Cunning artificers were fetched from distant countries, reat quarries of fine granite and the beautiful black Madura marble

were opened out; whole forests of timber were cut down; and mountains of the finest bricks were burned. In a few years' time the outer portions of the great temple were thoroughly renovated, and the capital was filled with new streets and handsome buildings. Costly jewellery was manufactured in abundance for the adornment of the principal idols; the richest fabrics were made into clothes to cover them; and huge cars of carved ivory and wood were built for their onveyance. An enormous brick and stone palace was built, and rnished with unprecedented luxury and splendour; and thousands f horses and elephants were purchased and richly caprisoned, in order o swell the King's pomp and add to his fame among men.

Owing to this great expenditure of money and activity Madura soon ecame rich and prosperous once more; and was enabled to win for erself a place among the cities of South India, which her geographical position and physical resources by no means entitled her to old. Had it not been for the accident of Tirumala's sickness, and e dream which no doubt helped to bring about its cure, there can no question but that Trichinopoly, not Madura, would always have en the busy capital of the Nâyakkans of the south. Madura is not ited by nature to be a fortress, and could never have withstood a otracted and skilful siege The town lies in the middle of a large ain, has no rock for a citadel, and is protected by no sea, river, or orass. It depended at this time solely upon the protection afforded y its high double-wall, wide ditch, and seventy-two bastions. And lthough these works were very solidly constructed, they covered r too much ground to admit of a good defence being made by a mall body of men. The town was almost a square with sides each early a mile in length, and all equally exposed to attack: and it is asy to see that nothing less than a large army could have effectually guarded its fortifications. Indeed Visvanât'ha and Arya Nâyaga must have recognized this necessity, when they made it the special duty of the feudal chiefs to defend each one bastion and no more. And it is very possible that Periya Vîrappa became alive to the inferiority of his capital as a stronghold and basis of operations, after the rebellions of Dumbicchi and the Vilivânâthi Râja. We are told that after conquering the latter, he built a fort near Trichinopoly, and fortified Chidambara: and it seems not improbable that he then deserted Madura, and began to reside permanently in a fortress that promised him more security.

Not only was Madura inferior to Trichinopoly as a place of defence, it was also inferior as a place of residence; and more particularly in the eyes of a native. For whereas the latter town is watered by the Kâvêri, a magnificent well-filled river during part of the year, and one that rarely completely dries up; the former has a river only in exceptional seasons, and then only for a few days at a time. Besides this the epidemic fever of the country round Madura is much dreaded, and with good cause. For these and other reasons most of the Nâyakkan kings were unwilling to live in Madura; and we find that Trichinopoly was supposed by Orme and others to be the only capital of the southern country. On the death of the king his successor appears to have come to Madura as a matter of form to be crowned: and probably Madura continued to be called the capital, and was always visited from time to time by her kings, as being an especially holy place, and the abode of Brâhmans and very powerful gods, whose anger it would be in the last degree impoliti to provoke by indifference and neglect. Moreover her antiquity and the splendour and wealth of her temples would prevent her from rapidly decaying or sinking into anything like obscurity. But things would have been vastly different had not the great Tirumal made Madura his capital and done so much for her: and probably Madura would have sunk to the level of ordinary Hindû towns.

Tirumàla Sevari was not only a liberal and sumptuous prince, to be remembered as a charitable king and builder of great buildings. His reign was rendered memorable by the many wars which he waged, and the formidable rebellions which he crushed. And it was Tirumala who for the first time shook off the Vijayanagar yoke. It appears from some of the letters of the Jesuit priests, that Tirumala determined to make himself independent almost immediately after he began to reign; and that he made considerable preparations for war, in anticipation of the probable consequences of his rebellion. He massed large bodies of troops, as many as 30,000 it is said, in Trichinopoly: and residing there for a while personally supervised the reparation and strengthening of its fortifications. Besides this, he built two new fortresses on his northern frontier: and he did not return to Madura, until he had placed his kingdom in a state of defence as complete as circumstances would permit. Nevertheless, great alarm was felt by the people; and there was throughout the country a restless and excited spirit, which the general prevalence of famine by no means tended to allay. However

n the course of a few years this state of things passed away, when it was found that the dreaded armies of the Râyar did not make their appearance: and men began to believe that Madura would be eft unpunished. Looking to the fact that Tirumala found it ıecessary to put forth all his energy in preparing for invasion, and hat after all no invasion took place, it may be inferred that at this ime the Vijayanagar Empire was convulsed with internal struggles, nd that the termination of the Pennakonda dynasty in 1613 had ·'ven rise to protracted civil wars. And this inference is in perfect .rmony with the brief notice of the state of the Empire in 1630, ntained in the memoir given in the preface to Campbell's Telugu rammar.

The first war in which Tirumala engaged appears to have been a ar with Mysore. The Râja of that country, Cham Râj Udeiyâr, ıpted probably by reports of the boundless wealth and prosperity the country of the Nâyakkans, and possibly being anxious to pe out the disgrace of the defeat which his country had sustained few years previously, determined to invade and desolate the adura kingdom. And with this view he directed his General, arasura-Nandi-Râj to collect a large army; lead it through the azalhati pass; and having gained possession of all the country elow the ghauts, take Dindigul by storm; and then return home ith as much booty and glory as might be. Acting upon these structions, the Mysorean General collected troops, and throwing em promptly upon the principal fortress on the north-west frontier f Madura, soon made himself master of a considerable extent of ountry: and then hurrying to Dindigul by forced marches essayed carry that important stronghold by storm. But in this attempt was foiled. The Madura Dalavây, or Commander-in-chief and ime Minister, the famous Râmappayya, had by this time levied me troops, and marching to Dindigul rallied round him the panic-stricken Poligars of the neighbourhood, whom he compelled to furnish each his contingent of money and men. Rang'hana Nâyakkan of Dindigul contributed 7,000 gold Pons or rather more than 14,000 Rupees; and others contributed in proportion to their means. After a short time Râmappayya was in a position to offer the enemy battle, which being accepted, he defeated him with great loss and obliged him to retreat ignominiously through the pass by which he came. Râmappayya followed up his success with alacrity, and driving the enemy before him, in his turn invaded Mysore, and even went so far

n the course of a few years this state of things passed away, when it was found that the dreaded armies of the Râyar did not make their appearance: and men began to believe that Madura would be eft unpunished. Looking to the fact that Tirumala found it ıecessary to put forth all his energy in preparing for invasion, and hat after all no invasion took place, it may be inferred that at this ime the Vijayanagar Empire was convulsed with internal struggles, nd that the termination of the Pennakonda dynasty in 1613 had ·ven rise to protracted civil wars. And this inference is in perfect .rmony with the brief notice of the state of the Empire in 1630, ›ntained in the memoir given in the preface to Campbell's Telugu irammar.

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as to besiege the capital, or at all events one of the principal fortresses of that country.

He was on the point of carrying it by storm, when a peremptory order came from the King recalling him from his command. It seems that the courage and energy of the Dalavây had as usual caused amongst the other members of the government considerable jealousy and alarm; and the basest representations had been made against him, to which the King had unhappily felt compelled in a measure to give ear Râmappayya was placed therefore in a vei difficult dilemma. If he obeyed, there would be a terrible disap pointment for himself, great loss of prestige and possibly danger, for his country. If on the other hand he disobeyed the royal mandate, his traducers at head-quarters would point triumphantly to the proof of their lying statements; and perhaps decapitation (imprisonment would await him on his return. However he ha great confidence in the King's love of justice and good sense: and l resolved on doing what in his opinion seemed clearly to be his dut namely to complete his work and subdue the enemy. So he vigor ously pushed on the siege: and in the course of a few days the plac was taken. Then after a short delay, he marched back to Madu at the head of his victorious army, and accompanied by a numerous body of exultant Poligars. and having struck terror into the hearts of his enemies, sent his friend Rang'hana Nâyakkan in advance to smooth the road to the royal favor; disbanded his troops, and threw himself unreservedly upon the King's mercy.

Tirumala, like a wise prince, received him with great kindness; and instead of punishing loaded him with honors and rewards Rang'hana Nâyakkan also was highly complimented; and the exemp tion from tribute which he had enjoyed for many years was confirm ed for all time. The results of this politic conduct were precisely what might have been anticipated. The King gained the entire confidence of an able and loyal Dalavây; Rang'hana Nâyakkan became a most useful and devoted adherent; and the army attained its highest possible degree of efficiency. The government was strong and vigorous: and its inherent unsoundness was for the moment completely hidden from view.

Meanwhile the Madura mission was by no means inactive. Profiting by the comparative traquillity of the country, and protected in a great measure by the liberal policy of the King, the Jesuit fathers

had established congregations in every directi had been infused in them by Robert de Nobili his labors. In June 1623 he had come to the c authorities at Rome were no longer openly hosti resolved to gird up his loins once more for the wo felt himself called. Taking up his pilgrim's staff he q and began to preach the gospel to the inhabitants of important towns of the kingdom. First he visited thence he went north to Sendamangalam; after this for a while in Salem. In this way he made many convert whom were amongst the most powerful chiefs in the coun stimulated by his success other Missionaries devoted thems the work of proselytizing with almost equal ardour and pe ance. But there were many obstacles in their way, and the pers tion which they encountered at the hands of Brâhmans and ot though not of a very active or appalling nature, was neverthel sufficient at times to thwart their best directed efforts, and preve that wide spread of Christianity for which th inds of the people at large appeared to be fully prepared In the t of Madura, a was natural seeing that it was one of the most ancient and important strongholds of Hindûism, so great obstruction was offer Christianity that the Missionaries appear to have despaired of able to largely benefit it · and after a time they found it mo itable to establish themselves amongst people less sophist more willing to learn what they had to teach. They foun residents of Trichinopoly, who were for the most part poor a low castes, very willing to hear their message; and a flourish congregation was soon established in that town. But its extensi was successfully opposed: and after a period of unremitting persecution the Missionaries in charge of it were compelled to retire into the neighbouring jungles and seek protection from the Kalla or robber chiefs in possession of them. These men of blood and rapine, the terror of travellers and unprotected villages, seem to have listened readily to the preaching of the gospel and to have laid aside, for a time at least, the savage and lawless mode of life to which they were accustomed. Neat and trim churches sprang up here and there in the midst of their wild retreats, and the long spears with which they were used to attack the trembling merchant, and drive off herds of plundered cattle, were slowly exchanged for the plough and the sickle. And it was probably in consequence of

ıabits, that Tirumala granted the Kallans con- .and for their cultivation, free of tax.

ɜr the war with Mysore the state of the Râmnâd such, as to call for the active interference of the .hupati Kûttan, who it will be remembered was the ɔceeded the first Sêthupati about 1621, reigned pros- .ourteen years, and died in 1635 leaving a son Sadeika tter known by his title of the Dalavây Sêthupati, and Gangâyi Nâtchiyâr. The Dalavây mounted the throne .d, and reigned in quiet for two or three years; when for explained reason he publicly announced his intention of .ng his adopted son Rag'hunât'ha Têvan his successor. Upon .n illegitimate son of the deceased Kûttan, known to history y by the familiar name of the "Tambi," or younger brother, .ly opposed the Sêthupati, and declared his intention of ousting n from his seat on the throne. Coming to Madura he intrigued with some of the ministers, and so managed matters as to persuade he King to fav .is pretensions, and appoint him Sêthupati in place of the D ay. The newly appointed Sêthupati then returned Râmnâd with a large escort, and endeavoured to induce the y to submit quietly to the will of his lord. But the Sêthu- s a man of spirit; and had no idea of resigning his sceptre t a struggle. Relying on the justness of his cause, and per- too on the probability of the enemies of the commander-in throwing obstacles in the way of that officer, should he attempt arch against Râmnâd with an army sufficient to reduce it, he dly declared that he would never give up his rights, and bade the mbi and his patrons do what seemed good in their eyes. On earing of this, Tirumala perceived at once that he had placed himself in a false position: from which there was only one way of successfully extricating himself. Right or wrong, his orders must be obeyed. And as the Dalavây had refused to obey them, he must be visited without delay with the penalty of disobedience. Accordingly instructions were forthwith issued to the several Poligars to furnish large bodies of troops for the chastisement of the rebel: and Râm-appayya was directed to march against Râmnâd, and bring the Dala-vây to Madura, dead or alive. The gallant Rang'hana Nâyakkan was sent with him as his second in command; and every precaution was taken to ensure speedy and decisive success. The two Generals as was expected, acted with energy and boldness; and Râmnâd was

rmed after a somewhat protracted siege, and after a series (ıttles had been fought with varying success. But the rebelliou Sêthupati was not yet beaten He withdrew to the island of Pâmbam and having entrenched himself in a fortified camp, endeavoured tc prevent the enemy forcing a passage across the shallow channel which separated the island from the mainland. It is said too, that he procured the assistance of a number of Europeans, who came from Ceylon and Cochin in five vessels The only direct evidence of this fact, is a statement in a poem called Râmappayya, noticed by Mr. Taylor, and by Professor Wilson in his descriptive catalogue: but the probability of the story is strengthened by a statement contained in a Missionary's report of 1653 to the effect that before that time the Maravas had successfully encountered European troops on the coast. For if Europeans had found the Maravas to be foemen worthy of their steel, the circumstance of their entering into an alliance with the Sêthupati, in the hope of ultimately gaining a hold on his country, is readily intelligible and in perfect agreenent with the usual course of Indo-European politics.

However the General in command was a man quite equal to an emergency of this sort. His engineers threw a strong causeway across the channel: and in a few days' time he was enabled to march his troops over. But at the moment when victory was about to crown his efforts, Râmappayya suddenly fell sick and died. It is sai that the Sêthupati caused his death by magic; and I presume th means that he caused him to be poisoned. But whether he was poisoned or not, the death of the great Dalavây brought no profit to the Sêthupati. Siva Râmaya, the son-in-law of the deceased, succeeded to the command, and proved himself well worthy of the post. In a very short time he utterly defeated the rebel: and took him and one of his nephews, Tanakkâ Têvan, prisoners and carried them to Madura, where they were thrown into a dungeon and loaded with chains

Whilst the Dalavây Sêthupati languished in prison, the Tambi endeavoured to induce the Maravas of Râmnâd to submit quietly to his authority. But in vain. There was a strong personal feeling against him, which was no doubt strengthened not a little by a keen appreciation of the injustice of which Tirumala had manifestly been guilty. And the Dalavây had strong supporters in his kinsmen and friends. The Tambi soon discovered that he had undertaken a hopeless task. The whole country had risen to arms. The roads had become infest-

d once more with robbers And the collection of the revenue n impossibility. Whilst he hesitated, undecided how to act, Rag'h ıât'ha Têvan and his younger brother, Nârâyana Têvan, the nephew of the Dalavây, placed themselves at the head of some troops, and openly declared themselves to be the masters of Râmnâd. Upon this the Tambi retreated to Madura · and having made the King acquainted with the state of the dependency, requested to be furnished with troops and money But his request could not be granted. Whole armies of Vairâgis or religious devotees of the Vaishnava faith, had come from the countries of the north as usual to worship at Râmêshwara, and had together with many other kinds of pilgrims been disappointed of the fruits of their wearisome journeyings by the disordered state of the Râmnâd country; and accordingly they had for some time clamorously demanded of the King the restoration of the captive Dalavây. By persistently importuning and petitioning him, they at last effected their object. The Dalavây was permitted to return to Râmnâd in triumph: and the Tambi was strictly enjoined to keep the peace.

After this the Dalavây reigned for five or six years in peace: and his country had begun to recover from the effects of Râmappayya's invasion and the subsequent disturbances, when the Tambi again conspired against the Sêthupati; murdered him, and attempted to mount the throne about the year 1645. The principal Maravas however refused to obey him: and the country was once more menaced with all the horrors of civil warfare; when Tirumala interfered before things had gone too far. Being of opinion that the only way of ending these troubles was by giving each of the principal claimants of the right to govern the principality a certain amount of territory and power, he resolved to divide the Râmnâd kingdom into three portions: and about the year 1646 the sub-division containing the capital was made over to Rag'hunât'ha Têvan, whilst Sivagangei was allotted to the Tambi; and Tiruvâdânei to Tanakkâ Têvan and Nârâyana Têvan, the two younger brothers of Rag'hunât'ha Têvan, conjointly. The power of the Sêthupati was thus apparently broken: and Tirumala hoped that the unpleasant Râmnâd question was once for all settled. But in this he was mistaken. Tanakkâ Têvan died shortly afterwards: and Rag'hunât'ha Têvan took advantage of the occasion to annex his country to his own. And there was every probability of his coming into collision with the Tambi again, when, to the great comfort of the Madura government, that troublesome

ad unscrupulous intriguer suddenly died. In consequence of this, ag'hunât'ha Têvan became without difficulty sole master of the whole 'the three sub-divisions. And as he had shortly before, in connection with the Tambi, taken the towns of Manârkôvil, Pattu-kôt-', Dîvu-kôttei, Arundângi and Tiruvârûr from the Tanjore kingdom, e territories of Ramnâd were now more extensive than they had een for a very long time.

About the year 1653 the whole country was thrown into a state of great nervous excitement by the spreading in every direction of one of the mysterious and extraordinary rumours, which in eastern ands spring up from time to time, no one knows where or how, and after causing much speculation and alarm in the minds of even the wisest, suddenly die out at last of sheer exhaustion. It had been confidently predicted by several of those idle impostors who roam bout from village to village, singing lewd songs and begging alms n God's name, that within a few days' time there would come from he north an infant Emperor of divine birth, who would upset all xisting institutions, and usher in a millennium of peace, plenty and appiness. And this prediction was soon believed by Hindûs of all asses. If any man was bold enough to laugh at the folly of his eighbours, and to expose the falsehood of those who deceived them, e was speedily silenced by frightful curses and threats of God's rath: and in a short time the religious mendicants had obtained universal credence for their story, and had collected large sums of noney from their dupes for the use, as they said, of the divine Saviour f the peoples. After a while, the news was bruited about that the fant and his mother had reached Bangalore and were on their way Madura, and the greatest excitement prevailed. Every one was urning with the desire to see the distinguished foreigners: and any of the Poligars publicly announced their readiness to pay them ribute. But the Saviour never came. It was true that a certain roman and a certain child had been brought to Bangalore by the propagators of the rumour, and vast multitudes had gone thither to pay their respects and offer presents to the Emperor: but after queezing all that was to be got out of the pretenders, the Mahomedan rulers of Bangalore had cut off their heads, and ordered their followers to disperse without a moment's delay. Even then the illusion was not altogether dispelled; and by declaring that the infant, although killed for the moment, would presently rise again from the dead and do all that had been promised in his behalf, the

promoters of the grand scheme contrived to plunder for sometim longer a by no means inconsiderable portion of the people of th Madura kingdom. The writer of the letter in which this extraordinai imposture is described has not recorded the name of the infai prodigy; but I have no doubt it was Vîra B'ḥôga Vasanta Râyā whose miraculous birth and awful reign have been so frequent prophesied, and were expected in the south no farther back than the year 1866 by large numbers of natives, many of whom were men of some education and position.

We have now come to the last and by far the most important period in Tirumala's reign Having watched the course of events in South India for many years, the King resolved at last to abandon entirely the policy of isolation which his predecessors had hitherto been compelled to pursue; to enter into alliances with foreign powers; to take part in the political movements which were agitating the Peninsula and if possible to raise Madura to a far higher position than she had as yet filled in the eyes of the Hindû world. As a first step, it wa of course necessary to sever the connection between his country an that of his Lord Paramount, the Emperor of Vijayanagar, or th Narasinga as he was styled, and to render Madura in every sense fre and independent. It will be remembered that at the very commence ment of his reign Tirumala had omitted to pay tribute to the successoı of Venkatapati Râyar; and that as far as is known no evil conse quences flowed from his revolt But at a later period, when and undeı what circumstances I have been unable to discover, the great Nâyakkaı was compelled to acknowledge once more the supremacy of the sove reign power: and towards the close of his reign, though not actuall paying tribute, he was nevertheless in the custom of annually sendin an embassy with valuable presents and compliments to the court ‹ his Lord, which was now held at Vellore. And, moreover, he was i constant expectation of his country being invaded and desolated b the Râyar's troops, whenever the Mahometan kings of Golkonda an the Dekkan should desist for a while from menacing and pressing on the Hindû Empire on their southern frontiers, or whenever a more able and energetic Râyar should come into power. And at last th second of these two contingencies came to pass. The Râyar died; an was succeeded by his son, a vigorous and resolute prince, who at once declared war against Tirumala, and prepared to march southwards, at the head of a large and formidable army.

In the meantime, Tirumala had induced the Nâyakkan Kings of

Tanjore and Gingi to join him in his rebellion, and the Narasinga found that of all his tributaries the King of Mysore alone remained faithful to him. However the mean and cowardly Nâyakkan of Tanjore soon grew alarmed at the warlike attitude of the Narasinga; withdrew from the league without notice; and after informing the Narasinga of the plans of the confederates, formally tendered his submission. Upon this the Narasinga marched at once upon Gingi, and threatened to lay siege to that strong fortress.

But his plans were entirely disconcerted by a stroke of policy for which he was by no means prepared. Tirumala had entered into an offensive alliance with the government of Golkonda, and as soon as the Narasinga turned his face southwards and began to march, the Souba of Golkonda invaded his territories and desolated several districts with fire and sword. Upon this the Narasinga retraced his steps, and having come up with the enemy succeeded in driving him back with some loss across the frontier. But this was merely a momentary success. The Souba, enraged at his repulse, put himself at the head of a large army, and attacked and defeated the Narasinga. and after a while the latter came to perceive that he was utterly unable to cope single-handed with his powerful neighbour. Accordingly he resolved to throw himself upon the generosity of his unruly vassals in the south, and induce them if possible by argument and fair promises to join him in resisting the common foe. With this object he marched southwards and commenced negociations with the Nâyakkans. The justice of his arguments was at once admitted; and his fair promises were returned with interest, numberless interviews took place; sumptuous entertainments were given without end; and for a time nothing could be more cordial, apparently, than the relations between the Emperor and the three Kings of the south. But nothing came of t all: and a whole year slipped by, during which the Souba consolidated his acquisitions, and securely garrisoned the strong places which he had taken; and at the end of it the Narasinga discovered to his mortification, that he was no nearer the attainment of his object than on the day when he quitted his capital. On the contrary, jealousies and dissensions had sprung up amongst those whom he was so anxious to conciliate: and he was now without friends, and without power. In despair he attempted to entrench himself in the jungles north of Tanjore, in the occupation of tribes of Kallans. But here he was overtaken by a succession of misfortunes, such as have seldom fallen to the lot of a powerful monarch. His courtiers forsook him

the few troops that had remained faithful to him quickly dispersed, and sought their homes; and after four months passed in danger and actual privation and hardship, he who had so recently been one of the mightiest and richest princes in all India, had now no resource left, but to humbly crave protection at the hands of the Râja of Mysore, who had till lately been his vassal. Happily his request was granted; and more than that, he was treated in a manner not unbecoming his position and rank.

Shortly after this the Souba of Golkonda determined to extend his conquests in the south: and having subdued the Narasinga, to reduce to submission all the Narasinga's tributaries. With this object he marched straight upon Gingi. The craven Nâyakkan of Tanjore, alarmed at this menace, without so much as waiting to see what would come of the invasion, hastened to secure his own safety by immediate submission to the Souba: to whom he sent an embassy, assuring him that he was his faithful and very obedient servant But Tirumala was by no means prepared to follow this example. He saw no reason to swerve from the line of policy which he had marked out for himself: and resolved, since the Tanjorean had gone over to the enemy, to cause a diversion by inducing Idal Khân, the Souba of the Dekkan, to join him in defending Gingi. An embassy to this prince was so far successful as to procure the dispatch of 17,000 cavalry to the assistance of Tirumala, who joined the force with 30,000 of his own infantry; and without delay marched to the relief of Gingi. He had hardly reached that fortress however, when to his rage and mortification the General in command of his allies went over to the enemy with his whole force; and commenced to besiege the town which he had been sent to defend.

Tirumala was thus placed in a position of great difficulty and danger: but fortunately for him some of the adherents of the Narasinga had been levying troops and causing disturbances in the northern parts of his lost dominions; and in consequence of this the Souba of Golkonda was compelled to fall back, and relinquish the personal conduct of the siege. Upon this the Madura troops entered Gingi; and as the place was not only very strong by nature, but admirably fortified, numerously garrisoned, and furnished with abundance of artillery, ammunition, and military stores of all kinds, as well as with provisions sufficient for a siege of considerable duration, there appeared to be no possibility of the enemy either taking it by assault or starving out its defenders. In these circumstances

Tirumala was beginning to hope that the treachery of his allies would after all do him but little harm: when a most unexpected event upset all his calculations, and reduced him in a moment to the greatest straits. His soldiers, being men of different castes and religions from those of the soldiers of Gingi, quarrelled with them daily; and at last their animosity grew so violent that a general riot took place; in the midst of which the gates of the fortress were thrown open to the enemy, and the richest city in South India was taken almost without resistance, and given up to pillage. The booty was enormous. Gold and silver in large quantities, and heaps of rare pearls, and precious stones of large size and of the finest water, rewarded the patience of the besiegers; and at the same time incited them to fresh conquests and more extensive invasions.

Tirumala retreated in dismay to Madura, and shut himself up in his fortress, awaiting with anxiety the progress of events: but hoping that at all events Madura was too far from the enemy to invite attack. In this however he was mistaken. Flushed with victory, the Mahometans soon burst upon Tanjore, which offered no resistance: and thence they came on to Madura, spreading ruin and desolation over the whole face of the country. At this juncture Tirumala's courage forsook him, or treachery amongst his people compelled him to act in opposition to his judgment, and he ignominiously yielded up his kingdom to the enemy without a struggle. A large sum of money was paid over to the Mahometan General on the spot, and a yearly tribute was agreed upon: and thus, without a drop of blood having been spilt in battle, Madura became a dependency of Vijayapûr. After this the Mahometans marched off to their own country, laden with spoil: and Tirumala was left to reflect at his leisure upon the downfal of all his hopes and aspirations, and the eternal disgrace to which he had been subjected. Whatever may have been the nature of his reflections on this occasion, it is certain that they were productive of no good. The Jesuit writer in whose letter the foregoing events are recorded observes that instead of combining together as they ought against the Mahometans, the Nâyakkans of Tanjore and Madura seemed resolved to revenge themselves for their misfortunes by inflicting the most horrible sufferings on their own subjects. His words disclose so remarkable a state of things that I cannot but quote them. He says, the Nâyakkans « Ne pensèrent qu'à tourmenter leurs propres sujets, que leur imprudence et leur lâcheté avaient déjà livrés aux

"horreurs de l'invasion ennemie. Leur orgueil sembla se consoler "des humiliations et des bassesses qui les avaient déshonorés, en "appesantissant le jong de leur despotisme sur leurs peuples. Les "concussions et les spoliations recommencèrent avec une telle cruauté "qu'elles firent universellement regretter la domination des Mogols."

Whilst they were thus occupied, the Narasinga took advantage of an opportunity which presented itself, to re-enter his own country and once more try the fortune of war. With the assistance of an army of Mysoreans he contrived to regain possession of a portion of his dominions, and to defeat a Golkonda army in a pitched battle. This success led to others; and there seemed to be a fair prospect of the ancient empire being re-established, though within narrower limits; when Tirumala, with incredible folly, again entered into an alliance with the Mahometans, and throwing open to them the southern passage of the ghauts, invited them to invade Mysore. His proposal was listened to, Mysore was invaded, and a general war ensued, which resulted in the final destruction of the re-born Empire, and the humbling of Mysore However on returning in triumph from that country the Mahometans came down to Madura, and levied an enormous tribute from their humble friend, and then moving on to Tanjore, treated its Nâyakkan in a like manner

So far therefore from gaining anything by these measures, Tirumala found himself considerably poorer and weaker than he was before. And not only had he ruined the Emperor, who alone could save him from the relentless Mahometans, who had by this time become periodical invaders of his country; but he had also made an implacable foe of the Râja of Mysore, who would no doubt have gladly joined him in withstanding the common enemy, had Tirumala only been wise enough to make him his friend But he was not wise enough to do this: and now a new danger was added to the old The Râja of Mysore, thirsting for vengeance on account of the sufferings to which he had been exposed by Tirumala's unpatriotic and treacherous behaviour, declared war against Madura; and sent a large army to seize and occupy the rich province of Sattiyamangalam The reduction of this country having been effected with the greatest ease, the Mysorean General resolved to attack Madura itself; and without waiting for permission from his master, marched rapidly upon Tirumala's capital · and so sudden was the movement, that the King found himself utterly unprepared for the emergency. The was no time to call out the Poligars; the household troops we

wholly unequal to the task of repelling the invaders, and Tirumala being ill at the time, and no longer a young man, lost his wits and was reduced to a state of despair. However he sent off an express to the Sêthupati to march at once to his assistance; and in order to show unmistakeably the desperate plight in which he found himself to be, so worded the despatch as to make it appear to be sent by the Queen, and not by himself. The Sêthupati gallantly obeyed the call; assembled 25,000 men without a moment's delay, and suddenly marching them up between the walls of Madura and the camp of the enemy, proclaimed to the King that for the present at all events he was safe. Recovering his courage Tirumala thereupon collected 35,000 of the royal troops; and having effected a junction with the Marava army, offered the enemy battle. But the Mysorean commander did not feel himself strong enough to risk a general engagement: and so attempted to gain time, hoping that some expected reinforcements would make their appearance; and also hoping that he might be able to seduce Tirumala's General, a crafty Brâhman, by the offer of a handsome bribe. The latter expectation was realized: and although superior in numbers, the Madura army was for some time prevented from closing with the enemy. But the Maravans were under no such control, and after raising a cry of treason, and thrusting the traitor into prison, fell on the Mysorean army with great fury and after a sharp encounter put them to the rout.

The enemy fell back upon a fortress, probably Dindigul, for they would scarcely have ventured to leave so strong a fort in the hands of the King, when advancing against his capital; and there awaited the coming of fresh troops. In the course of a few days the Mysorean received a reinforcement of about 20,000 men; and relying on this addition to his strength, offered battle. Upon this a sanguinary engagement took place, resulting in the total defeat of the invaders, after a loss on either side of nearly 12,000 killed. The Mysorean therefore fled back through the ghauts in great disorder: and Madura was once more free from danger.

Tirumala was so well pleased with the courage and conduct of the Sêthupati, that he determined to reward it in a right princely fashion. He bestowed on him all kinds of valuable presents; and gave him the title of Tirumala Sêthupati, and also that of Protector of the Queen's *tâli*, because he had rescued her husband from danger. He also gave him the privilege of using the lion-faced palanquin peculiar to the royal house of Madura; relieved him for ever from the

duty of paying tribute; and added to his dominions the large village of Tiruppûvanam, Tiruchuli, and Pallimadam. The dependency thus enlarged, was of very considerable extent; and capable in those days of wielding a notable influence over the politics of Southern India. And it would seem to be doubtful at first sight whether Tirumala and his father exercised a sound discretion in gradually raising up so powerful a neighbour, in the room of a humble and comparatively feeble vassal. But perhaps the Sêthupati's exaltation was unavoidable. For his fidelity had been of late years most remarkable, and he had rendered invaluable service on more than one occasion. Once he had repelled an incursion of Mahometans, headed by a leader of the name of Khûb (? Kutb) Khân; in return for which he was honored with the title of "he who propped up the kingdom," and also received permission to celebrate the "nine nights' festival" in his own capital, and with the same pomp and magnificence with which it was celebrated at Madura. Then at a later period he had stamped out a formidable rebellion. For some reason which cannot now be discovered the powerful Poligar of Ettiyapuram in the Tinnevelly District put himself at the head of a confederation of Poligars, and took up arms against the King: and the Sêthupati, being the chief of all the Poligars, was entrusted with the duty of quelling the rebellion and performed it most satisfactorily. The leader of the rebels was put to death, and the others severely punished, and in a few months tranquillity was completely restored. And for this service he was given a large slice of land in the neighbourhood of Manârkôvil in the Tinnevelly country, saddled with the trifling responsibility of protecting its pearl-fishery, which yielded considerable sums of money to the royal treasury. Rag'hunât'ha Têvan was therefore a most trusty vassal and well deserved the rewards and honors that were heaped upon him. Nor did he ever give his lord occasion to repent having placed so much confidence in him. He continued for many years to reign quietly at Râmnâd, abstaining from all intrigue, and occupying himself with the improvement of his country. Amongst other things, he built a village at Râmêshwara, to which Râmappayya had made access practicable by the construction of his permanent causeway during the war with the Dalavây: and from this circumstance he took the title of "the master of Râmêshwara."

The Mysoreans having been completely defeated and driven out of the country, Tirumala's spirit began to revive: and he now

'earned for revenge. Not only had he been very much frightened, and is country devastated by the enemy: but the invasion had been haracterized by circumstances of ferocity and brutality such as, even n those unhappy times, had been rarely equalled and perhaps never urpassed. Acting under the direct orders of the Râja of Mysore, he invaders had cut off the noses of all their prisoners, and sent hem in sacks to Seringapatam as glorious trophies. Not only was this barbarity practised in the case of combatants, though that had een sufficiently atrocious: but old and feeble men, tender women, ven young children, all in fact who had the misfortune to fall into the clutches of these monsters, were treated in the same inhuman fashion; and the whole country was filled with the groans and curses of those who besides being horribly mutilated, had been everlastingly disgraced in the eyes of every Hindû. Tirumala resolved therefore to retaliate, and having called before him his younger brother, prince Kumâra Muttu, ordered him to collect a large body of troops, and invade and devastate Mysore, adding at the same time that he expected him to treat the Râja in the same manner as the Râja had treated his poor subjects.

In obedience to these orders Kumâra Muttu speedily put himself t the head of a large army; and marching to Dindigul, was there oined by Rang'hana Nâyakkan and the eighteen Poligars. Losing no ime by unnecessary delays, he broke up his camp; and marching ay and night in the direction of the enemy, who had heard of his pproach, contrived to fall on him unawares and defeated him with reat loss. After this several fortresses opened their gates to him, nd were occupied and garrisoned: and he was able after a few days o attack the enemy's capital. It does not appear whether or no Seringapatam was taken by storm. But by some means the Râja was taken prisoner, and Kumâra Muttu had the supreme pleasure of cutting off the barbarian's nose, and sending it to Madura with those of thousands of prisoners to delight Tirumala's eyes.

This bloody war, which was always spoken of as the "hunt for oses," was thus brought to a close in 1659: and Kumâra Muttu as about to march home in triumph, when he heard the unexpected ews of the King's death. After a most eventful reign of six and hirty years Tirumala had died in his capital, when between 60 and 0 years of age.

The actual cause of Tirumala's death is not recorded in any work hat I have come across: but there exist some curious and interesting

traditions touching its circumstances. One of them is to the following effect. Tirumala persistently showed great favor to a pretended Gnyâni or sage, who was really a Christian Missionary i disguise. This teacher at last gained so extraordinary an ascendanc over the King's mind, that he almost if not quite converted him t Christianity; and the King began to refuse to spend any more mone in building temples and performing acts of religious charity. Th Brâhmans were greatly enraged at this; and determined to murde him. Accordingly two or three of them, headed by a *B'hattan* o officiating priest of the temple named Kula S'hêk'hara, went to th King and informed him with much mystery that they had discovere a secret treasure-house in a vault under the great Pagoda of Mînâkshi; and that if he would go with them they would point it out to him. They added, at the same time, that it would be necessary fo him to go without any attendants. Tirumala had not the slightest suspicion of foul play and went with them at once. He was admitted into the vault; a large stone which closed its entrance was immediately fastened down; and the unfortunate man was left to perish miserably by starvation. The Brâhmans then gave out that Tirumala had been translated to heaven by the goddess Mînâkshi, while worshipping in the Pagoda; and forthwith proceeded t crown his son. This tradition seems at first sight very childish an incredible. But the more closely it is examined and analysed, th more reasonable and trustworthy will it appear: and it is assuredl deserving of attention. In the first place, the Brâhmans woul never allow their crime to become matter of history if they coul possibly help it: and hence the silence of the native manuscript on this point. In the next place it is known for certain tha Robert de Nobilibus founded an important mission in the town o Madura in Tirumala's reign; and during many years of labor mad a very considerable number of converts with the direct countenanc and assistance of the King. We also know that he was obliged t leave Madura and go to a distant part of India in 1651, and tha his mission suddenly declined and almost died out soon afterward and a persecution ensued, which resulted a few years later in th martyrdom of John de Britto. Then again, Robert de Nobilib always professed to be a high-caste Brâhman from Rome: and alwa dressed and lived up to that character. Lastly the alleged mode the murder was not only one of the few modes in which Brâhma could conscientiously commit that crime, being one which woul

cause no blood to flow, no immediate and obvious pollution: it also enabled the Brâhmans to gull the populace with the story of the victim's translation.

Another story is to the effect that Tirumala had an intrigue with the wife of a *B'hattan,* and used to visit her secretly at night. Walking home in the dark after one of his interviews with her, he fell into an unprotected well in the *B'hattan's* garden and was drowned. The *B'hattan* was terribly frightened when he discovered what had happened: and to avoid suspicion, immediately filled in the well with earth. He then told some of the leading Brâhmans what he had done; and they gave out that the goddess had translated her favorite.

Other and more improbable traditions are in existence: but the two I have narrated are those most commonly heard. With regard to the credibility of the latter of the two accounts above given, it is of course open to the observation that it looks like a story cleverly concocted by the Brâhmans after the true story, whatever it was, had got into circulation; and that its very existence adds to a certain extent to the probability of the truth of the former. But on the other hand, it seems reasonable to suppose that if Tirumala was murdered by Brâhmans enraged at his Christian proclivities, the fact could not have escaped the knowledge of the Jesuits living in the country at the time; and that knowing the fact, they would have recorded it in their letters; whereas so far from recording any thing to this effect, they incidentally observe that Tirumala never was converted, but died as he had lived an impenitent sinner. And as I know of no sufficient grounds for supposing, as some have supposed, that in saying this the Jesuits were guilty of a wilful and artful falsehood, it seems to me that we must believe that their statement to be strictly true; and that Tirumala was not converted: and if he was not actually converted, why should he be murdered after reigning thirty-six years, and eight years after Robert de Nobilibus left Madura?

The only passage apparently in which Tirumala's death is spoken of by a Jesuit writer is one which occurs in a letter written just after it took place, by Father Proenza, and dated Trichinopoly 1659. It seems to hint at a sudden death: but certainly not at a murder. However it will be well to quote it, particularly as it

gives the writer's view of Tirumala's character. The passage is as follows:—

« Tiroumalei-Nayaken n'eut pas le temps de jouir de cette victoire ; « il fut appelé à rendre compte à Dieu des maux que sa perfide « politique avait attirés sur son peuple et sur les royaumes voisins. « Il mourut á l'âge de soixante-quinze ans, après trente années deregne. « On ne peut lui refuser de grandes qualités; mais il en ternit la « gloire vers la fin de sa vie par des vices et des folies que rien ne « saurait justifier. Son règne fut illustré par des ouvrages d'une « magnificence vraiment royale; de ce nombre sont la pagode de « Maduré, quelques édifices publics, et surtout le palais royal dont « les proportions colossales et la hardiesse étonnante rappellent les « anciens monuments de Thébes. Il aimait et protégeait la religion « chrétienne dont il reconnaissait l'excellence; mais il n'eut jamais « le courage d'accepter les conséquences de sa conviction. Le plus « grand obstacle á sa conversion vint de ses deux cents femmes, dont « les plus distinguées furent brûlées sur son bûcher, selon la coutume « barbare de ces nations."

It should perhaps be observed in concluding this account of Tirumala, that it is supposed by certain natives of Madura that his title Sevari, which is so commonly adopted by native Christians, points to the fact of his conversion. But a Pundit whom I questioned about this circumstance was of opinion that it was no evidence for or against the fact of Tirumala's conversion; inasmuch as Sevari was the name of a certain god, and might well be adopted by an orthodox Hindû, though it certainly never was a common title amongst men of good castes.

CHAPTER VII.

rumala's territories and forts.—The Government.—Modification of its constitution.—Office of Dalavây.—Villages. —Nâdus.—The land revenue.—Division of the crop.—he Poligar's share.—Wretched state of the ryot in Tanjore.—The crown lands, and what they yielded.—The tribute.—Imposts on land.—Taxes.—The pearl and conch-shell fisheries.—The total revenue.—Tirumala's expenditure.—The Army.—The Civil Service.—The Church. —Public Works.—The Palace.—The Vasanta-mantapam. —The Teppa-kulam.—The Râyar-gôpuras.—The Tamakam.—Education.—The Madura University.—Police and Criminal Justice.—Civil Justice.—Large balances in the Treasury, and how they were spent.—The Zenana.—Large establishments.—Profuse expenditure of money.—Tirumala's daily life—Distribution of wealth.—The merchant's chance.—State of the ryots.—Social condition of the people.—The extinction of the Nâyakkan dynasty a blessing to the country.

FTER narrating the principal events which distinguished the reign f the greatest of the Nâyakkans, it would be a most agreeable task) describe in this chapter with sufficient accuracy the mode of overnment practised by Tirumala Sevari; to roughly calculate his evenues, resources and establishments; to give an account of the ildings which he built; to draw in outline the prominent features f his social life, and of that of his nobles and the people over whom e ruled; and lastly, to give a general idea of the attainments and haracters of the officers who served him: but unhappily the necesary materials are almost wholly wanting, and as the letters and anuscripts hitherto m... se of throw but a very dim light on all ...ers as the above, I can only endeavour to string together bearing ... on them which appear with some distinctness,

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and present the aggregate as a connected and intelligible whole. so doing I cannot of course vouch for the accuracy of all my co- sions; and they must be taken for what they are worth.

The several territories under the rule of Tirumala appea have been the following, viz:—the Tinnevelly country, a portio the Travancore; the Madura; the Dindigul; the Marava, or Râ nâd and Sivagangei; the Kalla; the Puthu-kôttei; the Manapâ the Coimbatore; the Salem; and the Trichinopoly. The grea part of the lands constituting these several territories were hel military feuds by the Poligars. The Sêthupati and the various c subordinate to him did homage: but paid no tribute. The Kin Travancore paid tribute but only when compelled. The king was protected from invasion by forts built by the Nâyakk at the following places, viz:—Dindigul; Dârâpuram; Coimbato Taneiya Nâyakkan's fort; Sattiyamangalam; Andiyûr; Erro Kângeiyam fort; Vijayamangalam; Caroor; Nâmakal; Sên mandalam; Salem; Mêlûr; Sankei-giri: Sâmapalli; Kâvêrip fort; Attûr; Anantagiri; Aravakuricchi; Mugalûr; Sakkagi Mâmatti fort; and Sekamagiri.

Tirumala's government appears to have been a despotism of purest kind, checked only by the fear of insurrection on the part the people, and of rebellion on the part of his nobles and the m powerful of the officers who administered the affairs of the coun under his orders. But this fear must have been both lively a ever present; and there are good grounds for supposing that Ti mala and the Nâyakkans generally, seldom ventured to do dee altogether repugnant to such ideas of justice and morality as the ignorant and obstinate subjects had inherited from countless gener tions of ancestors. They doubtless both committed themselves, an permitted the commission by others of the greatest crimes: but the were nevertheless many things which they durst not attempt to d and there existed a well-defined public opinion which it was nev quite safe for them to insult.

According to the *Sathagam* of Manavâla Nârâyanan, a very popu lar Tamil work, a Hindû King's principal ministers, (perhaps i would be more correct to call them Head Departments,) were si in number, and had clearly distinguish- uties to perform: and doubt his statement is to some exten plicable to the N government.

The Mantri.—The first of these six in order, if not in importan. was the Mantri or Chief Counsellor, whose business was to aid th King by his advice in the general administration of the affairs of the kingdom. It was only after private consultation with him that the King ought to decide upon the advisability of declaring war or making peace; of imposing a new tax; of making a new law; of undertaking a great public work; and in fact upon every question of moment. He was or ought to be the great repository of official precedents and knowledge; and directly responsible for all blunders and mishaps. It does not appear from the Sathagam that he had any executive duties: and probably he was strictly speaking nothing more than an adviser, in whose wisdom and honesty the King was accustomed to place great confidence.

The Dalakartan was the commander of the troops in the capital; and had no other duty than that of conquering the King's enemies, domestic and foreign.

The Pradâni was the minister of finance, and was entrusted with the collection of the revenues, and the entire internal administration of the country.

The Rayasam was the King's confidential secretary; and his business was to draft correspondence; prepare grants and orders; remember precedents; and keep notes of all important transactions His duties were of a high order · and his position rather exalted.

The Kanakkan or accountant, was responsible for the correctness of all accounts touching the expenditure and receipt of revenue. His office was highly important, and considered to be very honorable. It was a common saying that he "must keep his account as ue as the sun; or even if the sun should happen to rise in the est, his account must not vary"

The St'hândpati or ambassador represented the King his master in oreign Courts. He resided ordinarily at head-quarters, but was ent abroad whenever his services seemed to be required. He needed o be a good observer, fluent of speech, ever ready with a lie, and well acquainted with the politics, peculiarities, customs, and etiquette of the various countri with the rulers of which the King had dealings. ade u

These six are the only n T c ers mentioned by the author of th thagam, and they sufficed p haps in early times for the gov

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nent of ordinary Hindû kingdoms: but in Tirumala's time a much more extensive establishment was employed, and it was very differently constituted. Great changes had been carried out by Arya Nâyaga, when he first came to Madura: and as he remained in power for so many years, the system which he established had in all probability become fixed and permanent. The most important of these changes was the abolition of the offices of Mantri and Dalakartan, and the substitution in their place of that of a Dalavây, who was both prime minister and commander-in-chief of the King's armies.

The office of Dalakartan having been abolished, it became necessary to provide for the safety of the capital in the absence of Arya Nâyaga; and an officer styled "the Dalakartan of the fort" seems to have been appointed to command the troops which formed the garrison of Madura In the course of time this officer began to superintend the police, and to perform other important duties: and before the commencement of the eighteenth century he had become a very powerful official; as is clearly shown by an inscription in the granite doorway of the eastern tower of the great Pagoda, which tells us that in 1709 the Dalakartan of the fort had been engaged in putting down a serious disturbance within the town arising from the unjust taxation by the people of the Palace of certain Church lands In order to restore quiet, he remitted the obnoxious tax; and granted to the injured parties an exemption from payment of a certain octro duty on paddy coming into the fort; and also granted a piece of land to a certain family free of tax for ever.

The commander of the fortress of Trichinopoly seems to have been vested with like powers within the limits of his jurisdiction.

The Sîmei manyakâran appears to have been the Revenue offic in charge of the collections of the Madura province or country imm diately attached to the capital. There were doubtless other office of equal or nearly equal rank in charge of the Trichinopoly and othe provinces, but I do not happen to have come across any reference them.

Then there was the Collector of customs; an official who no doul had ample opportunities of amassing wealth, and enjoyed considerabl influence.

Another and much higher official was the Administrator or Gove nor of the Tinnevelly country When the King lived in Madura, s highly necessary to place a man of ability in charge Kal

Southern Province, and vest him with large powers: and it becam still more necessary to do this when Trichinopoly was made the capital. The manuscript translated by Mr. Taylor in the O. H. MSS. styled "the reign of Ranga-Krishna-Nâyakkan" shows clearly how great was the authority exercised by this officer, and how sumptuous the style in which he lived.

Next in importance to the Governor of the Tinnevelly country was the Governor of the rich province of Sattiyamangalam: and after him came the governors of less important tracts attached to the King's government, who were probably the Dalakartans of the principal royal forts.

The Officer in charge of the great Palace probably enjoyed considerable power and influence; but nothing certain can be gathered with regard to the duties of his office

Lastly, there were the officers who exercised revenue and magisterial jurisdiction over more or less extensive tracts of country, which formed the territory immediately administered by the King's servants. Amaldârs and other subordinate officials were first appointed by the Mahometans, and belong altogether to their system of government. but there seems to be some evidence going to show that those offices existed under the Nâyakkans

Thus the King employed ministers, secretaries and high officials other than those mentioned in the Sathagam; whilst on the other hand some of the Nâyakkans considered it unnecessary to maintain the customary staff, and sometimes two or more offices were rolled into one and conferred on the same individual. For instance, Arya Nâyaga was appointed both Dalakartan and Mantri. It seems probable, by the way, that the office of Mantri declined in importance at a comparatively early period; and if it survived, was quite a sinecure in the time of Tirumala and his successors This can be well accounted for on the hypothesis that, having no executive duties, the Mantri seldom had any real power, and was liable to be thrust altogether on one side, if personally disliked by the King or by one of the more powerful ministers

The system of revenue administration in vogue in the time of Tirumala appears to have been the following The kingdom consisted, s Collectorate now consists, of an aggregate of villages or town- or *municipia*, each of which had its own unchangeable bo

tries, and was peopled by an isolated community whose local affairs were regulated by hereditary head-men or chiefs. Each of them possessed its own magistrate, revenue officers, policemen, and other functionaries; and as far as its social and municipal well-being was concerned, was quite independent of the King's government except in times of invasion And even in such times it could protect itself to a certain extent, if sufficiently large to contain a town and fort, or even a space protected by a mud wall.

The villages varied infinitely in size and importance, and were differently denominated according as they contained many or few houses and inhabitants. Then again they were differently styled according as their inhabitants were Brâhmans or non-Brâhmans, Tamils or foreigners. Thus a considerable village occupied by Telugus or Kanarese was usually called an *ûr*; a small Kalla village a *patti* or *kuricchi*; a fortified village bore the title of *kôttei*; a village rich in rice-lands and belonging to Brâhmans sometimes bore that of *mangalam*; while ordinary Tamil villages were *grâmas* or *kudis*

In order to facilitate the collection of revenue from these several villages, they were grouped together in groups more or less numerous according to circumstances, and formed into territorial divisions more or less extensive, over each of which was placed an administrative officer vested with large powers whose chief duty was to control the headmen.

These territorial divisions, like the villages, were differently denominated in different parts of the country; and like them varied most considerably in extent and importance. In the Marava country a collection of a few villages for administrative purposes was termed a *mâhânam.* The Kallans called their districts *nâdus.* And the district or county immediately attached to the capital was known in early times as the "excellent *nâdu* of Mad'hurâ." Whether the Vellâlans and cultivating castes generally used the term *nâdu*, I have been unable to discover; but it seems probable, looking to the signatures to Kûn Pândya's inscription (see ante pages 59 and 60,) that many of them did use it. At the same time it is by no means certain that the term *nâdu*, as applied to a county or district, had not fallen into disuse before Tirumala mounted the throne. An inscription of his time shows that the largest divisions of the kingdom proper were called *sîmeis*: and I have not come across the word *nâdu* in writing referring to modern times except in connection with

affairs. Very possibly it had come to mean a much smaller division, consisting only of a few villages: and if so, the fact of its signification being altered would account for the fact that the word *nâttânmeikâran,* which means properly the ruler of a nâdu, is now used and has apparently been used for a long time in the sense of head of a single village, or at the most of two or three connected villages with their hamlets and dependencies.

These divisions having been made, the collection of the revenue was easily effected. The revenue officers of the villages, who were styled in the Marava and Kalla districts *ambalakârans,* and in ordinary Tamil districts *manyakârans,* collected the King's taxes from the villagers through their accountants the *kanakku-pilleis,* and remitted the collections to the officers in charge of *nâdus, sîmeis* and *nâhânams;* and these officers accounted for them to the *Pradâni* or minister of finance.

The royal revenues appear to have been derived for the most part from the land, and collected as a rule in kind; the produce of the lands of each village being divided between the ryots or tenant-farmers who cultivated them and the King, who was generally speaking the sole landlord of all lands not granted in perpetuity to Poligars and other nobles, or to Brâhmans, Churches, and charitable institutions. The proportion of produce which the ryots enjoyed depended in a great measure on two things, the rapacity of the King's superior collectors, and the power of deceiving those collectors possessed by the petty local officials: but the theory on which the collections were made seems to have been that he was entitled to exactly half of the gross out-turn, and in some instances he was so fortunate as to obtain his moiety.

As it is still obstinately taken for granted by many people that in the good old times and under purely Hindû governments, the cultivator of the soil usually enjoyed from three-fourths to nine-tenths of the produce raised by him, it will be well to preclude the possibility of this mistake being hereafter made with respect to what used to be the Madura country by quoting an extract from a letter of a Jesuit, Father Vico, dated Madura, 30th August 1611, in which the proprietary rights of the ryots or tenant-farmers are defined with remarkable precision and clearness. The passage runs as follows:—

"Le roi ou grand Nayaker de Maduré n'a que peu de domaines qui "dépendent immédiatement de lui, c'est à dire qui soient sa propriété

" (car dans ce pays les grands sont seuls propriétaires et les peuples " ne sont que leurs fermiers); toutes les autres terres sont les domaines " d'une foule de petits princes ou seigneurs tributaires; ces derniers " ont, chacun dans leur domaine la pleine administration de la police " et de la justice, si toutefois justice il y a; ils lèvent les contributions " qui comprennent au moins la moitié du produit des terres; ils en " font trois parts, dont la première est réservée comme tribut au grand " Nayaker, la seconde est employée à soudoyer les troupes que le " seigneur doit lui fournir en cas de guerre, la troisième appartient au " seigneur. Le grand Nayaker de Maduré, ainsi que ceux de Tanjaour " et de Gingi, sont eux-mêmes tributaires du Bisnagar, à qui ils paient " ou doivent payer chacun un tribut annuel de six à dix millions de " francs Mais ils ne sont pas exacts à s'en acquitter, souvent ils dif " fèrent, quelquefois même ils refusent avec insolence; alors le Bis " nagar arrive ou envoie un de ses généraux, à la tête de cent mill " hommes pour se faire payer tous les arriérés avec les intérêts, e " dans ces cas, qui sont fréquents, c'est encore le pauvre peuple qu " expie la faute de ses princes; tout le pays est dévasté, et les popula " tions sont pillées ou massacrées"

Probably there does not now exist a clearer memorial than this o the rights and position enjoyed by Hindû ryots under Hindû govern ments And that the Jesuit did not make an erroneous statement, is clearly proved I think by the circumstance that when the British Government first began to make arrangements with the chiefs and nobles of South India, it adopted the system, which I suppose it may be presumed it found to prevail, of so calculating the tribute payabl by each noble and chief as to allow him exactly one-third of th moiety of the gross produce of the lands possessed by him, whilst i retained for its own use the remaining two-thirds, and gave the other moiety to the ryots. As the chief or noble was relieved for ever by the British Government from the duty of keeping the King's peace and providing troops for the defence of the country, the third part of the Governmental share or moiety, which under Hindû govern-ments went to meet the charges incurred in the performance of those duties, was taken from him as a matter of course; and thus it ha come about that, as far as his pecuniary interests are concerned, the Poligar or Zamindâr of to-day stands ordinarily in much the same position as did his ancestor or predecessor two or three centuries ago

Moreover it would seem to be by no means improbable that those

passages in ancient Hindû writings which are usually adduced t prove that the State demanded from the ryot no more than a tenth or a sixth of the crop, mean, if properly construed, that the State contented itself with taking so much for its civil expenses, whilst another portion went to the support of troops and the maintenance of peace, and yet another to the support of the proprietor, whoever he might be. And if so, the practice in the most ancient and excellent times was in perfect accord with that of later and degenerate ages

As stated above, the ryot was theoretically entitled to a moiety the produce which he raised, and if fortunate, obtained his moiet But it is perfectly clear that he was not always so fortunate, and w at times subjected to oppression of so grievous a kind that he w compelled to throw up his holding in despair, and emigrate to a mo… promising district or country. The following description of the deplorable condition of the ryot of 1683 in Tanjore, which is commonly supposed to have afforded until quite recently a perfect example of a prosperous old-fashioned Hindû country, will doubtless startle a few admirers of by-gone times, and perhaps wring from them an admission that British moderation is a thing not altogether unknown in India.

"Le Tanjaour est au pouvoir d'Ecogi, à l'exception de quelques "provinces dont s'est emparé le roi du Marava Voici en peu de 'traits un tableau de l'administration de ce pays. Ecogi prélève les "quatre cinquièmes de tous les produits Ce n'est pas assez, au lieu "d'accepter ces quatre cinquièmes en nature, il exige qu'on les lui "paie en argent; et comme il à soin de fixer lui-même le prix, bien "au-dessus de celui que le propriétaire peut réaliser, il résulte que la "vente de la récolte entière ne suffit point à payer les contributions. "Les cultivateurs restent donc sous le poids d'une dette accablante "et souvent ils sont obligés de prouver par des tortures barbares l'im-"puissance où ils sont de s'en acquitter

"Il vous sera difficile de concevoir une telle oppression, et cepen-"dant je dois ajouter que la tyrannie est encore plus affreuse et plus "révoltante dans le roy aume de Gingi C'est au reste tout ce que "j'en dirai, car les expressions me manquent pour rendre tout ce "qu'elle á d'horrible."

This passage was penned, it should be observed, by an eye-witness of the working of the system described, and by no less a personag… than the illustrious John de Britto It occurs in a le…

It appears from the passage quoted at page 150 that the crown lands formed but a small portion of the whole kingdom, and that by far the greater proportion of it was in the hands of the Poligars and petty chiefs, and one would be inclined to suppose therefore tha the King's revenue consisted for the most part of tribute paid to hin by great proprietors. But on the other hand it seems probable tha the crown lands afforded by far the more certain and productive source of income. Tribute was undoubtedly constantly withheld vholly or in part, whilst the payment of rent could by no means be voided. And the crown lands must have been very considerably itter situated as respects facilities of irrigation and carriage, thar ie high outlying lands of the tributaries, and were consequently fai ore valuable.

It is perhaps not impossible to calculate roughly how much the crown lands actually yielded. Tirumala often granted large estate for the support of various religious institutions, apparently withou materially imparing his resources; and it appears from a MS translated in the O. H. MSS. that on one occasion after repairing the great Pagoda from its centre to the *Kapâli* wall at an enormous expense, he endowed it with lands yielding annually no less thar forty-four thousand *pons*, or Rs. 88,000; and at the same time grante a valuable village for the support of the *St'hânikans* or head Brâhmans, and other servants of the Pagoda. And soon afterwards, it stated, he spent five lacs of *Pons* or £100,000 on sacred ornament and buildings, and then granted lands yielding 12,000 Pons of revenue for the maintenance of the apartment in the Pagoda appropriated to the Goddess Mînâkshi. There is but little reason to doubt th correctness of these figures; and they show clearly how very large the king's resources must have been. And Mr. Taylor believe that the recorder of the grant of lands yielding annually 44,000 Pons furnished us at the same time with a clue by means of which we may fix with precision the total amount of the Madura revenues in Tirumala's time; inasmuch as the words immediatel preceding those showing the value of the lands granted are "at th rate of one thousand per lac," and may be understood to show that the revenues amounted to one hundred times the value of the grant, namely 44,00,000 Pons per annum. But it seems to me that we may go even farther than this. The lands granted must have been crown lands, under the King's own management and altogethe ... or thev could not have been granted; and

therefore the revenue yielded by them amounted, as stated, to one per cent., on the total revenues derived from the King's lands, the inference is that the lands intended were the crown lands, and that they yielded no less than 44,00,000 Pons, or £880,000 per annum.

The amount of tribute paid into the royal treasury it is, I believe, impossible to calculate with anything like precision. In 1742 the Dindigul district, which then consisted of some twenty pâleiyams, is said to have yielded in round numbers about Rs. 3,50,000 per annum, which gives an average of Rs. 17,500 for each pâleiyam; and supposing that all the seventy-two pâleiyams yielded a like average, the total revenue derived from them would amount to Rs 12,60,000. But in 1742 the Dindigul province was in a very unsettled and unproductive state, and it may probably be assumed that it yielded at least half as much again to Tirumala as it did to the Mahrattas Assuming this to have been so, and calculating as before, we arrive at a gross tribute of Rs 18,90,000, or £189,000 per annum There is nothing to show how much was ordinarily paid by the Sêthupati and from time to time by the King of Travancore. But this is immaterial, as Tirumala relieved the former from paying tribute, and the latter never could have paid very much.

The two principal sources of revenue, the land-tax and tribute having been glanced at, we must now pass on to the consideration of the minor sources These were very numerous and probably very oppressive . but few of them were very productive.

Besides the land-tax proper there were several kinds of arbitrary imposts on land, the names and descriptions of which it is impossible for me to give with any fulness. One of the most curious was the *Er-vinei* or plough-tax, subject to which owners of land were compelled to furnish the King gratis with laborers, whenever required, at the rate of one for each plough in their possession.

The ferry-boat tax seems to have been assessed on the cultivated lands of each village in order to provide funds for the maintenance of the royal ferry-boats, by means of which travellers were enabled to cross the rivers of the country when swollen with rains, safely and free of charge. As bridges were unknown in those days, and mountain torrents were everywhere very numerous, the necessity of a tax of this kind is intelligible.

As the State took upon itself the duty of protecting the crops

grown in each particular field, a watching tax (*Kâvali-vari*) was assessed on each village at the rate of so much per acre of land, in order to provide remuneration for governmental watchers.

Immense numbers of men were required to drag along the gigantic cars of the gods on holy days; and accordingly each village had to provide a certain number of men for this service, which was called the *têr-ûliyam* or car service.

There seem to have been many petty taxes on land of a like nature; rendered necessary all of them by the paternal government of the time doing for the people habitually and as a matter of course everything that affected the interests of more than a single village. Next, every kind of art and profession was taxed. Every weaver's loom paid so much per annum, and every ironsmelter's furnace; every oil-mill; every retail shop; every house occupied by an artificer; and every indigo vat Every collector of wild honey was taxed; every maker and seller of clarified butter; every owner of carriage bullocks. Even stones in the beds of rivers used by washermen to beat clothes on, paid a small tax. In the towns there were octroi duties on grain and other commodities brought through the gates. And lastly there were the customs, chiefly land customs with regard to the particulars of which I can find no information. These petty taxes appear to have been collected in money, and the octroi duty on paddy was in 1709 one fanam on every eight *pothis* of paddy, or about 2¼ pence for 400 lbs.

Another and productive source of revenue was the great pearl-fishery, which was carried on annually along the whole coast from Cape Comorin to the island of Pâmbam. A rough idea of its value to the King may be formed from a statement in a Jesuit letter of the year 1700 which describes the fishery, to the effect that the Dutch used to grant licenses to fish for pearls to all applicants at a uniform rate of about 60 Ecus for each vessel employed in the fishery; and that sometimes as many as 6 and 700 vessels were so employed. The net sum realized must therefore have been about 36,000 Ecus. And it was realized from the fishery along the Tinnevelly coast only; the Râmnâd coast being then fished by the Sêthupati, to whom it belonged.

And the conch-shell fishery must also have produced a considerable revenue, if as seems probable the King enjoyed the monopoly of it. The conch-shells were found in great abundance all along the coast,

of a large size and brilliant white color, and were exported to Bengal and other countries, where they were highly prized as materials for bracelets and other manufactured articles. And the *Sálagrâmas,* the few shells which were occasionally found with volutes running from left to right instead of from right to left as is ordinarily the case, were believed owing to some superstition connected with an ancient legend to possess magical virtues, and always commanded fabulous prices.

All the sources of revenue of which any record is known to e have now been enumerated, and it only remains for me to com] with this revenue the tribute which was payable by the King to Emperor of Vijayanagar, or the Narasinga. It appears from the le of Father Vico quoted above that the Nâyakkans of Madura, Tar and Gingi paid from six to ten millions of francs each: and assum as we may well assume, that he of Madura paid the largest sum, h tribute amounted to the respectable sum of £400,000 And supposing that it was calculated at a third part of his revenue, in the same manner as the tribute of the Poligars was calculated, the gross revenue must have amounted to about £1,200,000, an amount which agree very well with that which may be arrived at as follows, on th culation above set forth, viz :—

Revenue from crown lands...	£880,000
Ordinary tribute........	£189,000
Taxes, customs, royalties, &c......	£131,000
Total ...	£1,200,000

The purchasing power or market value of this sum of money i Tirumala's time may be calculated in the following manner. A Jesuit letter of 1713 shows that at that time "eight *markâls* or large measures of excellent husked rice" could in ordinary seasons be bought for one *fanam,* and would keep a man in food for more than fifteen days. Now the Marava *markâl* contains, and doubtless contained when this letter was written, six small measures each of about tw pounds. weight, and a common *fanam,* the *fanam* which the cor text shows was intended, is equal to about 2¼*d* of our money. Therefore about ninety-six pounds of excellent husked rice could be bought for about 2¼d. Now in 1866 and the two or three years preceding it, the average price of good rice was about twenty pounds for a Rupee. Consequently, whereas a penny bought some forty odd pounds of

good rice at the commencement of the eighteenth century, it has been an equivalent for only five-sixths of a pound during the last few years: and whereas it was then sufficient to pay for one man's labor for some ten or twelve days, it will not now pay for so much as half a day's labor. In other words, the value of money has risen more than forty-fold; and Tirumala's gross revenue of £1,200,000 was equivalent to a revenue of nearly fifty millions of pounds drawn at the present time. But then it must be remembered that this was at the best a nominal revenue, and was never fully collected in the best of years. In a country possessing so variable a climate as ura, the crops fail partly every year wholly in not a few years, where they failed there were few or no collections. Then the ars used to fall into arrears, and either evade payment altogether olluding with the ministers, or compromise matters by paying a ion only of what was due. Invasions, epidemics and famines were ery common occurrences: and when they occurred, of course reduced the revenue to a minimum. As the collections were for the most part in kind, in plentiful years it was next to impossible to dispose of them, particularly in remote parts, and mildew, rot, and the tricks of ials greatly diminished their bulk when they were kept in store ny length of time The pearl-fishery often failed wholly or in And lastly remissions of tribute and of all kinds of taxes were frequently granted to favored individuals and corporations. ing all these circumstances into consideration we cannot suppose Tirumala had the equivalent of fifty millions to disburse in any e year. But it must be allowed, I think, that his income was traordinarily large; and that the Nâyakkans understood the difficult art of extracting money from their subjects far better than have any rulers that have succeeded them.

The yearly expenditure incurred by Tirumala in providing for the requirements of his government cannot have been very great as will appear from a consideration of what those requirements were. His anding army was small and inexpensive. He had no navy. No laries were paid to officials. The church was not a State establishment The ordinary charges under the head of public works were moderate. The State had but little to do with education. The Police cost next to nothing. There were no judicial establishments. Pensioners were provided for by grants of land. The only really heavy item was one which might perhaps be denominated articles of luxury.

The Army.—The defence of the country was provided for in the following manner. Every considerable town was fortified, garrisoned with regular troops, and furnished with artillery, trained elephants, and horses: and a Dalakartan or commanding officer was in charge of its defences and responsible for its safety. The capital was of course still better protected; and as we have seen before the seventy-two Poligars were bound to furnish troops for the defence of its bastions, whenever necessary. In order to perform this duty effectually, and at the same time to maintain their dignity in a suitable manner, they used to keep up a kind of militia properly equipped for service and ready to march on any point at a moment's notice. This militia was exceedingly numerous; in fact nearly all the able-bodied ryots resident in the Poligar's dominions were militiamen, and liable to be called out whenever there was danger of invasion or a prospect of foreign service. And besides the Poligars some of the nobles and courtiers who lived in the capital held large estates subject to military service, and maintained whole regiments of infantry and cavalry. Thus Hermê-katti mentioned in page 117 as being a protector of the Christians, constantly maintained at his own proper expense a force consisting of 3,000 foot, 200 horse, and fifty elephants.

For officers there were the Dalakartans of the towns, the Poligars and other nobles and their relatives, and a few soldiers of fortune who took to war as a profession: and over all was the Dalavây or commander-in-chief whose duties and position have been already discussed. Some of the Poligars were placed in authority over others, and in time of war were answerable for the good conduct of their subordinates. Thus the Sêthupati was the chief of them all; and the Poligar of Dindigul is constantly spoken of as being the chief of eighteen Poligars, and occupied a most distinguished position in the time of Tirumala. In ordinary times this military organization was amply sufficient for all purposes When the levying of troops was required, the Dalavây sent requisitions to such and such Poligars to furnish so many armed men within a certain time; the Poligars immediately sent round orders to the Dalakartans and head-men of their towns and villages; and on the day named, or soon afterwards, the levies were ready for service and in marching order. In times of pressing necessity the Sêthupati and every great leader of men in the kingdom would be called to arms, and swarms of troops would hurry to the King's assistance from every quarter.

The King's armies were thus easily mobilized; and as the great majority of the soldiers were in times of peace ryots supporting themselves and their families by the cultivation of lands granted to them free of rent on condition of service, and never received anything in the shape of pay except *batta* when on the march; the expense of maintaining them in efficiency was very trifling. On the other hand, armies so composed had necessarily no common purpose, no feeling of loyalty towards the person of the King, no knowledge of and no desire for war and its attendant glories. They were for the most part ill-disciplined though not altogether untrained, and were only kept in order so long as their leaders continued to be animated by a common hope of plunder and personal advancement, or restrained by a common fear of the enemy or of the King's vengeance. A jealous quarrel amongst the leading chiefs, or the retirement from the scene of action of one or two Poligars who fancied themselves slighted or ill-used, would be amply sufficient to break up a force in the presence of the enemy, perhaps in the very hour of success. Consequently, however numerous might be the King's battalions, however brave his Generals and Officers, he could never for a single moment feel absolutely safe, or regard even the slightest indications of disaffection with indifference. This was a fatal obstacle in the way of Madura becoming a first-rate Hindû power, and ultimately as we shall see contributed not a little to the bringing about of her downfall.

The Civil Service.—There does not appear to have been any regular civil service, nor any salaried staff of officials. I have no direct authority for the statement, but I think I may venture to say that each of the heads of departments privately formed and supported as many assistants, secretaries and writers as he required to carry on the business of his department, and was directly responsible to the King for all their short-comings And there can be no doubt, I think, that the heads themselves received nothing in the shape of salary: but were from time to time rewarded with grants of land and presents of money, when the King thought proper to mark his sense of their services. Thus it is recorded that on the occasion of a royal visit to Tinnevelly the Governor of the province received a grant of five hundred Pagodas per diem. And another King is said to have given his Dalavây thirty thousand Pagodas, being pleased at the mode in which the Dalavây received him in his house. This irregular system of remuneration no doubt had its advantages, and tended to

spur on willing servants to greater exertions: but on the other hand it led the unscrupulous and dishonest—and they were unhappily the great majority—to reimburse themselves by every kind of extortion and iniquity. The riches accumulated by illicit means were sometimes enormous. The Dalavây alluded to above appears to have been absolutely alarmed at the plethoric state of his coffers; and in order to prevent inquiries and possible punishment, after making a suitable provision for himself and his family, invited the King to his house and begged him to take what remained. What this amounted to may be imagined from the following description taken from the O. H. MSS. "one-thousand trays made of rattan cane, tied together "with leather thongs, had been prepared; on three hundred of which "were placed pagodas, mohurs, rupees, and fanams, each kind of "money distinct; on three hundred other trays were placed many "golden ornaments studded with gems; and on the remaining four "hundred trays were many most costly sacred dresses: the whole of "them were brought and placed before the king."

If the King was inclined to be angry at the proof of his Dalavây's villainy, his anger was disarmed by this clever ruse; and no part of the spoil was taken from the villain. On the contrary he was rewarded as stated above.

The Church.—There was no regular State establishment: but there was an intimate and expensive connection of the State with the Church. The King habitually patronized and befriended Brâhmans, priests, Gurus, devotees and men belonging to the religious classes; giving them liberal presents of money, food and clothing; conferring upon the more distinguished important and valuable posts; and filling his palace with such as were learned and clever And the princely revenues of the Saiva and Vaishnava pagodas and religious institutions generally flowed almost exclusively from crown lands granted from time to time for their support. In return, Brâhmans, Gurus, priests, and devotees all flattered the King; helped him with their counsels; and did their best to make him popular with his subjects. And as many of them were accustomed to constantly travel on duty over nearly all parts of the country; as they were almost the only persons in the kingdom at all conversant with the news of the day; and were at the same time much respected and trusted by the people at large, it is easy to see what immense power for good and evil they must have wielded, and how necessary it must have been

for the King to keep them always in good humour and in tolerably easy circumstances.

The Hindû clergy of Tirumala's time may perhaps be conveniently divided into two classes, the ornamental and the useful The first class was composed of the Brâhmans who adopted a sacerdotal life, and served in temples, officiated at weddings and the like, and acted as augurs and interpreters of God's will on occasions of importance The second class consisted of the Gurus These were the real working clergy; and as a body stood in much the same relation to the lay population as the clergy in Spain or Italy stand at the present time, though with this difference, they belonged to various sects and did not look up to one common superior. Their business was to enforce the observance of ceremonies; to maintain ancient usages and customs; to punish offenders against caste rules by fine, and even exclusion from caste if necessary; to restore to penitents the privileges of caste communion; and lastly to instruct all who wished for instruction in religious truths.

The Gurus professed some of them the Saiva faith, some the Vaishnava, some other forms of religion For instance, Robert de Nobilibus and Beschi were Gurus in every sense of the word. And as they did not profess a common faith, so also they did not belong to any one caste or nation. The Brâhmans indeed claimed to be entitled to act as Gurus of every caste without exception; and affected to ignore the pretensions of all Gurus who did not belong to the one great caste: but this claim was rarely admitted, and almost every caste elected from amongst its members its own Guru or Gurus, who was or were perfectly independent of Brâhmanical authority and interference. In like manner each sect possessed its own great Gurus; and there were Gurus of districts and countries; and also Gurus who acted as private chaplains to great men. These superior Gurus were generally Brâhmans. One Guru was always the keeper of the King's conscience, and enjoyed very great rank and power: indeed he was in many instances treated, by command of the King, with even greater respect and ceremony than the King himself. An example of the extraordinary veneration with which this functionary was sometimes regarded, is to be found in a Jesuit letter of 1659, which states amongst other things that every December the then Nâyakkan of Tanjore used to cause his Guru to be carried several times round and round the town in a gorgeous palanquin borne by the ladies of the Palace, and pre-

ceded by another palanquin containing the Guru's slippers; and used to walk himself in front of the procession, swinging a censer and making repeated obeisances to his spiritual master.

The Gurus as a body formed the highest class in society; but amongst themselves they varied infinitely in rank and authority. Those of the highest rank of all were the chief Pontiffs of the great sects, who corresponded to some extent with our Archbishops. Their authority over men of their own sects—they had none over men of other sects than their own, and were in no way respected by them—was practically unlimited in all matters connected with caste and religion: and their opinion was held to be infallible by Gurus of subordinate rank Next to them came the head Gurus of districts and castes, and then the Gurus of sub-divisions of castes. The inferior orders consisted for the most part of the dependents of the chief Gurus, the Gurus of villages and families, and the private Gurus. In all cases the relative importance and position of a Guru depended entirely upon the numbers, wealth, and social position of his immediate disciples and followers, rather than upon his individual character and attainments: and were altogether disregarded by the people of Madura as a whole. Popularity outside his caste or sect, was a thing which no Guru attempted to or could by any possibility attain.

The Gurus were supported mainly by fees payable by each member of their congregations, partly by fines levied from offenders. These fees and fines were usually collected during their visitations of districts, which took place periodically, attended in the case of the chief Pontiffs by every circumstance of pomp and magnificence; the Gurus being carried in gorgeous palanquins or on the backs of elephants, preceded by heralds and bands of musicians and dancing girls, and accompanied by enormous crowds who testified their loyalty and love by loud shouts of joy, by words of praise and endless prostrations, by strewing the road with new cloths, and in many ways too numerous to specify. If the fees were not paid when due, the Gurus had recourse to every means of oppression and insult. The debtor was vilely abused in public, mud and filth were thrown at him; or he was compelled to do menial work till his debt was liquidated; or his wife was taken from him. If no other means availed, he was as a last resort solemnly cursed: but as a Guru's curse was considered by the superstitious people of those times to be one of the

most awful misfortunes that can befal a human being, the mere threat of inflicting this punishment sufficed as a rule to procure payment of an arrear by the most obstinate of debtors.

When not engaged in itinerating, the Gurus usually lived in *maths* or monasteries situated near the principal Pagodas: and many of them, especially amongst those of the Saiva sect, were employed in managing the affairs of those institutions. The manager of the great Pagoda at Madura seems to have been always a *Pandâram* or Saiva monk in the times of the Nâyakkans.

The principal Pagodas with their enormous establishments, their officiating priests, dancing girls, musicians, sweepers, elephants, jewels, idols, and cars, were managed each by a *D'harma-kartan*, or trustee and manager for life, who as stated above was usually a monk and Guru. He collected and disbursed the revenues derived from the lands granted to the Pagoda by the King and others, and from fees and offerings; appointed the officiating Brâhmans and servants; maintained in efficiency the staff of dancing girls; regulated the ceremonies and ritualistic observances; kept the records of the Pagoda; and was sole referee in all cases of disputes touching the secular affairs of the institution. The D'harma-kartans held but little communication one with another: and recognized no earthly superiors except the King himself. Each was independent of all control, and acted altogether as he pleased. This freedom led naturally to gross abuses, and the King was compelled occasionally to interfere in the management of some of the Churches. For instance, soon after Tirumala ascended the throne he discovered that the then manager of the great Pagoda in Madura had misappropriated the funds in his charge to a very great extent, and forthwith dismissed him. He then took the administration of the Church into his own hands, and finding that it had been terribly neglected declined to appoint a new manager until every abuse had been rectified.

The dismissal of this defaulter doubtless gave great offence to the Brâhmans: but they were soon appeased by the King granting to the goddess Mînâkshi lands yielding annually 12,000 Pons or £2,400; and they became more firmly attached than ever to the charitable Nâyakkan dynasty. Perhaps indeed it is not too much to say that that dynasty was mainly propped up and supported by the Brâhmans and clergy, and would never have survived the rebellions

and invasions which it had to encounter from the very first, had not the inherent weakness of the government been more than counterbalanced by the loyalty and devotion of the priesthood.

Public Works.—The great Nâyakkan does not appear to have directed his attention to what are strictly and properly called public works, namely roads, bridges, tanks, channels, barracks, public offices, jails and the like: or if he did, the notices of his reign which have come down to us are silent about the matter. It is clear however that there were roads in his time, for it is stated in one of the Mrutyanjaya MSS. that he built choultries or buildings for the accommodation of travellers along the whole road from Uttatûr the most northerly place in his dominions to Cape Comorin the most southerly. Moreover he could scarcely have carried out his great improvements in the town of Madura without at the same time making tolerable roads in its neighbourhood. Bridges appear to have been unknown in those days. Whether or no Tirumala built any large tanks for irrigational purposes does not appear. Probably he did not, as nothing is said about the matter, and as his predecessors had done so much in this direction. The repairs of tanks, or at all events the more important repairs seem to have been executed by the government; and to have been paid for out of the proceeds of the fishery of the tanks when drying up. A letter of 1713 states that the fishery of a single tank produced occasionally as much as 2,000 Ecus: and that sums so realized were invariably applied to the execution of repairs. The writer is speaking of the Marava country, but no doubt the system was the same in the Madura. Barracks were unnecessary under the military system which prevailed in Tirumala's time, and therefore there was no expenditure under this head. And so too with public offices. Every head of a department lived in a large rambling building, in which there was plenty of room for any number of subordinates and clerks to work; and the State never provided accommodation for its officers. There seems to be some ground for supposing that there were jails, for a letter of 1659 states that some Kallans opened all the jails in Tanjore, and let out a multitude of prisoners unjustly confined in them for alleged political offences. And if there were jails in Tanjore, there were probably jails in Trichinopoly and Madura.

The public works which principally engaged Tirumala's attention, and which have made his name famous, were huge solidly con-

structed works of a highly ornamental character, such as could not have been built by any other than a despot possessed of boundless wealth. It would be out of place in a work like this to give an elaborate description of these splendid monuments of antiquity especially as they have been already photographed and fully described by others; and I shall only notice them very briefly

The largest and most magnificent of them was the great Palace, which Wilson—I think without sufficient authority—believed to have been commenced by one of Tirumala's predecessors. It appears to have consisted of a number of large detached buildings, which together covered more or less completely a vast space of ground, and of which only one has survived the ravages of time and the more ruthless vandalism of Tirumala's grandson, Choka Nât'ha It is true that what is now the Collector's Office and the Jail are both of them said by some to have formed part of the Palace, but I think it may be assumed that they were really quite distinct from and unconnected with the main pile, inasmuch as they are of different styles, are complete in themselves, and stand at very considerable distances from the building which is commonly known as the Palace. This building consists of two parts, each in a very ruinous state The larger of them is a massive, high-walled, square or nearly square brick-built enclosure open to the sky, of which the principal and deeper side forms a spacious hall, surmounted at its centre by a lofty dome-shaped roof supported by noble circular pillars of granite thickly coated with chunam and destitute of ornament. The sides at right angles to this are less deep, and form long arcades furnished with subordinate domes, and with upper galleries running along their whole length. The fourth side is similar in construction, but has no dome. Lofty pillars similar to those described above support the roofs of all four sides, which are each nearly a hundred yards in length and each open towards the interior of the enclosure. The central and unenclosed portion is said to have formed an arena, in which combats of wild beasts and gladiatorial exhibitions took place. The other part is of much smaller dimensions, being a lofty hall of perhaps ninety feet by forty covered by a pointed-arch solid brick roof, which is divided into compartments and strengthened by granite ribs springing from columns at the sides. Open galleries profusely ornamented with brick-work run round three sides, and are supported by stunted circular pillars. The style of both parts appears to be a mixture of

the Hindû and Saracenic, whilst portions of the work particularly the roof and pillars, give the spectator the impression that a European must have had something to do with the building: and tradition says though not very distinctly that Tirumala's architects were assisted by Europeans.

Of the more extensive and important portions which have utterly perished a description is to be found in a MS translated in O H. MSS ; but it does not convey a very clear idea of the thing described, and is too lengthy for quotation. Perhaps however it will be well to quote a few lines which seem to allude to the two buildings above noticed.

"To the south of this is the *Swarga Vilâsam* This pavilion is so "constructed as to cause it to be said that in no other country is "there a saloon equal to it, on account of its splendid ornaments, "their excellence, number, extent, curious workmanship, and great "beauty. To the west, in the midst of a great dome-shaped hall, is "a square building of black stone, which includes a hall made of "ivory: in the middle of this is a jewelled throne, on which the King "is accustomed to take his seat at the great nine-nights' festival, sur- "rounded by [illegible] his banners, or ensigns of royalty; and where all

and a half east of the town of Madura, roun [illegible] the European residents so often take an evening airing. The tank is a perfect square, measuring it is said exactly twelve hundred yards. The sides are faced with cut granite and surmounted by a handsome parapet also of cut granite, which is pierced by flights of steps at suitable intervals, and adorned here and there in the Hindû style with figures of gods, and horses, peacocks and other animals. Inside the parapet a paved gallery runs round the whole, and affords a cool and pleasant walking place. In the centre is a square Island, also faced with granite, which forms the basement of a lofty dome-roofed temple several stones high but of moderate size. At the four corners of the Island are tiny ornamental temples rising from the angles of the stone-work: and the space between these and the main temple is filled in with ever-green trees The whole effect is exceedingly tasteful; particularly as the tank always contains water. Once a year the sides and temples are illuminated with a hundred thousand lamps at sunset; and the idols from the great Pagoda are brought to the tank, and put on board a raft gaudily decorated and lighted up with blue and red fires, and slowly drawn round and round the

effigies, some colossal, some small, placed against ten of the pillars, and representing Tirumala and his nine predecessors and their wives. According to Wilson the work was begun in the second year of Tirumala's reign; was completed in twenty-two years; and cost upwards of a million sterling. But one of the O H. MSS states that it cost one lac of Pons or £20,000; and was finished in seven years having been commenced in 1626: and the latter account appears to be far the more credible. For, looking to the abundance of labor and the cheapness of money in Tirumala's time, it is impossible to believe that a building of so simple construction as the Vasanta mantapam could have taken twenty-two years to build, or cost so enormous a sum as a hundred lacs of Rupees. Moreover, Tirumala is said to have appropriated in accordance with his vow a lac of Pons to the execution of each of five great works, and to have commenced them all at the same time: and it is impossible, it seems to me, to believe that rich as he was, he could have ventured to undertake so many works at once, if one of them alone was to cost him a sum equivalent to forty or fifty millions sterling at the present time.

A work of equal solidity and perhaps even greater beauty is the *teppa-kulam*, or large stone tank built at a distance of about a mile [illegible]

'Kings are [illegible] to do homage"

Next to the Palace the most important work was the *Vasanta* or *Puthu* mantapam, which still exists in a perfect state. This truly handsome building is an oblong of more than a hundred yards by between twenty and thirty, covered by a flat roof which is composed of long slabs of granite and supported by one hundred and twenty-four stone pillars carved in the ordinary Hindû style, about twenty feet high, and placed in four rows. According to Wilson's description which is borrowed from Blackader, the edifice is "purely Hindû "and blends the square and massive character of the general structure "with the singularly minute decorations, and luxuriantly fantastic "development of the details."

The mantapam is said to have been built as a delightful retreat for the idol Sundara-linga during ten days in the hot month of May, and to have been distinguished by the epithet Vasanta (spring) in consequence. And it is surrounded by a narrow stone water-course, intended it is supposed to cool the air during the fierce heat of summer. Amongst the ornaments of the building are ten groups of sculptured

Island for some hours. If the night is fine and dark, the spectacle afforded is magnificent; and many thousands of people come together to enjoy it. A raft of this kind is called a *teppam;* and a stone tank built for the purpose of a *teppam* being drawn round it is called a *teppa-kulam.*

It is not quite clear how much Tirumala did for the great Pagoda. Tradition ascribes the building of its outer wall and four *gôpuras* to "the Pândyas," and it has been suggested in page 83 ante, that possibly the Vilivânâthi dynasty were the builders of them But Tirumala must certainly have spent vast sums of money in restoring and beautifying various portions of the edifice, for the Mrutyanjaya MS which speaks of his doings says, he repaired and renovated the whole from the *garb'ha-griha* to the wall of Kapâli Udeiyavar; and also that it was in his day that the Pagoda became glorious. And the Jesuits have gone so far as to ascribe the actual building of the Pagoda to him, see ante page 141. It must be remembered however that, whilst they were acute observers of passing events, the Jesuits of Madura were as a rule utterly ignorant of the history and antiquities of the land in which they were sojourning: and therefore their authority on matters connected therewith is next to valueless. Wilson ca[illegible]y speaks of Tirumala building a Pagoda, but I cannot make out to what building he alludes: and it seems probable that he was confounding repairs with construction.

Lastly there were the (*Râyar-gôpuras,*) or lofty stone and brick towers of many stories, of a truncated pyramidical shape and in style said to resemble somewhat the Chaldaic, which are usually found raised over the porches of temples. The Mrutyanjaya MS. says that Tirumala commenced building in various [illegible]s of the country, sixty-four of those large and expensive buildings in one and the same muhurta or auspicious moment, but was unable to finish them all; and the history of the Karnataca Governors improving upon this story says, he commenced but did not finish ninety-six. There is only one *Râyar-gôpura* in Madura, and that was left unfinished: but I have been given to understand that others, also unfinished, exist in the Madura and neighbouring districts.

A work insignificant in size, but curious on account of its quaintness of construction, durability, and historical associations, should be mentioned in passing. This is the Tamakam, a two-storied building on the north side of the Veigei near Madura, erected by Tirumala

as a kind of grand-stand from which to see gladiatorial exhibitions and combats of wild beasts. It is now the dwelling-house of the Small Cause Court Judge.

Education.—The State did not conceive it to be its duty to educate or in any way assist in educating the people generally: and it seems probable that there were no schools in any part of the country in which boys belonging to castes other than the Brâhman could obtain a decent education. It also seems probable that with the exception of the Brâhmans, the village accountants, and a few officials and merchants' clerks, hardly any body could read, write or cipher: and that the population as a whole, was as grossly ignorant as moderately intelligent human beings could well be. But the education of the Brâhmans appears to have been provided for with a liberality and completeness such as perhaps have never in any country been excelled. A letter of Robert de Nobilibus, dated Madura, 22nd November 1610, tells us that at that time there were more than ten thousand Brâhman students in the Madura university, distributed in classes of two and three hundred, all of whom were not only educated, but also boarded and lodged and entirely supported by revenues flowing from magnificent endowments which had been made partly by the Râyar, partly by the Nâyakkan. The education furnished appears to have consisted of two grades: 1, an elementary education for boys, the nature of which is not described, 2, a very systematic and in its way perfect education for adults. This last consisted of a succession of courses of study, of which the first was philosophical, the second theological. The natures of the remaining are unfortunately unknown, owing to Robert de Nobilibus' description of them being mi[illegible] The course of philosophy, which was denominated by the B[illegible]nans *Sintâmani* or the connection of thoughts and reasonings, took four or five years to master, and consisted of three distinct stages, which were named respectively evidence, science, and authority, and have been described by Robert in the following terms:—

"Pars prima est evidentia et agit de invocatione seu adoratione: utrum sit aliquis Deus initio operis invocandus, de certitudine, de perfecta certitudine, de certitudine per generationem et productionem de novo; de formalitate certitudinis, de speciebus objectorum, de unione locali seu per contiguitatem, de unionibus diversis, formali, accidentali, etc.; de prædicato et subjecto per negationem, de objecto

visus; de indivisibilitate voluntatis, de splendore auri, de actus reflexione quo quisque se cognoscit et intelligit, etc, etc.

"Pars secunda est scientia et agit de signis illationis, de sequela tantum, de inductione, de fallentia, de semine fallentiæ, de ejus confutatione, de subjecto; de discursu, de signo causativo, de omnimoda fallentia, de conjunctione secundum quid, de privatione, de effectu per causam, de omnimoda conjunctione; de ultima certitudine seu consequentia, de causa, de evidenti probatione, de certitudine a simili, de errore, de dubitatione, de variatione suppositionis; de falsa conclusione ex vero antecedente, de Deo Rutren, de multiplicitate causarum, de naturali vi et virtute, de virtute superaddita de novo.

"Pars tertia est auctoritas et agit de auditu, de correspondentia verborum, de convenientia in communi, de unione affectionis, de desiderio, de corruptione soni, de corruptione totius mundi, de merito legis, utrum quod non est possit affirmari, de novitate, de annihilatione de propria impositione, de signo, etc., etc."

The theological course, *Vêdântam,* consisted of enquiries into the nature of the deity, his attributes, &c.

It is stated in another letter of 1610 that these studies were carried on exclusively in the Samskrit language: and it seems to be perfectly clear that the study of the Vernacular languages spoken by the numerous castes of the country was entirely disregarded, and formed no part of the university curriculum.

The Police and Criminal Justice—The King's peace was kept by a very simple and inexpensive arrangement. Each village, as shown before, had its own official machinery for the prevention and punishment of petty crimes committed within its limits: and where the *nattam* or residential portion of any village developed by chance into a town, a Dalakartan or other responsible officer was always placed in charge of it, and enabled to maintain order by means of a small body of troops and armed policemen. It only remained therefore for the State to keep the high roads free from robbers and cutthroats, and to prevent villages fighting one against another, or being looted by organized gangs of Kallans and other banditti. It was attempted to effect this by granting lands to Poligars and others, subject to the *dêsa-kâvali* or service of continually watching certain tracts of country or to the *pâthei-kavali* or service of watching roads and mountain passes; and it was incumbent on such grantees to pre-

vent within the limits of their charges not only robbery but violence and disturbances of every kind. When an ordinary criminal was apprehended, he was after more or less delay carried before the Poligar or Official within the limits of whose pâleiyam or criminal jurisdiction the crime had been committed, and perhaps brought to trial. If he happened to be a man of wealth and position, he was either never arrested; or he was never brought to trial. Or if he was tried; the trial was only a farce and terminated upon payment of a trifling penalty.

Civil Justice was administered in a very primitive manner: and cost nothing. The King appears to have sat sometimes in the Hall of Justice, and decided important suits in accordance as far as possible with the known customs of the caste or castes to which the litigants belonged; and to have been aided in arriving at a decision by learned Brâhmans, his assessors. The decrees given were perhaps impartial and just, according to the rude ideas of equity then prevalent: but there must have been great difficulty in carrying a suit through the preparatory stages unless all or most of the people of the Palace were very liberally fed; and it was no doubt necessary to give a considerable present to the King himself in return for the favor of admitting the plaint in the first instance. In the pâleiyams all important suits were decided by the Poligars, and probably with less impartiality than in the capital. Petty suits were referred to arbitration: or they were settled amicably by the intervention of common friends. And ordeals by fire, oil, water, and many other processes were very much in vogue. Probably but a very small percentage of issues relative to property were ever regularly heard and determined: there were certainly no established courts of law, and few of the Poligars and other chieftains could have been sufficiently energetic, or sufficiently intelligent to do the work of Judges within their territories.

The kinds of suits commonly brought before the King for decision were probably suits for precedence in rank; suits arising out of disputes touching the right to worship in a particular place at a particular time and in a particular manner; or to set up an idol in a particular spot; or touching the right to ride in a palanquin or assume any other highly prized privilege to the alleged detriment of the social status of individuals belonging to other castes. Thus when Tirumala was finishing the Vasanta mantapam, the Vaishnavites opposed the setting up in it by

the Saivites of a pillar on which was an effigy of the Êka-pâda-mûrti; and the dispute was only ended by the King referring it to a pair of arbitrators for decision. On another occasion there was a dispute between the Sêdans or Tamil weavers and another caste as to which of the two castes was entitled to precedence in receiving betel-nut at public entertainments; and the King decided the question.

The principal items of governmental expenditure having been briefly remarked upon, it will be sufficiently obvious that Tirumala must have had a very large balance in his treasury every year after paying all necessary expenses. This balance was got rid of in the following manner. Enormous sums were spent upon the zenana; which, if not quite so crowded as those of certain Kings and potentates whom history has rendered notorious for erotic extravagance, at all events contained two hundred wives and many concubines. Vast funds were also sunk in the great Palace and other buildings, as we have seen above; and princely incomes were eaten up by whole armies of servants, retainers and hangers-on of every description, and by the herds of elephants and horses which were kept to swell the King's dignity. And almost every day one or other of the numerous religious and charitable institutions obtained a fresh endowment; or a largess was given to a few thousand Brâhmans, or the expenses of a great procession and fête were defrayed out of the royal exchequer; or perhaps a lac of Rupees was spent upon jewellery for an idol. Such were a few of the ordinary channels of expenditure; and it is not difficult to see that even Tirumala's wealth could not have been more than sufficient to keep them constantly full

It will perhaps not be out of place to observe here that the indisputable fact that Tirumala was always in the receipt of enormous revenues, would go a long way towards refuting the commonly received idea that all his great works were accomplished principally by means of forced labor, even if we had not, as we have, good authority for the belief that all work done for Tirumala was punctually paid for However patiently individuals belonging to the lowest castes may have endured an abuse of power of this nature at the hands of a bankrupt prince; they would hardly have submitted to it when practised by a King known to be rolling in riches, and believed as Tirumala was by the populace to have been indued with the magical power of turning base metals into gold. The most wily of Brâhmans and Gurus would surely have failed to reconcile work-

men to tyranny at once so gross and so mean. Moreover it has never been for *one moment* alleged that the goldsmiths who made the King's votive jewels, were forced to give their labor and gold for nothing; *or that* the merchants who brought the King diamonds and rubies, were forced to make a present of their valuable property: and such being the case, why should it be supposed that the sculptors, masons, bricklayers, carpenters, and other skilled laborers employed in constructing Tirumala's Pagodas and sacred tanks and idols and other works of art, were compelled to work on year after year without recompense or hope of reward? The belief seems to me to be preposterous: and I doubt much whether it would in the case of any man, survive a careful scrutiny of the elaborate and beautiful works which Tirumala's artificers have left behind them.

There are no private memoirs of the life of King Tirumala, as of the Emperor Baber and a few other great eastern despots, and it is therefore impossible to picture his daily life with any accuracy: but a few indications of what it was may be found here and there, and are not altogether without their value. He was probably an early riser, and though a large and corpulent man, one of active and energetic habits As we know from Jesuit letters that all the more respectable castes of his time regarded even the moderate use of intoxicating liquors with the greatest abhorrence, it may be taken for granted that Tirumala was a total abstainer. But looking to the noble proportions of his effigy in the Vasanta mantapam, which was prepared under his own [illegible] we may at the same time take it for granted I think that he was by no means unmindful of the pleasures of the table. Having risen before sunrise, Tirumala probably employed the first few hours of the day, if he had no pressing public business to dispose of, in superintending the progress of some new building: or in looking on while his sculptors and masons were busy with a mantapam or an idol. Skilful workmanship specially delighted him, and he would sometimes encourage his best artists by a compliment or by a present of betel-nut from his own royal hand. Sometimes he would cross the river and go to the Tamakam, to watch a tiger fight with a buffalo, or a couple of athletes wrestle. Or he would mount his horse and ride off to the open plains north of his capital, and slip a cheetah at an antelope

When the morning began to grow hot, he returned to the Palace and purified himself in the Hindû fashion by ablution. After [illegible]

came the principal meal of the day; and then a long siesta during the midday heat. In the afternoon, if His Majesty felt inclined for business, audience was granted to such as had interest at Court; and petitions were heard and disposed of orally If not, he had many ways of passing the time; and probably seldom felt weary and oppressed He was fond of having learned Brâhmans in attendance upon him, and would often propound to them difficult ethical and metaphysical questions, to be argued out and disposed of then and there in his presence. Another favorite amusement was listening to wonderful histories or facetious tales. And wandering bards, minstrels, and improvisatores were often bidden to come and sing or recite before the King And chess-players, pantomimists, actors, conjurors, snake-charmers, athletes, wrestlers, tumblers, all in a word who could please by their adroitness and skill, were encouraged to take up their quarters near the Palace, and were ready at a moment's call to perform before the King and his courtiers or the ladies of his family

It was perhaps in the evening, after the torches had been lighted and the ceremony of the torch-salutation had been gone through, that the most important part of the day's work commenced. At that time Tirumala was accustomed to receive visitors; to hear the latest gossip from this courtiers, and to consult with his ministers about affairs of State, a noisy band play the while, and the interminable nightly nautch moving slowly on. Late at night the King retired; and all present took their leave. Such were Tirumala's ordinary amusements and occupations. but they were often varied by the occurrence of one or another of the innumerable religious ceremonies prescribed by the Hindû religion, and which in the Palace of a pious King would certainly be scrupulously observed. It is unnecessary to describe them, and we must pass on to other matters

The distribution of wealth amongst different classes must have been very partial and unequal. The King was as we have seen enormously wealthy: and he greatly enriched his ministers and favorites, and also those of the Brâhmans and clergy whom circumstances brought into intimate relations with him. And probably the Poligars were with a few exceptions in the enjoyment of very large incomes, and well able to afford themselves most of the luxuries and enjoyments in those days procurable. But besides what may be called for convenience' sake the noble class, there could have been no very wealthy class in the country. The ordinary merchant had very

little chance of making his fortune in times when every jungle contained robbers, and when invasions of the country were of frequent occurrence, and attended invariably by wholesale plunder. The risk and cost of carriage must have been far too great to admit of the exporting of bulky goods. and the trade in valuables such as jewels and embroidered cloths was necessarily limited by the small number of those rich enough and bold enough to purchase them. The principal products of the country, grain, oil, fruit, vegetables, and cotton, were all raised for home consumption; and the most astute of merchants could hardly become a millionaire by dealing in such commodities with the very few persons who were non-producers. Probably the Setti might easily make a modest competence; but little beyond that. And had he attempted to grow suddenly rich by combining with his fellows and artificially raising prices, there can be little doubt that Tirumala's government would have dealt with him in a very summary manner, and effectually deterred him from repeating the experiment. What was the native idea of a merchant's duty, appears clearly from the Sathagam. Part of his duty was "not to lay on too large profits." If an honest man came to borrow, he was to lend him money cheerfully on his mere personal security, and without a pledge. And if the State required a loan, the merchants should lend even a crore of Rupees without a murmur. In fact the trader was to be useful to the State as a circulator of money and other commodities, and in return ought to be permitted to grow moderately rich under the protection of the laws

Below the rank of merchants there was no one, who could by any possibility become rich in the modern sense of the word. The great bulk of the people were mere agricultural laborers, cultivating just enough land to support their families and dependents in a state of rude plenty, and perfectly contented with their lot Living together in small villages, on terms generally speaking of the most perfect equality, the ryots of those days respected and self-respecting, never thought of rising in the world and had no desire to grow rich. So long as they and theirs had a small store of grain to fall back upon in hard times, could find a decent cloth to tie on at feast-time, and could buy a cocoanut or two to break now and again before their favorite idols, they were perfectly satisfied and happy, and they were by no means ready to avail themselves of any chance which might promise to lead to fortune. They preferred to

abide where they were: and to crawl on, as their fathers had crawled on before them. Those who were not agriculturists or slaves of agriculturists, were for the most part artisans of the humblest kinds, who were sufficiently skilful to supply the wants of their villages, but unable to do anything more; and who being usually remunerated for their services by small fees of grain knew nothing of money and its power.

The social condition of the people at large must have been one of utter stagnation and hopelessness Most of them lived in small isolated villages, through which no travellers had occasion to pass, and to which news from the capital but rarely found its way. The ryots had nothing to do but to plough and sow and wait and reap, and then plough and sow and wait and reap again; and they never left the miserable mud hovels which served them for homes except once or twice a year, when a feast or a vow called them to a neighbouring town. The Poligars never travelled if they could possibly help it. No foreign ships came near the coasts of Madura: and travellers from foreign lands were rarely met with, and then only in the neighbourhood and under the protection of the King or some great noble. Reading and writing, as we have seen before, were utterly unknown to all but the Brâhmans, the clergy and a few accountants: and what few arts were practised and understood, were each of them practised and understood only by a particular caste, which was ever jealous of its privileges and quite unwilling to teach anything to strangers And moreover the public feeling with regard to the immutability of customs and inviolability of caste was so strongly developed, that so far from attempting to rise in the world by energetically setting to work and learning some new and profitable trade, the poorest and most wretched of ryots would probably have faced death itself sooner than use a new-fangled plough, or sow a new variety of seed. Consequently, there could have been no interchange of ideas, nothing new to think or converse about; and nothing to amuse and exercise the imagination better than the idle gossip and silly stories passed from mouth to mouth at feast-time. All were on a dead level of ignorance and apathy; all alike incapable of feeling a generous impulse, of making a noble effort. No wonder therefore if the monotony of such an existence was agreeably relieved from time to time by rebellion against a tyrant, or if hostile armies swooped down one after another upon a listless and dis-united people which was sure not to offer a gallant resistance. And no wonder if the

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government of the Nâyakkans, showy and powerful as it was in appearance, proved to be utterly rotten at the core; and at once fell to pieces on receiving a few heavy and well-directed blows. That it so fell to pieces, was undoubtedly a great blessing for Madura: and every real friend of the Hindû must feel glad that a state of things which was opposed to all improvement, and which rendered true happiness an impossibility to all classes, rich and poor, noble and degraded, was terminated in due time by the extinction of the Nâyakkan dynasty, and has been replaced by subjection to able and conscientious rulers The old glory of the Brâhman has perhaps departed. But he still marches in the van, and has really lost but little by the change. Whilst the low-caste man has become manly and independent; and as compared with what he was in Tirumala's time, energetic, adventurous, and anxious for enlightenment and progress

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM A.D. 1659 TO A.D. 1682.

Tirumala's natural son is crowned King by the Ministers.—Kumâra Muttu threatens a civil war.—The new King shows spirit.—The Mahometans threaten Trichinopoly.—It is too strong for them.—They take Tanjore, and overrun the Tanjore country.—The craven Nâyakkan.—Death of Robert de Nobilibus.—His works.—Devastation of the country.—Famine and pestilence.—The Mahometans move off.—The King kills himself by excesses.—His son Choka Nât'ha a promising youth.—His great scheme.—Treachery of his Ministers and General.—The King punishes and dissembles.—More treachery.—The King takes the entire command of the army.—Happy results.—He overcomes his enemies.—Sufferings of the people.—Portents.—The Mahometans besiege Trichinopoly.—Their horrible cruelty.—Choka Nât'ha punishes Tanjore; and chastises the Sêthupati.—The cow-birth.—Wicked Ministers, and wicked Kings.—Vandalism.—Persecution.—Peace for a few years.—The great war with Tanjore.—Its tragical end.—Choka Nât'ha makes his foster-brother Viceroy of Tanjore.—Choka Nât'ha's lethargy.—Ekoji is sent by Idal Khân, and becomes master of Tanjore.—Cabal in Trichinopoly.—Ekoji overruns Madura.—The Râja of Mysore also attacks it.—Famine again.—Ekoji's moderation.—The political situation.—The great Sivaji's irruption.—His treachery to his half-brother Ekoji.—War between Santoji and Ekoji.—The defeat of the latter.—Choka Nât'ha's irresolute conduct.—Sivaji's preparations and cruel oppression of his subjects.—Ekoji becomes an oppres-

sor.—Madura is attacked by Mysore —Choka Nât'ha is deposed in favor of his brother.—Who is just as incapable. —Pitiable state of the country.—Famine, floods and pestilence.—A Mahometan adventure deposes Muttu Linga, and sets up Choka Nât'ha as a puppet.—Mysore invests Trichinopoly.—Death of Rustam Khân.—Choka Nât'ha's miserable plight.—Arasumalei defeats the Mysoreans, and drives them out of the country.—They retain Madura.—Choka Nât'ha dies of a broken heart.

It will be remembered that when Tirumala Sevari died, his younger brother Prince Kumâra Muttu was about to march back to Madura in triumph after conquering the Râja of Mysore. When the news of his brother's death reached him, it was accompanied by news to the effect that the illegitimate son of the deceased, Prince Muttu Alakâdri, had been crowned King by the ministers, and he Kumâra Muttu, the rightful heir, had been passed over. The victorious Prince was by no means prepared to give up his rights without a struggle and lost no time in marching upon the capital, and there seemed to be every prospect of a civil war. However Kumâra Muttu halted at a village called Durvamanam (?) near Madura, and some negotiations took place between the rivals, which ended in Kumâra Muttu consenting to waive his claim and to accept in lieu of the crown the district of Siva Kâsi and other territories in the Tinnevelly province. We are not told what considerations influenced his mind in coming to this decision. and as he was undoubtedly the rightful heir, had proved himself to be a leader of ability, and was at the head of an army flushed with victory and presumably proud of their General, it is difficult to account for his conduct on this occasion. Possibly he found his troops to be wearied of war, and unwilling to commence another campaign. Possibly too, the ministers formed a more powerful party than he could hope to vanquish. Whatever may have been his reasons, he retired to Siva Kâsi; and passed the remainder of his days in obscurity, occupying himself with charitable works and with the improvement of the country which he had acquired.

The new King, Muttu Alakâdri, otherwise known as Mutta Vîrappa, being freed from all apprehensions touching the behaviour of his opponent and being a man of considerable spirit, announced his

intention of shaking off the yoke which the foolish and culpable conduct of his father had fixed upon the necks of his people: and to that end set to work to render Trichinopoly impregnable by strengthening its fortifications and completely furnishing it with troops and munitions of war. At the same time he made overtures to the King of Tanjore to join him in resisting the Mahometans. But the Tanjorean was not prepared to follow his example · on the contrary he sent an embassy to Idal Khân, the King of the Dekkan, and made him many offers in the hope of obtaining his favor and protection. However his efforts proved fruitless; and shortly afterwards a Mahometan army made its appearance in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, sent with the avowed object of over-running and reducing the whole of the southern country. But observing the preparations which had been made for his reception, the Mahometan General refrained from attacking that strong fortress; and moved off towards the east, as though intending to ravage the districts lying in that direction. Having disarmed the suspicions of the King of Tanjore by this ruse, he suddenly marched on his capital, and laid siege to it on the 19th March 1659. Being well fortified, and defended by powerful artillery and by a large army, and stocked with provisions sufficient for several years, Tanjore might have regarded with contempt the best directed efforts of an army which was unprovided with a single siege-gun. But the commander of the fortress having received a slight flesh-wound from an arrow shot at random, all his courage forsook him, and with a pusillanimity seldom equalled he yielded his strong fort to the enemy Leaving a garrison in occupation of Tanjore, the Mahometan marched upon Manâr-Kôvil, a town a few leagues to the east, and took it without resistance. Thence he marched to Vallam, the third most important place in the country, situated a few miles east of Tanjore. This town was protected by a citadel built on a lofty rock, and of great natural strength, which had been greatly increased by skilfully constructed fortifications: and its defenders were apparently in a position to defy almost any Mahometan force that could be brought against them. And as the King had selected it as a place of refuge for his wives and treasure, there seemed to be every reason to expect that he would determine to hold it to the last. But his fears were too strong for him; and he fled ignominiously to the impenetrable jungles in the neighbourhood of his capital. Imitating his base example, the garrison also fled under cover of the night, and when the besiegers prepared to attack the fortress in

the morning, they were agreeably surprised at finding that it contained not a single occupant. They were disappointed however to some extent in their hopes of obtaining an enormous booty for after the garrison had fled, a body of Kallans had entered the citadel and carried off large quantities of bullion, jewels and other valuable spoils The Mahometans placed a small garrison in Vallam; and then began to spread themselves over the country, plundering towns, and levying contributions from the unfortunate inhabitants of the rural districts. They appear to have marched south as far as Madura, causing everywhere the greatest confusion and alarm; but the particulars of the invasion are not recorded.

It was about this time that the great missionary, Robert de Nobilibus, breathed his last. He appears to have left Madura in the year 1648, after forty-two years of labor in the mission of which he may be called the founder, with an utterly broken constitution and all but blind. He was removed by order of his superiors to Ceylon, in the hope that a milder climate might do something for his lost health, and that he might be enabled to give to the world a few more of those precious works which the fecundity of his genius still continued to produce. But the change was useless. The old apostle of the Hindûs could not bring himself to vary his austere mode of life, and being received in Ceylon, whither his fame had preceded him, with the utmost cordiality and affection, he could not refrain from making converts and preaching wherever he found himself; and consequently instead of growing stronger, his body soon began to show signs of giving way altogether And it became clear that his life was in danger. Upon this his Provincial moved him once more, and this time to a spot so remote from the scene of his early triumphs that no associations would be likely to tempt him to fresh exertions. He was conveyed to Mylapore near Madras, and lived there for some years in a little mud hovel, in company with four Brâhmans, his faithful friends and disciples, spending his time in composition and in earnest prayer and contemplation. At last the disturbed state of the country compelled his friends to remove him much against his will from his beloved hermitage, and a few days afterwards, possibly unable to endure this new break in his life, the veteran died in peace.

The following appear to be the principal works of which Robert de Nobilibus was the author, works said to be admirable both in matter and in style; whilst those of them which were written in Tamil are most remarkable for both grammatical and idiomatic elegance.

1. *The Kandam,* a Tamil work in four large volumes. It forms a complete body of theology, and was intended to be used as a means of converting the heathen and confirming neophytes in the principles of the faith. The style is simple and somewhat diffuse, in conformity with the taste of the Hindûs for whom it was written.

2. An abridgment of the *Kandam,* with thirty-two meditative sessions added.

3. *The Âttumânireiyanam* or knowledge of the soul, a Tamil work of severer and closer style than the Kandam, replete with words unavoidably borrowed from the Samskrit.

4. *The Toûchana-adikkaram* or refutation of calumnies, a Tamil polemical work, as indicated by the title.

5. *Les signes ou motifs de crédibilité de la religion revélée de Dieu pour conduire les hommes au salut.* The author establishes twelve of them, and shows that the pagans have them not.

6. *Le flambeau spirituel pour discerner la vérité du mensonge.*

7. *Dialogues sur la vie éternelle*

8. *Régles de perfection,* supposed to be written by a young virgin for the edification of widows anxious to enter upon a life of religious seclusion.

9. *Cantiques Spirituels,* hymns devotional and mystic, suited for various classes of Christians

The writer who gives this list adds that at the time he wrote, in 1660, those works were all of them written only on palm-leaves, and were in danger of destruction; but that he hoped to get them shortly printed. Were his hopes realized?

We must now return to the affairs of the King of Madura. Whilst the Mahometans were ravaging the country as described above under the leadership of two Generals named Sagoši and Mûla, the King of Madura kept within the walls of Trichinopoly, and waited patiently till his persecutors should think proper to retire. And at last his patience was rewarded. The cruel devastation of the country round Trichinopoly and in the direction of Tanjore led to a local famine, which within a short space of time compelled the population to emigrate in a body, some to the Madura country, some to the Sattiyamangalam. And then the Mahometans were reduced to the greatest extremities Their horses died from want of forage; their camp-followers ran away; and thousands of them died of actual

starvation. So numerous were the deaths, that it was impossible to bury or burn the corpses; which were accordingly left in great heaps in the open fields. The effluvium arising from their decomposition, combined with the ill-health resulting from want of proper food, rapidly engendered a pestilence which carried off great numbers; and the panic and disorder which ensued were augmented by disaffection on the part of the principal officers In these circumstances Mûla began to fear for his own safety, and attempted to compromise matters with the Hindûs by offering to withdraw his troops upon payment of three years' tribute. But this proposition fell through at once. The King of Tanjore had no longer anything to lose, and was safe in his jungles. And the Madura Nâyakkan was equally safe behind the walls of Trichinopoly, protected by a bold and experienced General Lingama Nâyakkan, and by a very numerous garrison. Accordingly Mûla laid siege to Trichinopoly in the vain hope of frightening the King into compliance with his demands. But famine and pestilence pressed sorely upon him; and the Kallans harrassed him by cutting off his stragglers, and by stealing into his camp almost nightly and carrying off everything upon which they could lay hands. and in a very short time he came to understand that to take Trichinopoly was a feat quite beyond his strength. And at last, after suffering considerable losses he was forced to content himself with a very moderate sum of money offered to him by the King; and striking his tents, marched out of the country.

Madura was now free from danger, and there seemed to be some prospect of her condition mending. But the King, instead of taking advantage of his good fortune to put his house in order and to bind up the wounds which his unrelenting enemy had inflicted, gave himself up to debauchery with a mad greediness, which in a few short months brought him to a dishonored grave.

He was succeeded by his son Choka Nât'ha, also called Choka Linga and Chokappa, a very promising youth of sixteen. His first act was to move the Court from Madura to Trichinopoly, at the sugtion of two of his ministers, into whose hands the whole government of the kingdom presently fell. These were the Pradâni, a Brâhman eminent by reason of his great capacity for business and long experience, and the Rayasam, a man who had possessed the entire confidence of the late King. Taking advantage of Choka Nât'ha's youth, these two ministers speedily contrived to usurp all power, and

applied it to the most selfish ends · and in order to render their position the more secure, they endeavoured to get rid of all the nobles and Officers of State who were likely to oppose their ambitious projects, by throwing some into prison and driving others into exile. But crafty and unscrupulous as they were, they did not dare to thwart all the generous impulses by which the mind of the youthful King was swayed, and it was with the enforced concurrence of the Pradâni that he resolved to carry out a scheme of startling magnitude, which, if somewhat difficult of execution, promised at the same time the grandest and most admirable results. This was no less than an expedition against the Mahometans, having for its object the restoration of the Vijayanagar Empire, and the replacement of the Nâyakkan of Gingi on the throne of his ancestors. Visionary as the scheme may now appear, it was in reality by no means impracticable: and no doubt an early success would have induced crowds of friends and adherents to rally round the Narasinga, and unite in a last effort to free the South of India from the grasp of the hated Mussulman. But the thing was not to be. As a first step Choka Nât'ha sent his Dalavây at the head of a well-equipped army of 40,000 men, with instructions to attack Sagosi, and get possession of Gingi; and as Lingama Nâyakkan was well-known for his courage and military talent, the duty entrusted to him was one by no means difficult to perform. But unfortunately he was not above taking a bribe. and instead of carrying out his master's orders he sold himself to the enemy, and only wasted time and money in a long and bootless campaign.

Whilst the young King's interests were being thus betrayed abroad, treachery was at work within the walls of the Palace; and a conspiracy was formed with the object of deposing Choka Nât'ha and raising up his younger brother in his stead. It appears that the Pradâni and Rayasam had commenced to oppress the people most cruelly in spite of the King's opposition; and not contented with the power which they had already acquired, had attempted to treat their young master as a sort of State prisoner, confining him to a suite of rooms, and preventing all intercourse between him and his subjects. And proscriptions of the King's loyal adherents had been carried out so systematically, that scarcely one remained to assist and counsel him. The King resisted this mode of treatment, and at last told his ministers in unmistakeable language that he would submit to their thraldom no longer. and upon this they made over-

tures to Lingama Nâyakkan; and having gained over that miscreant to their side, arranged with him to carry out the design above alluded to But before the plot arrived at maturity, intelligence of what was going on was conveyed to the King by one of the ladies of the Palace, and he thereupon acted with an amount of vigour and discretion hardly to be expected from one so young. He wrote off at once to two officers who were in exile having incurred the displeasure of the traitors on account of their devotion to his cause, and directed them to secretly introduce a few soldiers into the Palace, and seize the persons of the ministers: and the order was executed promptly and successfully. Both the traitors were surprised. The Rayasam was cut to pieces on the spot: and the Pradâni, being a Brâhman and therefore not punishable with death, was subjected to the loss of his eyes

Having freed himself from his enemies by this fortunate *coup de main*, the Nâyakkan summoned from exile and set at liberty large numbers of loyal dependents; and surrounded his person with those of them in whose fidelity, understanding and courage he thought he could safely rely. Next he turned his attention to the capture and punishment of Lingama. Feeling too weak to attempt to effect this by open force, he resolved to veil his anger and await an opportunity of seizing the traitor unprepared: and accordingly he pretended to receive him with great cordiality on the first occasion of their meeting, and did nothing to excite his suspicions during a period of several months. At the end of that time he made an effort to accomplish his object: but it was ineffectual, and Lingama escaped to the camp of Sagosi, whom he succeeded in inducing to join him in besieging Trichinopoly In a short time the confederates appeared before that fortress at the head of 12,000 foot and 7,000 horse; and began to lay siege to it, notwithstanding the fact that the King's army then numbered not less than 50,000 troops. But the possession of superior strength is of little avail where treachery is secretly and cleverly practised: and dissensions amongst his men, mysterious losses amongst his officers, surprises by ambuscades, and various misadventures, for the constant occurrence of which the King was wholly unable to account, compelled him again and again to defer risking a general engagement of which the issue should not have been for one moment doubtful. At last the secret came out; and the King discovered to his inexpressible chagrin that he had been a second time duped by his minister, who was a Brâhman and con-

nected by blood with him who had been disgraced However he was equal to the occasion: having entirely disengaged himself from the clique of Brâhmans who surrounded and misled him, he resolved to trust no one for a time, and took into his own hands the entire command of the army. This bold step took the hearts of his soldiers by storm. Rallying round him to a man, they swore that they would implicitly obey his orders, and protect him from every foe: and their attitude was so unmistakeably loyal that the traitors had no resource left them but a speedy flight. And Lingama and Sagosi were compelled to fall back upon Tanjore, relying upon the support of the Nâyakkan who had in the first instance countenanced their project.

The presence of Choka Nât'ha inspired his troops with the greatest confidence, and thousands of recruits daily poured into camp and declared their readiness to serve under his standard: and this good feeling on the part of his men re-acted upon the King in so remarkable a manner that although almost a child in years, he astonished all beholders by the practical skill with which he handled his army, by the inflexible discipline which he maintained, and by the cool judgment which marked all his arrangements. Within a short time his reputation as a General had become so great that many of the enemy's troops came over to him; and at last he found himself at the head of as many as 70,000 well-trained soldiers. With this force he threw himself suddenly upon Tanjore; and the result was that upon which he had calculated. Lingama and Sagosi fled to Gingi: and the Râja of Tanjore tendered an unconditional submission.

The country was now permitted to breathe again for a short space: but the sufferings which it had endured for some years had been terrible; and perhaps it is only in India, where agriculture is carried on with so little capital, and where the cattle are so easily hidden in jungles and upon desolate rocky hills, that a country could recover in a year or two of rest from ravages such as the South of India endured in the years from 1659 to 1662. The privations undergone by the Christians are described as having been truly heart-rending; and an idea of their magnitude may be formed from the circumstance that upwards of ten thousand of them died of want and starvation. The greater part of the survivors barely kept themselves alive by emigrating to countries less sorely harassed than their own, and there

laboring as coolies amongst the heathen Tanjore appears to have suffered even more than Madura, and almost the entire Christian population of that kingdom were driven out of it either by the fear of the Mahometans or by the pangs of hunger. And things were made worse—so say the Jesuits—by the Dutch decoying numbers of Hindûs from their homes and selling them as slaves Probably they were only shipped off as coolies, in much the same manner as at the present day. Persecution too was not inactive, and the heathens accused the Christians of having offended the local deities, and brought drought and famine and all its attendant horrors by their impiety. But the young King checked their ignorant violence, and the Church remained unmolested for a time.

In the Madura country the year 1662 was distinguished by a number of extraordinary events, which filled the hearts of every inhabitant with alarm Many children were born with complete sets of teeth; wolves, bears and tigers quitted the forests and roamed over the plains, and on several occasions came into the capital itself and prowled about the enclosure of the Church, many persons died suddenly from no apparent causes; and swarms of insects of kinds before unknown darkened the air and poisoned it with an intolerable stench, whilst their bites caused great pain These unusual and unaccountable portents were regarded as the forerunners of calamities to come, and every heart was depressed with anxiety and fear. Cholera too or some other epidemic raged furiously, and in one respectable family alone seven persons were carried off in fifteen days. An eighth was attacked, but was saved by a missionary attaching to her arm an amulet on which was engraved a sentence of the Gospel.

The calamities supposed to be foreshadowed by the portents just described were not long in coming. In 1663 or 64 a numerous army of Mahometans commanded by one Vanamian, the most skilful and valiant of the Generals of Idal Khân, appeared before Trichinopoly; and the King was summoned to surrender at discretion. Choka Nât'ha was not at all alarmed at the menaces and array of power brought to bear against him, and contemptuously bade the enemy do their worst Upon this a regular siege was commenced, and a well-directed fire was kept up by the besiegers during many days, whilst from time to time vigorous and determined attempts were made to carry the fortifications by storm. But the Hindûs fought well from behind their walls. a shot was fired for every shot of the enemy, and the storming parties were steadily and gallantly repulsed. And

although many of the principal quarters of the town were destroyed—amongst other buildings the Christian Church was utterly ruined—there wêre no signs of irresolution or apprehension discoverable on the part of the besieged; and at last the Mahometan General was compelled to confess himself beaten, and the siege was raised.

But if Trichinopoly could not be taken, crops could be destroyed by cavalry, farm-houses could be burnt, unoffending Hindû ryots could be circumcised, children could be ravished, babes could be tossed upon sword-points; and burning for revenge, thirsting for blood, mad with lust, this army of demons was spread out over the whole face of the country, and permitted to slowly satiate itself with enormities at which even Asiatic humanity must have shuddered So great was the terror everywhere inspired by its approach, that sooner than fall into its bloody clutches, Hindûs slew their own families, and burnt their houses, and threw themselves mortally wounded into the flames. Sometimes whole villages were destroyed by the inhabitants, who afterwards sought a common death in the general conflagration: and in one instance, a Christian woman was dragged out alive from under a heap of four hundred corpses which lay rotting in one large building. At last, when their vengeance had been satisfied, or perhaps when no more could be found upon whom vengeance could be wreaked, the Mahometans entered into negotiations with the King, and having persuaded him to pay them a considerable sum of money, marched off in triumph to their own country, proud of the booty which they had amassed, and happy in the thought that Allah's will had been worked once more upon the infidel.

As soon as they had gone out of sight, Choka Nât'ha hastened to carry out his intention of punishing Vijaya Râg'hava, the King of Tanjore, for having betrayed him and assisted the invaders. Putting himself at the head of a powerful force he marched to Tanjore; and after fighting a few battles with indifferent success contrived to take the important fortress of Vallam. Upon this the enemy submitted to his terms; and the King marched back to his capital, leaving a strong garrison in Vallam.

The next event, which occurred very shortly after this, was an expedition against the Sêthupati, who had been guilty of treason in refusing to assist his Lord when at war with the Mahometans. Choka Nât'ha marched into the Marava country, and took the forts of Thirupatthûr, Puthu-kôttei, Mânâmadura, and some others of less

importance, and penetrating into the heart of the jungly districts obtained possession of Kâleiyâr-Kôvil. But his rebellious vassal regarded these losses with indifference, and only retired to safe retreats whither it was impossible to follow him. And after a time Choka Nât'ha became weary of conducting a guerilla warfare, and went to Madura to take part in some important religious ceremonies, leaving the command of the army in the hands of some of his officers. This change brought about unexpected results. The Maravan soon plucked up his courage, and leaving the jungles attacked the King's troops when an opportunity presented itself; and being well acquainted with all parts of the difficult country upon which the expedition was operating, was able to take them now and again at a disadvantage, and to obtain several minor successes. Eventually the King resolved to give up the idea of humbling his vassal's pride; and withdrawing the greater portion of his troops from the seat of war, contented himself with garrisoning and holding the principal places in the Marava country.

Whilst the King was engaged in religious exercises at Madura, a noticeable ceremony was being performed at Tanjore. This was the "cow-birth" of the King of that country. The Brâhmans persuaded him to have a colossal figure of a cow cast in bronze, and at the proper moment he solemnly entered its belly in the presence of a multitude of people, whilst prayers were offered up and hymns sung; and having remained inside for a sufficient time, during which innumerable prescribed ceremonies were performed, was at last brought into the world by the wife of the royal Guru who officiated on the occasion as midwife, and was dandled and treated like a newly born babe, of which he endeavoured to the best of his ability to imitate the cries and gestures This ceremony is still performed, it is believed, in some Hindû States, and is supposed to be of peculiar efficacy in removing sin and impurity. The cow being regarded in the light of a divinity, and a divinity of a high order, the cow-birth is held to be a spiritual second birth. To make its efficacy complete, the cow should be cast in gold, and after the birth should be broken up into fragments and distributed amongst Brâhmans

A letter of 1666 shows that there had been peace for some little time, and that nothing more remarkable had taken place than certain changes of ministers, rendered necessary by the intolerable oppression and injustice of which they had been guilty. The following passage gives a lively idea of their conduct.—

"Le pradani de Tanjaour, pour remplir le trésor royal et faire sa "propre fortune, avait donné à un brame l'autorisation de dépouiller "tous les vassaux sans aucune forme de procès. Quiconque, à force "de fatigue et d'industrie, était parvenu à recueillir quelque somme "d'argent, était par cela seul un des coupables voués aux poursuites "du ministre. En portant ce décret il n'avait en vue que les fortunes "plus considérables, mais le brame qui avait aussi une bourse à rem-"plir étendit l' arrêt à toutes les conditions; et il employa pour l'exé-"cuter des moyens si violents et cruels, que les habitants saisis d'effroi "cherchèrent leur salut dans la suite. Les artisans suspendirent "leurs travaux, les march ands fermèrent leurs boutiques, la plupart "abandonnèrent leurs maisons, et le royaume presenta l'image d'un "désert."

The King of Tanjore is stated to have been even worse than the minister. He was perfectly cognizant of all that was going on, and did not interfere, hoping to be able to make a sponge of his servant and to squeeze out into his own coffers all that the Pradâni had sucked up from the vitals of the country. In this however he was disappointed. The Pradâni understood his master's character perfectly well, and took measures to make away with all his ill-gotten wealth before the King's warrant for his apprehension was issued: and when he was seized, not a Rupee was found in his possession. When he heard of this unhandsome conduct, the King was indeed angry, and having considered in what manner the villain could be most severely punished, handed him over to the people to be dealt with as they thought proper: and the people, it is to be inferred, tore him limb from limb.

The Pradâni of Madura had been guilty of the same crimes, and merited a like punishment: but Choka Nât'ha, who had by this time completely spoiled his naturally fine character by over-indulgence in those pleasures to which Asiatic nobles usually fall victims, instead of dismissing or beheading his wicked minister, fined him in the sum of three lacs of Ecus; well knowing that the sufferers by this act would be his down-trodden subjects, and that he was in fact aiding and abetting the very offences for which he pretended to provide a punishment. But however bad was the state of things in Madura and Tanjore under Hindû Kings; the state of Gingi under a Mahometan government was infinitely worse. The Jesuit whose letter was quoted from above, declares his utter inability to find words in

which to describe the horrors daily witnessed in that unfortunate country: and adds that were he able to describe them no one would think his description entitled to credence.

Whilst his minister was barbarously oppressing the people, Choka Nât'ha himself committed a most unpardonable crime. This was the wanton destruction of a portion of the great Palace at Madura. As he resided always at Trichinopoly, he felt it to be incumbent on him to build a sumptuous residence in that city; and in order to save expense, perhaps too he was jealous of his grandfather's fame, he resolved to construct it as far as possible with the materials available at Madura. Accordingly the order was issued, and the work of demolition commenced; and every day saw trains of waggons bear away handsome beams, curiously carved monoliths, magnificent pillars of black marble, in a word everything that was most excellent and admirable in an edifice which at that time was perhaps one of the very finest in all Asia And this barbarity was unblushingly perpetrated in order that materials might be procured for the erection of a commonplace building which was never admired, about which history is altogether silent; and at the cost of a people which had been ruined by long continued wars, and utterly beggared by the unremitting exactions of its ministers!

It does not appear in what way a reconciliation between Choka Nât'ha and the traitor Lingama Nâyakkan was effected: but the latter is described as being the father-in-law of the former in 1666. And seeing that shortly before that time an invasion of the troops of Idal Khân had been daily expected, though it did not take place, it is probable that the King married his ex-Dalavây's daughter with a view to the political advantages likely to flow from the alliance.

It is observable that both Lingama Nâyakkan and Chinnatambi Muthali the Pradâni protected the Christians; and it is recorded that both of them wrote to the Governor of Trichinopoly letters requesting him to treat the missionaries with kindness and assist them in every way. Nevertheless persecution abounded; and nothing short of the indefatigable zeal which distinguished so many of the missionaries of those times could have sufficed to keep alive the simple faith of their converts, who in spite of wars, famines, epidemics, persecution, and worse than these the ridicule and bigotry of men of all castes, rarely renounced Christianity; and as a rule, lived lives not inconsistent with the religion which they had adopted.

Of the events, if any, which happened between 1666 and 1673, no

record exists. But there appears to be good reason for supposing that the country was at peace during the greater part of that period. Probably Choka Nât'ha's reputation as a General saved the country from invasion: and he had long ago given up the schemes of conquest which amused his fancy in his early youth. But about the year 1674 there was a bloody and disastrous war with Tanjore, which resulted in the beheading of its King and the complete subjugation of the country; and subsequently led to the most important results. As the Jesuit letters written during the above period never reached Europe, owing to the disturbances on the coasts caused by the incessant wars between the Dutch and Portuguese, it is not possible to state with certainty what were the circumstances which gave rise to this war with Tanjore, or those which led to the almost unprecedented act of beheading the conquered King. But one of the O. H MSS. narrates the history of the war in a circumstantial manner; and it will be well in default of better authority to present in substance the account furnished by it.

The war is said to have originated in the refusal of the King of Tanjore, Achyuta Vijaya Râg'hava, to give his daughter in marriage to the King of Madura. We are not told why he refused; and considering the relative extent and importance of the two kingdoms at this time, one would naturally have supposed that the offer of marriage would have been gladly accepted, more especially as the two Kings had for some years been on friendly terms and were both Nâyakkans, descended probably from common ancestors. So confidential indeed were the relations between the two Courts, that a post had been established between Tanjore and Srîrang'ha, the sacred Island close to Trichinopoly, for the express purpose of enabling the King of Tanjore to constantly visit that holy place for the purpose of religious worship. The distance between the two places is only about twenty miles, and is said to have been traversed by the King every morning: though this of course must be taken to be an exaggeration. For some reason however he would not give his daughter to the King of Madura, but refused her in the most disrespectful terms. Perhaps he was induced to so act because he knew Choka Nât'ha to be the son of a bastard. Perhaps too he saw or fancied he saw a command from a superior rather than a request from an equal, in the message which he received from Madura; and felt insulted rather than flattered by the proposal Choka Nât'ha was furious when he received his answer. Not only was the Princess whom he desired to wed

reported to be beautiful in person, and at the same time possessed of extraordinary intelligence and good sense; but the dignity of the throne had been affected, and his person had been grievously insulted in the eyes of his people. The insult must be washed out with blood, and the damsel forcibly brought away to his harem Such was the King's resolve, and he forthwith ordered his then Dalavây, Venkata Krishnappa Nâyakkan, to collect a large army and march against Tanjore.

The General was within a few days prepared to start; and having reverently placed the royal commission on his head in token of obedience, and taken leave of the King, he set out without delay and marched upon the enemy's capital. As soon as he had crossed the Tanjore frontier, he fell in with a detachment of Tanjoreans and drove them back with loss. He then pushed on and came up with the main division of the Tanjore army, and completely defeated it in a general engagement: and the enemy having retired in confusion behind the walls of Tanjore, he was enabled to invest that fortress with his whole force Before commencing the siege however he respectfully proposed to the King of Tanjore to give up his daughter upon condition of an immediate cessation of hostilities: but although an old man, the King of Tanjore possessed indomitable courage and an inflexible will. In spite of the apparent hopelessness of his situation, he determined to resist to the very last; and he deliberately insulted the envoys who offered him peace. Upon this the Madura Dalavây opened fire with batteries of heavy guns erected on lofty earthworks, and after a few days cannonade succeeded in making a practicable breach. The ditch was then filled in with fascines, and a general assault successfully executed. Having stormed the town, Venkata Krishnappa next surrounded the Palace with troops and once more called upon the King to do what was required of him. But still the old hero refused. He boldly declared that for him death had no sting; honor was before everything in this world; and no danger would ever induce him to alter his fixed determination. He would nevertheless fight for dear life and do his best to kill his adversary: so let his adversary do his best to kill him. Having said this much, he collected all his wives, concubines, children, slave-girls, and valuables in one room, and placed round the walls of it several pots filled with gun-powder. At the same time he armed all the ladies of the Palace with keen-edged swords; and taking leave of them, bade them set fire to the powder so soon as they received the signal

from him. He then arrayed himself for battle. Round his shrivelled waist he wound several valuable scarves; his body he covered with the richest cloths, and with quantities of valuable gems; and his flaccid over-hanging eye-brows were caught up and supported by golden wires. Thus arrayed, and with a flashing sword in either hand, he passed through the Palace gates and presented himself before his astonished foes, looking more like some youthful hero than a veteran of eighty summers. Here he was met by his son, from whom he had been for some time estranged; and the two embraced for the last time, and were reconciled. After consulting together for a moment, they agreed that life was no longer possible for them, that the fatal hour had come, and the ladies should receive the signal. The King's son then entered the harem, gave the signal, and hastily withdrew. Immediately afterwards a double explosion took place; and all was over. Then the old King and his son, surrounded by their most devoted servants and guards, charged furiously into the thickest of the enemy: and after desperate deeds of valour were overpowered and taken prisoners. Their heads were forthwith cut off; and the victorious General carried them before his King together with a valuable booty, after leaving a garrison in the captured town.

Choka Nât'ha was mightily pleased, and at once rewarded his Dalavây with titles and presents The Pradâni also who had accompanied the expedition, Chinna Tambi Muthali, was greatly honored, and the keeper of the fort at Dindigul, China-Kâtthiian, the son of Rang'hana Nâyakkan of Tirumala's time, was sent home with many presents. He had shown himself a worthy son of his father: and the conquest of Tanjore was owing in no slight degree to his very valuable services.

The government of the conquered country was provided for by appointing the King's foster-brother, Alakiri Nâyakkan, Viceroy of Tanjore. And as he had lost his intended bride, the King married one Mangammâl, a daughter of the Râja of Chandragiri Dupakal, a woman of great intelligence and vigour of mind, who made him very happy.

After this, the MS. goes on to say, the King gave himself up entirely to a life of study, passing his whole time in reading those religious books with which every pious Hindû King ought to be well acquainted, namely the Mahâ B'hâratam, the B'hâgavatam, and the Râmâyanam. And this seems to be a delicate way of saying that he gave himself

up to a life of ease and debauchery; for a letter of 1676 tells us that he had become "a tyrant who knew no other law than his cupidity," and that his exspoliations and cruelties had made people forget the despotism of all his predecessors, and had excited against him the universal execration of his subjects.

The immediate results of the annexation of Tanjore to Madura were the following. A son or grandson of the late King of Tanjore, whose name was Chengamala Nâyakkan or Dâs, escaped from the Palace during the confusion which ensued upon its destruction and fled for refuge to the court of Idal Khân; who received him kindly, and promised to assist him. In accordance with this promise Idal Khân's General Ekoji, the Venkaji of Duff, and the half-brother of the great Sivaji, was despatched with an army to Tanjore, and directed to reinstate the refugee. But upon reaching his destination he found that the Viceroy was prepared for an attack, and that nothing could be gained by commencing a siege; and accordingly he withdrew his troops to some distance, and resolved to wait patiently for a while, and watch the progress of events What could not be done by force, might be done by intrigue and bribery; and he had plenty of leisure to devote to the object in view. So thinking, he waited and watched and plotted for a whole twelvemonth; at the end of which time his patience was rewarded by the occurrence of a rupture between Choka Nât'ha and the Viceroy which promised the fulfilment of all his hopes.

It is not quite certain how this rupture was produced: but it seems probable that the following were the circumstances which immediately brought it about. As Choka Nât'ha grew more and more indolent and averse to everything but sensual gratifications, a constantly increasing share in the general control of the government devolved upon the heir apparent *(Irandâvathu pattam)*, his younger brother, Prince Muttu Alakâdri; until at last almost the whole of the King's responsibility came to be vested in him. Muttu Alakâdri was by no means loth to use the power with which he was thus unexpectedly clothed . and a cabal appears to have been formed by him, the object of which was to oust the Dalavây and other ministers, and substitute for them favourites of his own. But Venkata Krishnappa was too formidable to attack openly, and his enemies durst not provoke him; until one Gôvindappayya, a crafty and unscrupulous Brâhman, became Muttu Alakâdri's confidential minister and adviser, when the cabal began to grow bolder and more active. Gôvindappayya appears to have aimed at making himself Dalavây and usurping the government after throw-

ing over his patron; but he took great care not to excite Muttu Alakâdri's suspicions, and artfully contrived to induce him to gradually throw up public business. and give the rein to pleasure. Having effected this, and having acquired a very considerable amount of power, the Brâhman next proceeded to deal with the King's friends and adherents, one by one. Chinna Kâtthiran was ordered to appear at once at the Palace, and on his appearance was sharply rebuked for having failed to treat the King's brother and the minister with proper respect, and directed to pay tribute in future at the rate of 10,000 per annum He was then abruptly dismissed: and a brave and loyal servant of the Government was changed into an enemy. After this Gôvindappayya proceeded to tamper with the King's foster-brother, by representing to him that it was quite uncalled-for on his part to pay into the King's treasury all the surplus revenues of Tanjore, when he might very well keep them for himself. If he made it worth the minister's while, the minister would be his very good friend, and no harm should come of his disobedience. Alakiri Nâyakkan was without much difficulty induced to see the merits of this proposition: and forgetful alike of his benefactor's generosity, and of the close ties by which he was bound to that benefactor, he suddenly declined to send remittances as usual to Trichinopoly, and declared himself to be independent. On hearing of this vile conduct the King grew very angry, and roused himself sufficiently to dictate a very indignant letter to his foster-brother, commanding him to return at once to his allegiance and pay what he owed. An ironical and impertinent reply was the only result: and the King angrily ordered his Dalavây to reduce the rebel to obedience. But if Venkata Krishnappa was ready to obey orders, he was wholly unable to withstand the influence of those who were planning his ruin: and he was thwarted at every step. Troops could not be got together; there were no guns; supplies were not forthcoming; a thousand obstacles were thrown in his way, and at last all attempts to carry out the King's orders were given up as hopeless. And after the King's anger had cooled a little, and he had relapsed into his usual state of lethargy, nothing more was heard of the intended expedition.

It was in these circumstances or in circumstances similar to these that Choka Nât'ha quarrelled with his foster-brother: and as soon as Ekoji learnt how matters stood between them, he lost no time in taking advantage of the situation. Marching in the early part of 1675 to Tanjore, he threw his troops forthwith upon the outer forti-

fications, carried them almost without any effort; and then stormed the citadel before Alakiri had time to prepare for defence. Having taken the capital, he had no difficulty in establishing his authority over all the territories subject to it: and a few days afterwards he unexpectedly appeared before Trichinopoly at the head of a large force; and it is said that he might have taken that fortress also, had he made an immediate attack. But he was afraid of the risk of failure, and hesitated: and Choka Nât'ha was enabled to complete his preparations for defence. Seeing that it was hopeless to attempt to take Trichinopoly by a regular siege, Ekoji marched away and proceeded to make himself master of the various forts by which the Madura kingdom was defended. As on a former occasion, no opposition was offered to the progress of the invaders. Perhaps the King had been completely unnerved by his inordinate addiction to his favorite vices, and was afraid to measure arms with the Mahometans; or which is more probable, he had become so lazy and self-indulgent as to feel absolutely indifferent with regard to the sufferings of his unfortunate people. However this may have been, in a very short time Ekoji had made himself master of the greater part of the kingdom, and of all its principal places; with the exception perhaps of Sattiyamangalum which appears to have been seized about this time by Mysore, together with the fertile territories dependent upon it. And apparently nothing was left to Choka Nât'ha but the fortress of Trichinopoly.

These events were followed by a general famine, which pressed with peculiar severity upon the inhabitants of the districts lying on the boundaries of the Marava country. Vast numbers died of starvation, and still larger numbers emigrated to foreign countries: and to use the expression of a Jesuit who saw these things, nothing was to be met with in any direction but desolation and the silence of the tomb. And to make things worse, the Râja of Mysore and Ekoji were from day to day threatening to add to their conquests by fresh invasions. Not that the people objected to the country being conquered by a foreign power; for any change of rulers would bring a certain measure of relief. They objected only to the pillage and burning of houses and the tortures inflicted on the helpless which an invasion was sure to bring with it.

Meanwhile Ekoji omitted to carry out Idal Khân's orders with regard to the reinstatement of Chengamala Nâyakkan; and prepared to usurp the title and authority of an independent King. In this capacity he appeared to be resolved to act with extraordinary prudence

and moderation. Having declared that his sole object was to heal the wounds which had been inflicted on the country during the reign of his predecessor, and to develop the resources of one of the most fertile parts of India, he set to work to repair the channels and tanks which had been ruined by a succession of wars; and he was rewarded for his exertions by learning that the rice crop of 1675-6 was the largest that had been known for many years. But he was destined to be disappointed if he expected to enjoy the fruits of his good government without molestation. It was soon noised about that Idal Khân was preparing to march southwards and punish his rebellious vassal. And to the intense surprise of all who knew him, Choka Nât'ha suddenly shook off for the moment the lethargy which had for so long a time held him enthralled, and having succeeded in inducing most of his tributaries to join him in a grand expedition against their common enemy, soon afterwards found himself once more in command of a very considerable army; and engaged in extensive preparations for war.

At the same time the Râja of Mysore began to mass numerous bodies of troops on his southern frontier, and to strongly fortify the principal towns which he had taken from Madura, under the pretext of expecting an attack to be made upon him by his Mahometan neighbours. But it was currently reported that his real intention was to fall upon Madura so soon as Choka Nât'ha should have involved himself in a war with Tanjore.

Such was the political situation in the extreme South of India at the close of the year 1676; and we can readily understand the grief of the missionaries at seeing the wretched prospect which lay before them. In Gingi the state of things was just as bad. The Governor had been compelled by circumstances to revolt against Idal Khân; and in order to punish him, his country was being wasted by fire and sword.

The menacing preparations made by Mysore appear to have held Choka Nât'ha in check for some months; and then occurred the meteor-like irruption of Sivaji into the southern countries in the spring of 1677, an event so sudden and startling that all parties were content to abstain awhile from hostilities, and fix their attention upon the movements of the great Mahratta robber. Having possessed himself by means of those artifices with which readers of Indian history are familiar, of several of the provinces which formerly belonged to the Narasinga, Sivaji was now marching southwards at the head of a numerous and powerful army. Turning aside suddenly

in the direction of Gingi where he had previously secured the friendship of either the Governor Amber Khân or of his son or other officers associated with Amber Khân in the government of the country, he was enabled to take that almost impregnable fortress without an effort. After this achievement he continued to advance in the direction of Trichinopoly and Tanjore, sending forward messengers to Ekoji to request him to march out and pay him a friendly visit. Ekoji who had never as yet seen or spoken to his half-brother, appears to have been entirely ignorant of his treacherous character, and accepted the invitation with touching confidence. Hardly had he reached Sivaji's tent, at a spot just north of the Coleroon and a few leagues from Tanjore, when he was seized and put in chains; and it was explained to him that the spoils which the strong man had hoarded up in Tanjore, must be forthwith handed over without demur to a man still stronger. Sivaji wanted money and must have it. But Ekoji was fortunate enough to escape from custody in the night; and contrived to swim the river under cover of the darkness, and hide himself in the jungles which lay near his capital. His scheme having miscarried, Sivaji proceeded to make himself master of the provinces situated to the north of the Coleroon. But as the river was in flood, and at this time of the year—Wilks states that the interview between the two chiefs took place in July—might likely continue in flood on and off for some weeks, he was probably advised that it would be a hazardous and tedious business to attempt to throw his troops across it and invest Tanjore; and it also appears that it was inconvenient for him to protract his stay in the south, as his son was at this time sorely pressed by a Moghal army in the north, and required immediate assistance. Sivaji accordingly determined to hurry back through the Dekkan and disappear from the south as speedily as he came.

Before going however, he placed his brother or near relation Santoji in command of a numerous army, and directed him to retain possession at any cost of the districts dependent upon Gingi and those lying north of the Coleroon; and also to make such further conquests as circumstances might render possible. And in order that his General might not be misled by want of local knowledge, he associated with him a clever Brâhman of great experience, and in whom the greatest confidence might be placed. Santoji was a General of great reputation, indeed the Jesuit from whose letter the description of these events is taken, makes him out to have been the

most valiant captain who had yet made his appearance in the countries of the south, and he was at the head of a formidable force, but Ekoji did not hesitate to attack him; and having crossed the Coleroon soon after his half-brother had retired, offered the enemy battle. His offer was accepted, and a most sanguinary engagement took place. Santoji's army was superior in point of numbers and in equipment, and was better officered: but on the other hand that of Ekoji included a large number of soldiers whose wives had been ravished and children butchered during the sack of Gingi in the preceding spring. These men were burning for an opportunity of avenging their sufferings: and so impetuous and irresistible were their repeated charges, that at last Santoji found his troops were beginning to waver, and deemed it necessary to sound the retreat. But at this juncture his coolness and strategic skill served him in good stead and enabled him to win a victory where others would have doubted whether they could prevent a rout. Retreating slowly, he sent off a detachment of picked men to occupy a ravine situated in his rear and on the line along which he was moving, with directions to conceal themselves from view and fall on the rear of the enemy when he passed their position in pursuit of the main army. Having completed this movement, and informed his officers of what he proposed doing, he quickened the retreat of his troops and drew on Ekoji past the ambuscade; he then faced about and charged, whilst the detachment posted in the ravine sallied forth and fell upon the rear of the Tanjoreans with loud shouts and great rapidity; and after a few hours of hard fighting Ekoji's army was put to flight, and Santoji remained master of the field, though his loss exceeded considerably that of the vanquished.

Whilst Ekoji was thus engaged, Choka Nât'ha thought to take the opportunity of attacking Tanjore, and moved out of Trichinopoly at the head of his army. But his old dilatoriness overtook him, or he was hampered by the intrigues of a faction; and he suffered Ekoji's fugitive and demoralized army to re-cross the Coleroon and enter Tanjore under his very eyes without attempting to strike a blow. He then opened negotiations with Santoji, offering to supply him liberally with money on condition of Santoji putting him in possession of Tanjore. Santoji agreed to his terms: but the money was not forthcoming, and Ekoji availed himself of the delay to buy himself off with a considerable ransom. Choka Nât'ha thereupon broke up his camp, and returned to Trichinopoly covered with shame.

Having done all that he seemed likely to do in the south, Santoji rejoined Sivaji before Vellore; which had been blockaded for about a twelvemonth, and at last surrendered. By taking this fortress, Sivaji become master of a considerable portion of what had been the Vijayanagar empire; and contented for the present with the amount of territory which he had acquired, he now gave his whole attention to the strengthening of his principal cities, in order that he might be well prepared for the armies of the great Moghal, which he well knew would soon be sent to chastise him. Gingi in particular was strengthened by every means that could be devised. Extensive ramparts were thrown up round it, and flanked by wide and deep ditches and surmounted by towers at suitable points; and the existing works were repaired and considerably enlarged; until at last the place was rendered so compact and strong that the first engineers of Europe might have acknowledged it to be their creation without fear of incurring disgrace. Other fortresses were connected with Gingi by chains of hill-forts, and the whole were strongly garrisoned and provisioned for many years. And then the great Mahratta Chief felt secure.

In order to defray the expense of all these works, Sivaji had recourse to the most intolerable system of oppression. The whole of his dominions were given up to pillage; and his subordinates exerted themselves to fill his coffers with a persistent barbarity, such as perhaps has never in any country or at any time been equalled. All who could, forsook their villages and fled wherever it seemed possible to escape torture and robbery; whilst those who remained spent their days in anxious prayers for the coming of Aurangzîb's armies, and the removal of a yoke to which no length of time could reconcile them.

This infamous example was followed to some extent by Ekoji, who deemed it necessary to recover from his unfortunate subjects the sums which he had been compelled by his half-brother to disgorge: and the hopes which had been entertained immediately after his accession to power were speedily dissipated. And the misery of the people was increased by the Maravans, who ravaged the districts bordering on their country; and though unwilling to come to blows with Ekoji's armies, repeatedly invaded his territories in large bodies, and cut off any detachments which they happened to fall in with.

Whilst such was the condition of other countries in the South of India, the kingdom of Madura was visited for its sins with even greater

misfortunes than it had yet been called upon to endure. Whilst Choka Nât'ha was occupied in fruitlessly endeavouring to gain possession of Tanjore, the Râja of Mysore suddenly invaded Madura; and meeting with no opposition took the only two forts which yet remained to Choka Nât'ha in the north. And whilst the invading army desolated the districts through which it passed, the ministers in Trichinopoly, headed no doubt by Gôvindappayya, dethroned and imprisoned Choka Nât'ha pretending that he had become insane, and set up his brother Muttu Linga in his place. This change was unproductive of any benefit to the people The new King was as great a tyrant as the old: and the whole land was filled with lamentations, and with curses on the heads of those whose wickedness had caused so many evils But the cup of misery was not yet full. An extraordinary superabundance of rain on the western Ghauts and other mountains caused a kind of deluge in December 1677, which laid whole districts under water, and swept away many low-lying villages together with their entire populations. This as a matter of course was followed by famine, and afterwards by pestilence. And many of the starved wretches who survived these plagues took to brigandage in order to obtain the means of subsistence; and bands of armed ruffians overran the kingdom unchecked The state of things witnessed in Madura itself in 1678 by Father P. Andrè Freire is thus described:—

" La capitale, autrefois si florissante, n'est plus reconnaissable ; ses " palais, jadis si riches et si majestueux, sont déserts et commencent " à tomber en ruines ; Maduré ressemble bien moins à une ville qu'à " un repaire de brigands Le nouveau Nayaken est par excellence " un roi fainéant : il dort la nuit, il dort le jour, et ses voisins, qui ne " dorment pas, lui enlèvent à chaque moment quelque lambeau de " ses états. Les peuples qui n'ont qu'à gagner au changement de " domination, n'ont garde d'arrêter les envahisseurs, et tout annonce " que ce royaume, si puissant il y a vingt années, sera bientôt la proie " de ses ennemis, ou plutôt la victime de la politique insensée de son " propre gouvernement "

This state of things could not last very long, and was terminated in the course of a few months by the deposition of the new King, and the restoration of the old. Muttu Linga had taken into his confidence a Mahometan adventurer named Rustam Khân ; and placed in his hands the sole command of the numerous troops which garrisoned Trichinopoly. This worthy conceived that in the then unsettled

state of the kingdom, it would be well worth his while to attempt to make himself master of Trichinopoly, and to govern the country professedly as the minister of the rightful King. accordingly the first time that Muttu Linga ventured outside the walls of the fortress, Rustam Khân shut the gates upon him, and having dragged Choka Nât'ha out of prison proclaimed his restoration. The first part of his programme having been performed with signal success, he next proceeded to overrun the country with squadrons of cavalry; and easily reduced to submission whatever territories had till then escaped annexation by Mysore. And to such a pitch of audacity was he carried away by his good fortune, that he even made bold to appropriate to his own use the harems of both Muttu Linga and Choka Nât'ha; in consequence of which barbarity two of the ladies attached to these establishments thought fit to preserve their honor by putting an end to their lives.

Rustam Khân enjoyed the fruits of his treachery for a period of two years, and then succumbed to a bloody fate. The armies of the Râja of Mysore commanded by Kumarâyan appear to have been holding for some time past all the more important places in the kingdom, including the capital itself, and probably about the end of 1680, they completely invested Trichinopoly, having been lately re-inforced from Mysore Soon after the commencement of the siege, Kumarâyan contrived to inveigle Rustam Khân into an ambuscade, and almost annihilated his cavalry; and the traitor was forced to flee for his life within the city walls. The gates were scarcely closed behind him, and he was congratulating himself on his narrow escape, when Choka Nât'ha and a few devoted friends threw themselves upon him and his escort of Mahometans, and cut them to pieces to a man The letter which narrates this event does not give the circumstances of the plot to which Rustum Khân fell a victim, nor the names of those who were engaged in it. but it appears clearly from the O H. MSS. and from Ponnusâmi Têvan's memorandum, that the Sêthupati was mainly instrumental in killing Rustum Khân, and that he was incited to do the deed by that veteran intriguer Gôvindappayya.

Although he had regained his independence for the moment, and had apparently found some friends ready to help him, Choka Nât'ha's position in the year 1682 was far from enviable His kingdom was irrevocably gone from him · and his one remaining stronghold was surrounded by no less than four considerable armies, each of which was occupied in watching him and waiting for its prey. These were—

1 The army of Kumarâyan which was actually besieging Trichinopoly; 2. An army of Maravans, who pretended to have come to the assistance of their Lord but in reality had only come to share in the booty which the sack of Trichinopoly was expected to yield ; 3. The army of Arasumalei the General of Samboji, who was the son and successor of Śivaji deceased ; 4 The army of Ekoji. The last two Generals pretended to be in alliance with the King of Madura, who had invited and paid them to come ; and to be engaged in checking the aggressions of Mysore. But in fact nothing could be more clear to lookers-on than that their real intention was to deprive Mysore of its prey, only that they might feast upon it themselves. and Kumarâyan pointed this out to Choka Nât'ha in making him the tempting offer of combining with him against their common enemies the Mahometans, and restoring the thrones of Gingi and Tanjore to their former and legitimate occupants. These promises were taken for what they were worth ; and Choka Nât'ha contented himself with doing what he had so often done before, namely awaiting with perfect indifference the progress of events set in motion by others.

Seeing that nothing could be done with that arch-idler Choka Nât'ha, Kumarâyan next essayed to corrupt the fidelity of the Mahratta General Arasumalei, by the offer of enormous bribes to withdraw his troops to Gingi. If he could only effect this object, he felt perfectly sure that he could soon give a good account of Ekoji ; and no opposition needed to be feared on the part of the Maravans. And even if he failed in detaching Arasumalei from his allegiance, time would be gained within which the Râja would send him re-inforcements. Such were Kumarâyan's plans and hopes, but unfortunately for him they were completely frustrated by the staunchness of Arasumalei, and by the treachery of his private enemies who intercepted his despatches, and preferring the gratification of pique and jealousy to the advancement of the public welfare prevented the Râja from knowing the urgent requirements of his General. Kumarâyan was not long in discovering this shameful conduct, and resolved at once to retreat In order to effect this with as little loss as possible, he instructed the officer in command of his cavalry to march with his whole force to a certain point and there distract the attention of the enemy by threatening an attack upon his flank, whilst the infantry silently moved off in the direction of Mysore with the greatest speed consistent with order, as soon as the cavalry had effected its object, it was to be taken off at full speed and save itself as best as

it could. But this scheme also proved of no value Arasumalei was a General not easy to deceive at any time, and having observed for some time Kumarâyan's inactivity and want of resolution, he was eagerly watching for an opportunity of closing with him and dealing him a crushing blow. Accordingly he did not permit his attention to be for one moment drawn off from Kumarâyan's infantry by the movements of the cavalry: but at the right moment pushed in rapidly between the two main divisions, and having driven off that which threatened to attack him fell upon the other with every available regiment; and after meeting with a very lukewarm resistance, cut it up almost to a man. There was nothing in the shape of a battle: it was simply a horrible butchery, which was limited only by the strength of the butchers Kumarâyan was taken prisoner together with whole divisions of his soldiers; and an enormous booty, the fruits of years of pillage, rewarded the patience and energy of the victors Profiting by this glorious victory Arasumalei soon commenced to extend his conquests in every direction; and by the end of a few weeks he had driven the Mysoreans out of almost every corner of the country. And all the Madura forts and strongholds which had fallen in their hands were taken from them, with the single exception of the fortress of Madura, which the Maravans enabled them to preserve, thinking that they were on the whole more eligible neighbours than Samboji.

Up to this moment the King of Madura had been sustained by an ill-founded hope that Arasumalei, his so called ally, would act up to his engagements and place him in possession of his own proper territories, in consideration of the assistance pecuniary and other which Arasumalei had received from him. But at length the scales fell from his eyes, and Choka Nât'ha saw that he was a completely ruined man. His dominions were gone; his troops had abandoned him; his treasures had melted away; friends he had none: and to crown his misfortunes, Samboji had turned upon him and had ordered that the siege of Trichinopoly should be prosecuted with redoubled vigour. In these miserable circumstances, and perhaps too being keenly conscious of the incredible folly and uselessness of his whole life, Choka Nât'ha fell into a profound melancholy from which he never rallied; and in the course of a few days died of a broken heart.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM A.D. 1682 TO A.D. 1705.

Râmnâd affairs.—The Kilavan.—Ranga Krishna Muttu Vîrappa.—Ekoji's tyranny.—He plunders the Church.—The Mahrattas in Gingi.—Madura held by five powers.—The influence of Mysore in Madura declines.—The King recovers his capital.—And begins to re-construct the kingdom.—His character.—The Moghal's slipper.—Rebellion in Mysore.—The Kilavan's intrigues.—His Minister's treachery.—Persecution of Christianity.—The King dies of small-pox.—Death of his widow.—Regency of Mangammâl.—Her charitable works.—Her energy.—Martyrdom of John DeBritto.—His life.—His writings.—Christianity flourishes.—The Kilavan invades Tanjore.—His success.—The trick played by the Râja of Travancore.—War with Travancore.—Tigers in Tinnevelly.—Sparseness of the population.—Tuticorin.—The Dutch.—Their commerce.—The pearl-fishery in 1700.—War with Tanjore.—Father Bouchet's interview with the Dalavây.—Character of the Dalavây.—The Kallans.—Victory over Tanjore.—The Minister's astuteness.—The dam across the Kâvêri.—The Regency comes to an end.—Mangammâl's intrigue with her Minister.—Her cruel fate.—A ghost story.

BEFORE passing on to another reign, it will be well to make a short digression for the purpose of looking at the state of affairs in Râmnâd during the critical times with the description of which we have been occupied. It appears that the Sêthupati who was so faithful and valuable a servant to the great Tirumala, namely Rag'hunât'ha, after a long and useful reign of nearly thirty years appointed his nephew Râja Sûria his successor and soon afterwards died. This

was about the time when Choka Nât'ha was ruling Tanjore through his foster-brother, and Chengamala Nâyakkan was casting about for assistance to recover the throne of his ancestors Amongst others he applied to Râja Sûria, and not unsuccessfully, though to what extent the Sêthupati compromised himself in the Tanjore business there is nothing to show. It seems however that he went far enough to incur the grave displeasure of the Madura Dalavây, Venkata Krishnappa; who contrived by means of an artifice to secure his person, threw him into prison in Trichinopoly, and there had him put to death six months after he became Sêthupati. After his death the principal Maravans could not agree in the matter of the choice of a successor, and the Government was carried on temporarily by an officer who had served the late Rag'hunât'ha in the not very distinguished capacity of a betel-nut bearer. And another Maravan named Athana was chosen to preside at the celebration of the nine-nights' ceremony, a duty of the very highest order in the estimation of the people of Râmnâd Shortly afterwards the illegitimate son of the last Sêthupati succeeded in fighting his way to the throne; and commenced a reign destined to extend over a period of no less than thirty-six years. The correct name or title of this prince was Rag'hunât'ha, but he is better known in history by the soubriquet of "Kilavan" or old man

One of the earliest acts of the Kilavan was the assassination of the two principal men by whose instrumentality he had climbed to fortune He seems to have been afraid lest the influence which had been so successfully exerted in his behalf, might be on some future occasion exerted with equal vigour and weight in favor of a rival: and accordingly determined to rid himself in the only way possible of neighbours possessed of so dangerous power. Shortly after this he fell in love with a Kalla girl namad Kâthali, the daughter of one of his dependents, and married her: and appointed her brother Rag'hunât'ha Chief of the District of Puthu-Kôttei, with the title of Rag'hunât'ha, Tondiman, in lieu of one Pallavarâyan Tondiman who had been attempting to detach the District from the parent State and incorporate it with the Tanjore country The predecessor of Pallavarâyan was Chandrappan, entitled Sêrvei; and it seems to be inferrible that he was the first man created Chief of Puthu-Kôttei The next memorable event in the Kilavan's life was the rescue of the King of Madura from the thraldom of Rus-

tam Khân, which has already been alluded to: from which circumstance he obtained the title of Para Râja Kêsari, or lion among foreign Râjas. It is said that he effected an entry into the fort by burning down the southern gate. Out of compliment to the Sêthupati, Choka Nât'ha or his minister sent one Kumâra Pillei to Râmnâd to be the Dalavây of the dependency: and the consequences of this appointment will have to be noticed hereafter In the meantime we must revert to the history of Madura.

The unfortunate Choka Nât'ha—unfortunate in coming into possession of unlimited power at an age when he ought to have been under a schoolmaster, and in that his evil fate ever surrounded him by men of the vilest stamp—was succeeded in 1682 by his son Ranga Krishna Muttu Vîrappa, a boy of fifteen. This nominal change in the government does not appear to have immediately benefited the country, which is said to have been delivered up to a complete anarchy and to an universal pillage; foreign enemies occupying all the citadels, while the robbers were masters of the rural districts, of the towns and of the villages, and carried on their brigandage everywhere with impunity.

In Tanjore, Ekoji's tyranny was steadily gaining in force and intensity; and after plundering his subjects of everything valuable which could be found in their hands, he now turned a greedy eye towards the abundant wealth in the possession of the Pagodas and other religious institutions with which the Tanjore country was so amply supplied. Hindûs are so notorious for superstitious fear, and Church property is in their eyes so very sacred a thing, that no one for a moment supposed it possible that Ekoji, the King of the country, he who was as it were specially bound by an implied agreement to protect all such property, would ever dare to lay a sacrilegious finger upon it: and his enquiries touching the revenues and possessions of the Pagodas were accordingly viewed without suspicion. It is difficult therefore to imagine the horror and indignation which filled the minds of the whole people, when it became known in the year 1682 that the King had not only seized and converted to his own use the whole of the treasures laid up in the great Pagodas, but had also sequestered the broad lands with which they were endowed. However incredible, the news was strictly true; and for perhaps the first time in history a Hindû King had robbed the Gods of his country wholesale and openly. The Brâhmans came before

him in the greatest distress, imploring him to have pity on them, inasmuch as their Gods could no longer be worshipped and supported; but the only answer vouchsafed to them was a sarcastic remark to the effect that their Gods did not eat rice, and a simple offering of sweet-smelling flowers was the best that could be made to them, while it cost next to nothing. The Brâhmans withdrew, and if curses can avail ought, it was possible in consequence of the maledictions by which they now relieved their feelings, that the coasts of Tanjore were visited shortly afterwards by a terrific tempest and by a storm-wave which rolled back the waters of the Kâvêri and other rivers and caused an inundation which destroyed thousands of human beings. One letter says that upwards of 6,000 souls perished in the districts near the coast: but a letter of John de Britto states that upwards of 10,000 perished in the district of Thiruvâdûr alone.

In the kingdom of Gingi there were no signs of improvement. Sivaji's successor his son Samboji is described as being a tyrant more cruel and more perfidious than his father. Father P. Andrè Freire remarks in his letter of 1682:—

" Impossible d'énumérer les exactions, les brigandages, les " meurtres qui désolent ce pauvre royaume De nouvelles calamités " et de nouveaux changements politiques sont annoncés: on dit que " le Mogol, à la solicitation du Maissour, envoie une armée formida- " ble contre Sambogi. En attendant, celui-ci poursuit ses con- " quêtes contre le Maissour, non seulement dans le royaume de " Maduré, mais encore dans les provinces du nord, où il lui a enlevé " plusieurs forteresses, toute la province de Darmabouri et d'autres " terres voisines Il paraît qu'il est secondé par l'Iquérian, ou roi " du Canara, et par le roi de Golconde, qui se sont tous les deux unis " contre le Maissour, regardé comme l'ennemi commun. Je crains " bien qu 'une triste expérience ne leur apprenne ce que l'exemple " de nos trois Nayakers aurait dû leur faire comprendre: que leurs " véritables ennemis sont Ecogi et Samboji avec leurs hordes " sauvages."

A letter of John De Britto written in 1683 shows that in that year the Madura kingdom was still given up to brigandage, and in a state of complete anarchy; fragments of it being held by no less than five different powers. The King's authority was acknowledged over a small tract; the greater portion was in the possession of Mysore; the

Sêthupati had seized a part; Samboji another; Ekoji the remainder. But in consequence of the vehement attack made by Samboji on his home provinces, the Râja of Mysore had been steadily losing ground in Madura, and district after district was either establishing its independence, or attaching itself to a more powerful ruler. At last he was compelled to have recourse to artifice in order to keep the troops which garrisoned the capital supplied with money. On one occasion he sent 10,000 Pagodas by some religious mendicants The coins were placed in pots supposed to be filled with Ganges water, and were carried almost to their destination, when the trick was discovered, and the pretended pilgrims arrested before they could hide their charge

During the next three or four years the state of the kingdom appears to have improved, slowly indeed but surely. Shortly before 1686 the Mysoreans evacuated Madura, and the young King at once took possession of his ancient capital. And the Tinnevelly province also seems to have been recovered, if indeed it was ever lost, which seems doubtful The Jesuits did not concern themselves much with the extreme south of the kingdom, and it is not easy to trace its history in their letters And native MSS. apparently but rarely make mention of the Tinnevelly province. Many circumstances led to this re-habilitation of the Madura Nâyakkan, of which the following seem to have been the principal. In the first place Mysore was engaged in a protracted war with Samboji; and was also torn by internal strife to so great an extent as to incapacitate it from holding conquered territories which lay at any great distance from its capital. In the next place Ekoji had reduced Tanjore to such a state by his tyranny, that so far from being able to attack Madura he was wholly unable to protect his own country from the joint depredations of the tribes of Kallans and Maravans located on his frontiers. Then the Sêthupati was occupied with a rebellion headed by his Dalavây And lastly Samboji seems to have devoted his whole strength to the prosecution of the war against Mysore, and altogether gave up his hold upon Madura

In these circumstances it was an easy thing to re-construct the kingdom, provided that its ruler were a man of some ability and spirit And the young King now in his twentieth year would seem to have been even more than this. and to have displayed an energy and independence of mind, which must have forcibly reminded the

older members of his court of his father Choka Nât'ha, when young and as yet unspoilt by debauchery. Even the Brâhmans were unable to mislead him when he had once made up his mind how to act; as will appear from the following anecdote. On a certain occasion he had exercised his authority in behalf of some Christians, and ordered the chief priest of a Pagoda to give up some land which belonged to them; and when the holy man expostulated with him, and asked where could he place his idols? he is reported to have said, "If you do not know where to put them, you had better throw them into the river; but you must move out of that piece of land, and without another minute's delay." The young King is said to have been of active habits and fond of adventure; indeed if half the stories which are told of him in Hindû MSS. are not more than ordinarily exaggerated and overlaid with color, he would seem to have conducted himself occasionally after the fashion of a gay young English midshipman, rather than of a grave and self-contained Hindû potentate But his love of fun and adventure did not lead him into idleness and vice. On the contrary he was essentially a man of business. He declined altogether to adopt the practice of leaving everything in the hands of his ministers and their subordinates and personally examined into the state of every part of his dominions, rebuking the negligent among his servants, encouraging and liberally rewarding the faithful and industrious. At one moment he would be superintending the construction of tanks in Tinnevelly; at another repairing the fort in Trichinopoly; thence he would take horse and gallop without an escort into Dindigul; and perhaps the next day he would suddenly start for a tour of inspection through his northern provinces. Nothing escaped his vigilance; order and obedience were maintained; and it was admitted on all sides that the kingdom of Madura had not been so well governed for many long years

The King's attitude towards foreign powers seems to have been quite in harmony with his attitude towards his own ministers and chiefs: and whilst he had no inclination to act aggressively he made it plain to all men that so long as he held the helm, the invasion of the Madura kingdom would be anything but a profitable undertaking As an example of his mode of dealing with foreigners, may be adduced the amusing story of the Moghal's slipper. It seems that the Bâdishâ in all the insolence and pride of power, adopted the practice of sending round his slipper to the various countries subject

to him The slipper was borne along with great pomp and magnificence in a lofty howdah on a royal elephant, escorted by a numerous body of troops and preceded by bands of musicians On its arrival within the boundaries of a country, the King and his ministers were expected to come forth and humbly abase themselves before it, and having escorted it to the palace, place it reverently on the throne and do obeisance as if to their Lord Paramount Tribute was then collected, or at all events promised, and the Moghal's representative passed on towards a neighbouring country As the slipper was always accompanied by an army, the required ceremonies were performed by most tributaries without demur. but when it came one day to the boundary north of Trichinopoly, and the young King came to know what was expected of him, he became furious with rage and resolved to teach the Bâdishâ a lesson which would not soon be forgotten. Accordingly he directed some of his servants to pretend that he was too sick to come out to meet the slipper, and to contrive to inveigle the officers in charge of it inside the fort The Bâdishâ's emissaries were very much annoyed at the King not making his appearance and disbelieved the excuses made in his behalf But there was no help for it; and they were compelled to enter the fort of Trichinopoly, their troops of course remaining outside the walls When they were ushered into the presence of the King, after some little delay. and with an absence of deference on the part of the gentlemen ushers which astonished and angered them not a little; the Nabobs found the King seated on a gorgeous throne, splendidly arrayed and resplendent with jewels, and surrounded by a brilliant staff of ministers and courtiers skilfully grouped together with a view to scenic effect, whilst the hall of audience had been magnificently furnished and decorated for the occasion. Scandalized at this presumptuous conduct on the part of a mere tributary they advanced with rude and indecent haste towards the throne, expecting every moment that the King would rise and make his obeisance. But in this they were disappointed: and when they reached the throne his majesty was still seated. Upon this they angrily thrust the slipper before his face, and made a gesture to him indicative of their desire that he should do his duty The King now rose slowly from his seat, and with a voice of thunder bade them place the slipper on the floor. Alarmed by his threatening demeanour, the Nabobs did as they were bidden: and pushing his foot into the slipper, the King asked them imperiously where was its fellow? What meant they by

bringing as a present to so great a King as him but one odd slipper? The astonished Mahometans were then well-beaten with rattans and turned out of the fort. And at the same time the King put himself at the head of some troops, and sallying forth against the Bâdishâ's army defeated it with great slaughter, and drove the survivors in headlong haste out of his country.

This story looks rather suspicious at first sight; and its credibility is weakened to some extent by the statement of Ferishta to the effect that shortly before 1693 Zulfecar Khân exacted tribute from the rulers of Tanjore and Trichinopoly See Wilks, vol i, page 95 On the other hand there is a circumstantiality and a consistency in it that invite credence very urgently, and it is difficult to bring oneself to reject it altogether And the idea of a slipper being carried in procession is not new or strange, since we have seen above (in page 161) that the King of Tanjore had his Guru's slippers so carried, and himself paid homage to them Unfortunately there is a blank in the series of Jesuit letters for this period and they afford no evidence for or against the truth of the story.

It was observed a little way back that Mysore was torn by internal convulsions soon after the death of Choka Nât'ha, and as the account of these disturbances furnished by the Jesuits varies very considerably from that furnished by Wilks, it will be well to state shortly what appears to have happened. In order to defray the heavy expenses incurred by the ruinous war with Samboji, the Râja of Mysore practised in the eastern portion of his dominions so gross and intolerable a system of oppression, that its population revolted against him in a body Having elected two Gurus of sects, one a Saivite the other a Vaishnavite, to be their Generals, the rebels formed themselves into two armies; the larger of which consisting of 70,000 men marched straight upon the fortress of Mysore, in which the King had ensconced himself; whilst the second consisting of 30,000 men spread itself over the province of Sattiyamangalam, and the adjoining districts, and indulged in indiscriminate plunder and excesses of every kind. The King's officers and ministers were tortured and murdered wherever caught, villages were burnt, loyal chiefs were besieged in their forts; in a word, the furious mob acted as furious mobs always act, and for a time the country was given over to horrible disorders. At last the Râja collected a considerable body of troops, and sent them against the insurgents with directions to cut them down without mercy and

without regard to age or sex: and his cruel orders were carried out to the letter. Moreover the principal Pagodas of Siva and Vishnu were destroyed, and their enormous revenues confiscated. And thus the revolt was stamped out. Compare with this Wilks' account at page 207 of vol. i.

Whilst the young King of Madura was slowly and painfully cementing together and building up again the fragments into which his kingdom had been split, the Kilavan Sêthupati was engaged in various intrigues and proceedings, the outlines of which it is not very easy to trace It appears that in 1686 he took the side of the ex-Dalavây Venkata Krishnappa who was in revolt against the King of Madura. And for some reason which cannot be discovered the two entered into a confederacy with Chengamala Nâyakkan, the man whom Ekoji had supplanted in Tanjore, and who seems to have been living in perfect amity with the usurper; the agreement being that Chengamala should furnish troops and money to use against Madura, and that in consideration of this aid the Kilavan should cede to Tanjore for a term of twelve years the districts lying between the Pâmbâr and Puthu Kôttei Meanwhile Kumâra Pillei, the Sêthupati's Dalavây, who it will be remembered was sent to Râmnâd out of compliment in the time of Choka Nât'ha (see ante page 207), thought proper to rebel against his master, and formed a plot to seize him and Venkata Krishnappa and deliver them to the King of Madura. But before this perfidious act could be accomplished the intended victims were apprised of what was going on; and the traitor was himself seized and most cruelly punished. His hands and feet were cut off, and he was then impaled on a sharp stake. His brothers were punished in a like manner; and all his wives and near relations were put to death on the same day. As Kumâra Pillei was a persecutor of the Christians, his fate seems to have afforded undue pleasure to the Jesuits: and the writer of the history of John de Britto observes "un seul jour vit s'éteindre le persécuteur des chrétiens et toute sa race maudite," an observation scarcely becoming in a Christian priest.

Shortly after this the royal troops overran the whole of the Marava country, and a skirmish took place near Râmnâd between them and the troops of the Sêthupati which led to no particular results. But a few days later a decisive battle was fought, in which some troops of Ekoji, sent to the Sêthupati's assistance under the command of Varaboji Panditan, took part and on this occasion the advantage was

altogether on the side of the ruler of Râmnâd. The King's troops were hastily withdrawn: and apparently the war was brought to a close, as nothing more is said about it in the memoirs of those times

It is observable that although the young King did much to shield the Christians, there was more persecution about this time than in any previous period. It was especially rife in the Marava country, and had there begun to assume that more violent form which as we shall see arrived at its full development a few years later in the brutal murder of John De Britto. The sole reason for this, as far as can be gathered from the gossipy writings of the Jesuits, seems to have been the animosity excited in the minds of the Hindû clergy by the circumstance of their fees and emoluments being every day reduced in value in proportion as converts to Christianity became more numerous. Had it not been for this inevitable incident, and had not the society of Jesuits been suppressed in 1774, probably the greater part of the population amongst whom the Madura mission worked, would at the present day be Christians

That this is no exaggerated view will be clear from the fact that Father Bouchet, writing in 1700 from Madura, states that during the five years preceding he had baptized with his own hands more than eleven thousand persons, and during the twenty years previous no less than twenty thousand; and that during this last period he had confessed more than a hundred thousand. His separate cure was one of thirty thousand souls; and he was only one of many workers. And thirteen years later the number of converts was in excess of a million.

About the year 1688 or 89 the young King of Madura was attacked by small-pox, and to the misfortune of his country was carried off by that terrible disease He left no issue but his widow, Muttammâl, was far advanced in pregnancy and subsequently gave birth to a son and heir. A curious story is told about her in one of Mr Taylor's MSS, which is in a great measure corroborated by a Jesuit letter of 1713. It appears that Muttammâl was the only wife whom the late King had ever married, and was utterly inconsolable at his loss So poignant indeed was her grief that she insisted upon burning herself with him, although likely to bear an heir to him within a very short time. and it was with difficulty that her mother-in-law, the dowager Queen Mangammâl, persuaded her to defer her self-cremation until after she should have lain in. She refused to listen to reason for a long time, and it was not until an oath had been taken by her nearest

relations to the effect that her fixed resolve should be carried out eventually, that she was brought to consent to wait In due time a son was born, and the widow immediately called upon her relations to keep their promise. But she was put off day after day with excuses; and at last in sheer despair drank a quantity of rose-water on the fourth day after her delivery, and so brought on a violent cold which killed her.

The account given in the letter, which by the by was written between twenty and thirty years after the event alluded to took place and was apparently founded on hearsay evidence, makes out that after vainly trying her best to save her daughter-in-law, whom she loved, Mangammâl at last left her to her folly The letter also states that Mangammâl had herself escaped Satî on the occasion of Choka Nât'ha's death through being pregnant, and had subsequently contrived to avoid the performance of the customary rite by maintaining that there was no one but herself capable of bringing up the newly born infant, and that it was necessary that she should act as guardian to the minor King and govern the kingdom until he came of age: and it appears from the letter that when she urged Muttammâl to follow her example, Muttammâl indignantly rejected the proposal, and alluded in no measured terms to the dishonorable course which her mother-in-law had in her own case thought proper to pursue. Looking now to the fact that this account is founded on hearsay evidence, and to the fact that Mangammâl was certainly guilty of dereliction of duty in not accompanying her husband to another world, and would therefore have a strong motive for attempting to prevent the pious conduct of her daughter-in-law being publicly contrasted with her own to her very great discredit, I conceive that the Hindû story is the more correct; and that in all probability Muttammâl was not permitted to perform the rite of Satî Perhaps too we may go a little further than this, and admit the possibility of the fact that Muttammâl drank something considerably stronger than rose-water, and that the fatal draught was administered at the instigation of Mangammâl. The natural jealousy of a Hindû woman would supply an adequate motive for the act. and if tradition has not dealt too hardly with the name of Mangammâl, she would scarcely let any conscientious scruples stand in the way of the gratification of any strong passion.

When the infant was three months old he was crowned King, and his grandmother proceeded to administer the government in his

behalf as Regent Whether she was a murderess or not, Mangammâl soon made herself very celebrated for charitable deeds. Besides building many agrahâras, temples, tanks, and choultries for travellers, she is said to have made roads from "Kâsi to Râmêshwara, to Cape Comorin, and to other places," and to have planted avenues of trees along them to give shade to wayfarers, and furnished them with water-booths and wells. This was the most useful perhaps of her charities; and her name is gratefully remembered through several of her avenues being still in existence, and remarkable for their loftiness and beauty. The statement that a road was made as far as Benares (Kâsi) savours of the romantic but it may be accounted for by the fact that a fine choultry was certainly built by Mangammâl in that holy city: a Hindû historian who knew this, would feel no difficulty in believing that the Queen also built a road to that choultry

A very curious reason is assigned by native writers for Mangammâl performing so many charitable acts It is said that one day she inadvertently put betel-nut into her mouth with her left hand instead of with her right, and on the Brâhmans representing this to be a very serious offence against religion she resolved to expiate it by munificent expenditure on all kinds of religious works Such a reason seems at first sight to be so very inadequate, not to say absurd, that Mr. Taylor has suggested the possibility of the native historians having sought to veil an amorous escapade with terms conveying a less serious imputation than that of unchastity. But although it must be admitted that there are not wanting grounds for this ungallant suspicion, it is perhaps not unreasonable to believe that the charitable acts flowed naturally from a charitable disposition, and that the story related with so much seriousness originated in some little pleasantry of the Queen-dowager on the occasion of her forgetting for a moment which hand she was using. She may have told the Brâhmans of her mishap, and when they advised her to avert ill effects by performing some act of charity, she may have vowed that she would do certain great deeds which she had already resolved upon doing.

The long regency of Mangammâl was doubtless distinguished by many events of more importance than the planting of avenues and the erection of choultries, for she was certainly a woman of great spirit and enterprise, and it seems probable that whilst she held the reins of government the Madura kingdom occupied almost the same position in the eyes of the world, that it had occupied in its palmiest

days under the great Tirumala. But unfortunately there is a blank in the Jesuit letters which extends from 1687 to 1699, both years inclusive; and it is therefore impossible to give the events of the regency with any fulness. And this is the more regrettable in that Mangammâl was the last of the Nâyakkan family in whose time the kingdom exhibited any signs of strength and vigour: her successors being tools in the hands of factions, whose petty quarrels and intrigues rendered the country an easy prey for the first foreigner who thought it worth the seizing. A proof of the vigour of the government during the regency is afforded by the circumstance that in 1691 when Father Mello was imprisoned in the Marava country and was about to be put to death, an order for his instant liberation was issued by the Madura Dalavây and obeyed without demur. As the Sêthupati of that time was the Kilavan who intended to share in the pillage of Trichinopoly, and subsequently joined Venkata Krishnappa in a successful war against the King, the fact of an order from Trichinopoly being respected within the limits of his dominions is one of some significance.

The year 1693 was rendered memorable in the Marava country by a lamentable attack on Christianity, which culminated in the martyrdom of that great missionary John De Britto. He had succeeded in curing of a grievous disorder and in subsequently converting a prince named Tirya Têvan, who is stated to have been the rightful heir to the throne of Râmnâd and to have been set aside in favor of the Kilavan. On his conversion, Tirya Têvan was compelled to renounce polygamy and to tell his wives that all except one must thenceforth be nothing more than sisters to him. The ladies of his harem very naturally regarded this resolution in the light of a grievous insult, and after repeatedly attempting in vain to induce him to permit them to continue at all events to live with him as his wives, resolved to revenge themselves on the author of their humiliation. In pursuance of this resolution one of them named Kadalei, who was the niece of the Sêthupati, went off to Râmnâd and laid her case before her uncle with all the effect that could be produced by vehement entreaties, by tears and sobs and groans. What! cried she, was it to be endured that she, a princess of a noble house, should be driven like a dog from her palace by a vile magician, a low impostor? And were the ancient Gods of her country to be openly disgraced by a stranger? Was the whole country to bow to the Parangis?

These and other arguments of a like nature were sufficient to move the Sêthupati to great anger; and he wrote at once to Tirya Têvan, bidding him to forthwith arrest the foreign Guru and burn down all his churches Not content with this concession Kadalei induced a certain Brâhmaṇ named Pompavanam, well known for his hostility to De Britto, to espouse her cause: and shortly afterwards a deputation of Brâhmans waited upon the Sêthupati and represented to him that the safety of the kingdom was manifestly imperilled by the progress of Christianity. Not only they said was the worship of the Gods of the country neglected, and their Pagodas falling into decay; but the whole country was becoming tainted with Parangism. Moreover the Sêthupati had expressly forbidden De Britto to show his face within the limits of his dominions; and notwithstanding that order the wretch was propagating his doctrines more assiduously than ever. If this were permitted with impunity, what would become of the Sêthupati's authority? In conclusion they advanced an argument which could hardly miss its mark, to the effect that if the Sêthupati did not interfere in time the majority of the population would in a year or two become Christians, and Tirya Têvan would then be in a position to pull the Sêthupati off the throne which he had usurped.

This last argument told with irresistible force, and the Kilavan resolved upon instant action. As a first step he sent for Tirya Têvan, and examined him touching the truth of the allegations made against him. But here he met with a boldness and steadfastness by which he was completely baffled. The new convert admitted without hesitation that De Britto had been preaching the true faith in the Marava country; had built four churches; and had made many converts. and as for himself, he was proud to be able to say that he too was of the number of those converts. The Sêthupati would have been only too glad to punish this insolence with instant death. But Tirya Têvan was a man whose high position and connections could not be overlooked, especially as the Kilavan's title was notoriously bad and accordingly the Sêthupati resolved to inflict on De Britto the punishment which he was afraid to inflict on his rival. A company of soldiers was sent to the village of Muni, where the doomed man was temporarily residing, and about midday on the 8th January he was arrested, together with a Brâhman and two catechists who were anxious to share his fate. One of them was a subject of the King of Madura, and as soon as this fact was discovered he was set at liberty:

but he refused to avail himself of his freedom and was therefore again taken into custody. The four prisoners were chained, and attached by long ropes to the saddles of four horses ridden by members of their escort, and were thus dragged along at a rapid rate, fainting with fatigue and smarting under the blows with which they where plied whenever they showed any signs of exhaustion. De Britto in particular was pitiably weak from ill-health, and his state was such as would have moved the stoniest heart to compunction: but the hearts of his conductors were of something harder than stone, and every time he fell he was punished by an extra lash. However as he stumbled on bleeding and exhausted, he was cheered and in a measure invigorated by the touching marks of sympathy displayed by the Christians whom he met along the road. Everywhere they crowded round him, doing their best to console him, mingling their tears with his, and which touched him more nearly, promising to remain staunch to a man in spite of all that their enemies might do to them. When the cortége reached Anumanta-kudi, De Britto was taken to a large open space and tied to an enormous idol-car, he was then ordered to call upon the name of Siva in the presence of a vast concourse of people, and on his refusing with a gesture of horror to commit this impiety and pronouncing instead the name of Jesus, he was subjected to a course of ill-treatment such as was once undergone by the master in whose behalf he was about to suffer death. He was buffeted; men spat on his face, his garments were torn into shreds; he was pricked with sword-points; he was beaten with sticks During the infliction of these tortures he opened his mouth only to bless God, and to express his thankfulness at being permitted to share in his Saviour's sufferings. His companions were subjected to a like treatment: and exhibited a like constancy. At length night put an end to this pitiful scene and all but seven guards retired to rest. These were soon overcome by drowsiness and slept. and had De Britto wished to escape nothing could have been more easy But he had for years longed for martyrdom and now that his hopes were about to be realized it would have been strange indeed had he wished to defer their accomplishment

On the 11th January the prisoners reached Râmnâd, and were thrown into prison pending the arrival of the Sêthupati. He came to his capital a few days later; and immediately proceeded to deal with his victims. But Tirya Têvan also was in Râmnâd, and exerted himself in every way to save his friends: and for a long time nothing

decisive was attempted. The Brâhmans were active in pressing for vengeance and in endeavouring to get rid of De Britto by magical incantations: and the Sêthupati longed to gratify his cruelty But the incantations produced no results; and as De Britto was commonly held to be a great magician, a superstitious dread of offering violence to him operated strongly on his persecutor's mind. Then again Tirya Têvan's persistent efforts to save his friends could not be lightly disregarded: and lastly the existence of so many Christians in his dominions made it doubtful whether the judicial murder of their chief Guru would not excite unpleasant disturbances These and many other considerations swayed the mind of the Sêthupati for many days: and at last he meanly resolved to do what he wished, but to do it through an agent on whom should rest the responsibility and odium of the deed Accordingly a proclamation was made to the effect that De Britto was sentenced to be banished from the kingdom; and he was forthwith sent off under escort to the Sêthupati's brother the Governor of Oreiyûr, a fortress on the northern frontier of the Marava country, situated on the river Pâmbâr. But with him there was sent a secret despatch bearing the Sêthupati's signature, and containing an order to behead the foreign Sanniyâsi He arrived at Oreiyûr on the 31st January, and on the next day was rejoiced by learning his fate from the mouth of the Governor. The execution of his sentence was delayed for three days by the interposition in his behalf of the chief wife of the Governor, who was a Christian: and it was for some time doubtful whether her tears and entreaties would not prevail. But the Governor's minister was a sworn enemy of Christianity, and was as fervent in demanding the death of De Britto, as De Britto's protectress was in demanding his release: and he succeeded at last in persuading the Governor, who appears to have been a weak and irresolute man, to direct that the sentence should be carried out. Accordingly on the 4th February De Britto was taken to an eminence which overlooked the fortress and surrounding country, and there beheaded. His head and limbs were cut off and hung up as a warning to all Christians: and even after he was dead, the hatred of his enemies did not slumber. Burial was denied to his mutilated remains, which were given to the birds of the air and the beasts of the field; and it was only with the greatest difficulty and after repeated failures that members of his flock succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the agents of the Marava government, and gathering together his skull and a few of his bones.

Such was the end of John De Britto, one of the greatest of those great missionaries whom the Church of Rome has trained up to the common glory of all mankind. This is not the place to give his life. but a few brief particulars regarding his remarkable career may prove not uninteresting. Jean Hector De Britto was born at Lisbon on the 1st March 1647. His father, Don Salvador De Britto Pereyra, held high office under the Duke of Bragance; and having contributed not a little by his faithful and energetic efforts towards the elevation of that Prince to the throne of Portugal, obtained as a reward the important post of Governor of Rio-Janeiro, and died after holding it two years His widow Dona Béatrix Pereyra was a woman of a lively intellect and of a deeply religious nature, and controlled the education of her young children with equal intelligence and assiduity. And the lessons which she inculcated into the pliable and generous mind of the future martyr, inspired him with the noblest sentiments and shielded him from the thousand temptations which could not but assail one of his birth and brilliant qualities in a gay and luxurious court When he arrived at early boyhood, De Britto was admitted to the honor of forming one of that band of young nobles whom Pedro IV trained up under his own eye with a view to them becoming in due time ministers and counsellors of uncommon ability and attachment to the throne: and in this position he became at once distinguished on account of the high-bred simplicity of his manners, the beauty of his disposition, and more than all by the striking elevation of thought which he constantly displayed. He was taught by Jesuit masters, and proved the most apt of pupils. Nothing delighted him more than the study of the works of the greatest Greek and Roman authors, unless perhaps it was the study of the lives of great missionaries and more particularly that of Francis Xavier. So devoted indeed was he to this latter kind of literature that his gayer companions gave him the soubriquet of the martyr.

As he grew up, young De Britto withdrew himself more and more from the society of his fellows, and became engrossed with the idea of becoming a Jesuit, and above all a missionary. His views were at first greatly discouraged by his mother. but her tenderness of heart yielded gradually to her strong good sense, and she ceased at last to dissuade her son from obeying what he felt to be a special call. The Infant and the Queen Regent were equally opposed to De Britto adopting a religious life: he had especially endeared himself to the former in the capacity of page and companion, and the latter was

unwilling that her son should lose a friend and adviser of so rare a talent and disposition. But at last all obstacles were overcome, and on the 17th December 1662 De Britto entered the house of noviciate.

He commenced his new life with the greatest ardour and devotion: and quickly earned the character of being one of the most orderly, pious and charitable of the self-denying fraternity amongst whom he lived. At the same time he prosecuted his studies with enthusiasm, and rapidly made himself an accomplished scholar But his mind was never for one moment diverted from his one great aim; and in 1673, in spite of the tears of his mother and the interference of the King, he sailed for India as a missionary. He reached Goa in the same year; and there completed his theological studies; and passed the *ad gradum* examination. The next year saw him enter upon his career as a missionary, attached to the Madura mission. For several years he worked with the greatest industry and success, enduring with calm equanimity, persecution, hunger and thirst, ill-health, and the manifold ills incidental in those days to the profession which he had adopted; and in 1683 he rose to be Superior of the Madura mission. His administration was attended by peculiarly happy results; and his zeal and ability did not escape the notice of his superiors, who in 1688 appointed him Procureur de la Mission. He was therefore compelled to quit India. On his return to Europe he received the most flattering marks of consideration and esteem at the hands of his sovereign, and of the highest dignitaries of the Church: indeed he would seem to have met with an almost triumphant reception. Universities vied with one another to obtain the honor of conferring professorships on him; illustrious students clamorously demanded to be instructed by him; the King himself almost implored him to be tutor to the royal family. But honors of all kinds were firmly but respectfully declined, and De Britto never lost sight of his intention of returning to India whenever an opportunity presented itself. At last he was permitted to return, and was offered the Archbishopric of Cranganore. This was declined on the ground that missionary labor was that in which alone he could engage with delight and profit: and accordingly in 1691 he was once more at work as a missionary, this time in the Marava country. Persecution was more active now than it had been when De Britto was Superior of the Madura Mission; and his sufferings from 1692 to the time of his martyrdom, borne always with unflinching courage and a sweet patience worthy of the divine example which he, if any man, perpetually kept before his eyes

and imitated, were such as have been endured by few, perhaps by none other voluntarily provoked and joyfully accepted. His life during this period appears to have been passed in hourly danger of attacks by persecutors, by robbers, by wild beasts. It was passed by him in wandering through dreary jungles, exposed to pitiless storms and inundations, to pestilent malaria, and every form of disease: the day being spent in painful concealment whilst the night was devoted to preaching and itinerating. To these incidents must be added a wretched diet of rice and bitter herbs utterly insufficient for the requirements of health, the want often of even a hovel in which to take rest, complete isolation in the midst of a brutal and hostile population, and last but not least the daily spectacle of the hopeless misery to which the country was reduced by wars and famine. Such was De Britto's life: and surely it was fitly crowned by the martyrdom to which he had from his earliest youth aspired.

Though sufficiently qualified by his talents and by his education to be an author, De Britto did not imitate the example of Robert de Nobilibus; and if he was the author of any works, they have perished and nothing is known of them. It seems probable however that his purely missionary labors occupied his whole time and attention and left him no leisure for composition. Perhaps too he was wanting both in breadth and subtlety of intellect, and his mind was in no degree characterized by that anxious love of enquiry and that argumentative combativeness which distinguished Robert. And the varying circumstances in which these two great Jesuits worked, tended to separate their paths. The one found it necessary to devote himself principally to the attack of an elaborate and imposing system of religion, and to the establishment on a sound and enduring basis of another system diametrically opposed thereto and totally unknown; whilst the other found Christianity well understood and appreciated in South India, and made it his business to enlarge, adorn and strengthen an existing edifice The one had to destroy and build up; the other only to preserve and improve. Consequently whilst Robert has left behind him voluminous and able contributions to polemical literature, John has left nothing but a series of letters, admirable as memorials of the life and labors of a truly pious man but of no great literary value.

The murder of John De Britto, so far from injuring the cause of Christianity appears to have advanced it very considerably. The

example of his constancy and heroism inspired converts with an earnest desire to emulate his faithfulness And the occurrence real or supposed of many miracles, wrought through the medium of his blood which was spilt on the sands of Oreiyûr, gave a new impetus to the faith of those who hung back; induced the wavering to give in their adhesion to the faith Then even the heathens were indignant at the unnecessary cruelty with which a Guru had been treated, and sympathised to some extent with his followers And lastly both the Governor of Oreiyûr and his minister died of horrible and mysterious diseases within a twelvemonth after the martyr, and their deaths were not unnaturally attributed to the anger of the offended Deity. Moreover the former of them was replaced by a man eminently favorable to Christianity, though not a convert. This was Vaduga Nât'ha Têvan, the eldest son of the Sêthupati. So great was the liberality of this Governor's mind, that he encouraged in every way the performance of pilgrimages to the scene of the martyrdom; refused to permit his minister to levy fees from the pilgrims who resorted to Oreiyûr in vast numbers, and at his own proper expense converted the summit of the hill on which the execution took place into an agreeable promenade, embellished with avenues of lime and citron trees. This conduct was the more remarkable as the father of this Prince continued to be most hostile to Christianity, and during the five years which immediately succeeded the death of De Britto persecuted his Christian subjects so hotly and unrelentingly that no missionary dared to show himself within the limits of the Sêthupati's dominions.

Although a persecutor of Christianity, probably from an honest belief that its progress imperilled his position as Sêthupati, the Kilavan appears to have been an able and politic ruler: and a story is told in the life of John De Britto of an intelligent heathen refusing to believe that Christians were well-behaved people, on the ground that if they were, so wise a man as the Kilavan would never have condemned their Guru to an infamous death After his war with Madura, the Kilavan pulled down the mud walls of Râmnâd and replaced them with solid stone fortifications; having an eye no doubt to the probability of his having to go to war with Tanjore about the matter of the ceded districts north of the Pâmbâr. According to the terms of the convention of 1686 Tanjore was bound to give back those districts in 1698, upon the expiration of the term of twelve years. But when the time came for the fulfilment of this

stipulation the King of Tanjore hesitated to act up to his engagements. Upon this the Sêthupati, who seems to have anticipated a breach of faith, lost no time in invading the Tanjore country at the head of a considerable army; and after some hard fighting he succeeded in obtaining possession of the fortresses of Arundângi, Thirumayang-Kôttei, and Kîranilei, and of all the country south of the Ambuli river. The fortress of Puthu-Kôttei he was unable to take. The war was then brought to a close, and from that time forth the Sêthupati appears to have remained in undisturbed possession of his northern territories.

It was about the year 1698 that a curious event took place in the Travancore country which deserves notice. The King of Travancore, encouraged no doubt by the disordered state of the Madura kingdom under Choka Nât'ha, had for many years been very irregular in remitting his tribute to the Nâyakkan's treasury; and it had been necessary on several occasions to send an army of Vadukans to collect arrears. As the only means of entering the dependency was through a narrow rocky defile in the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin, which could be easily defended by a comparatively small number of troops, the King of Travancore determined to attempt to put an end to these periodical visitations by annihilating the next army which should make its appearance within his boundaries. It occurred to him at the same time that he might make use of the invaders before destroying them, in getting rid of some obnoxious ministers. It appears that from time immemorial it had been customary for a body of eight ministers to manage the entire government of the country: and by gradual encroachments these ministers had skilfully contrived to usurp all power, and had at last reduced the King to the condition of a mere puppet. The present King had vainly endeavoured to free himself from the thraldom which custom had imposed upon him; and he now resolved to effect by treachery what he had as yet been unable to effect by fair and straightforward methods. Accordingly he conceived and successfully carried out the following plan. An army came through the pass in 1697, and proceeded as usual to devastate the country in every direction, and finally blockaded the King in Korkulam (? Kollam or Quilon) which was his principal fortress. Upon this he secretly opened negotiations with the Generals in command of the besiegers, and offered to make over to them Korkulam and certain districts if they would assist him in overcoming his

enemies, the ministers. The offer was gladly accepted, and having been placed in possession of the fortress the Madura Generals proceeded to carry out their part of the agreement by seizing and putting to death one or two of the ministers, the others escaping by flight or buying themselves off. Soon after this, when the Vadukans had dispersed themselves about the town and were in complete disorder, the King of Travancore, who had pretended to be alarmed and had withdrawn apparently for safety to a spot a few miles distant, suddenly collected a large force, threw himself upon the fortress, and having carried it without resistance fell upon the Vadukans and in a short space of time almost destroyed them. A small body fled in the direction of the pass, only to find it closed by a detachment of troops; and they were very shortly overtaken by the main body of the Travancore army, and being hemmed in on all sides were slaughtered without mercy Only a few stray fugitives found their way back to Trichinopoly

It was probably in 1698, and owing to a desire to revenge herself for ıs tragical defeat, that Mangammâl entered upon the war with Travancore which is described in the O H MSS. It is stated at page 224, vol ii, that the Malayâla people ceased to send the usual tribute-money; and that thereupon Mangammâl caused a large army to be collected and despatched it against them under command of the Dalavây, Narasappayya. He entered their country, and conquered them after much hard fighting and returned to Trichinopoly with a very considerable booty, consisting of specie, jewels and guns. The last were numbered in order, one, two, three and so forth, and mounted part on the ramparts of Trichinopoly, part on those of Madura. Tradition is silent with respect to these captured guns. Enquiries about them were made by me, but no one in Madura appeared to have ever heard of them. and I was informed that when the fort of Madura was dismantled many years ago, no such guns were then upon the ramparts.

A letter of 1700 states that for sometime past a large jungle on the Tinnevelly coast had been infested by tigers to so great a degree that after sunset no inhabitant of any village situated in its neighbourhood dared to move outside his door, watch was kept in every village at night, and large fires were lighted for the purpose of scaring the monsters away Even in the day-time travelling was not quite safe. and numbers of people had disappeared who had

without doubt been seized and devoured in lonely places. This fact is noticeable, inasmuch as tigers have been for many years unknown in the Madura country; and I believe in the Tinnevelly; and their existence in large numbers on the sea coast in 1700 would seem to show that the country was much more sparsely populated, and contained many more uncultivated tracts than at the present day. And the letter which speaks of the tigers, furnishes us with other evidence going to support this position. It states that with the exception of Tuticorin, there was not a single town or even large village to be seen along the whole coast from Cape Comorin to the Pâmbam pass, a distance of forty French leagues. Of the miserable villages which existed, the principal were Taley, Manapar, Alandaley, Punicaël, and a few others not worth mentioning

Tuticorin, the only harbour on this coast in which a European vessel could attempt to pass the stormy season, is described as being a flourishing town of more than fifty thousand inhabitants. The Dutch had a few years before built a small fort there for the protection of their trade, and several large and handsome storehouses: so the town looked very well from the roadstead, but as soon as a visitor set foot upon the shore, all its comeliness disappeared and he saw that it consisted almost entirely of miserable mud cabins.

The Dutch would seem to have been in the enjoyment of a very moderate share of influence on the coast at this time. They annoyed the missionaries and behaved tyrannically to the poor Paravas, who were very numerous on the coast and were almost exclusively Roman Catholics: but they durst not attempt to coerce either the Sêthupati or the King of Madura, and they took nothing by an embassy which they sent to the former, together with some valuable presents, for the purpose of inducing him to make over to them all his right and title to the profits of the pearl-fishery on his coasts. They had obtained from the King of Madura the monopoly of the fishery of the Tinnevelly coast, and drew a considerable revenue from licenses to fish which they granted to all applicants at the rate of sixty exus and occasionally more for each vessel employed, the number of plnsed vessels amounting often to as many as six and seven hun-Dd. The conch-shell fishery, the meaning of which has been selained at page 154 ante, was also theirs within the same limits as pr pearl-fishery, and yielded a considerable profit. Their ordinary mle was in cloths manufactured at Madura, for which they gave in puhange Japan leather and Molucca spices.

The pearl fishery appears to have been conducted in 1700 in the following mode. In the early part of the year the Dutch sent out ten or twelve vessels in different directions to test the localities in which it appeared desirable that the fishery of the year should be carried on: and from each vessel a few divers were let down, who brought up each a few thousand oysters, which were heaped upon the shore in separate heaps of a thousand each, and opened and examined. If the pearls found in each heap were found by the appraisers to be worth an Ecu or more, the beds from which the oysters were taken were held to be capable of yielding a rich harvest; if they were worth no more than thirty Sous, the beds were considered unlikely to yield a profit over and above the expense of working them. As soon as the testing was completed, it was publicly announced either that there would or that there would not be a fishery that year. In the former case enormous crowds of people assembled on the coast on the day appointed for the commencement of the fishery, traders came there with wares of all kinds, the roadstead was crowded with shipping; drums were beaten and muskets fired; and everywhere the greatest excitement prevailed, until the Dutch Commissioners arrived from Colombo with great pomp and ordered the proceedings to be opened with a salute of cannon. Immediately afterwards the fishing vessels all weighed anchor and stood out to sea, preceded by two large Dutch sloops which in due time drew off to the right and left and marked the limits of the fishery; and when each reached its place, half of its complement of divers plunged into the sea, each with a heavy stone tied to his feet to make him sink rapidly and furnished with a sack in which to put his oysters, and having a rope tied round his body the end of which was passed round a pulley and held by some of the boatmen. Thus equipped the diver plunged in, and on reaching the bottom filled his sack with oysters until his breath failed; when he pulled a string with which he was provided, and the signal being perceived by the boatmen above, he was forthwith hauled up by the rope together with his sack of oysters. No artificial appliances of any kind were used to enable the men to stay under water for long periods: they were accustomed to the work from infancy almost, and consequently did it easily and well. Some were much more skilful and lasting than others, and it was usual to pay them in proportion to their powers; a practice which led to much emulation and occasionally to fatal results. Anxious to out-do all his fellows, a diver would sometimes persist in collecting until he was too

weak to pull the string; and would be drawn up at last half or quite drowned. And very often a greedy man would attack and rob a successful neighbour under water: and instances were known in which divers who had been thus treated took down knives and murdered their plunderers at the bottom of the sea. As soon as all the first set of divers had come up, and their takings had been examined and thrown into the hold, the second set went down. After an interval the first set dived again, and after them the second, and so on turn by turn. The work was very exhausting, and the strongest man could not dive oftener than seven or eight times in a day, so that the day's diving was finished always before noon.

The diving over, the vessels returned to the coast and discharged their cargoes: and the oysters were all thrown into a kind of park and left for two or three days, at the end of which time they opened and disclosed their treasures. The pearls having been extracted from the shells and carefully washed, were placed in a metal receptacle containing some five or six colanders of graduated sizes, which were fitted one into another so as to leave a space between the bottoms of every two, and were pierced with holes of varying sizes; that which had the largest holes being the topmost colander, and that which had the smallest being the undermost. When dropped into colander No. 1, all but the very finest pearls fell through into No. 2, and most of them passed into Nos 3, 4 and 5; whilst the smallest of all, the seeds, were strained off into the receptacle at the bottom. When all had staid in their proper colanders, they were classified and valued accordingly. The largest or those of the first class were the most valuable: and it is expressly stated in the letter from which this information is extracted that the value of any given pearl was appraised almost exclusively with reference to its size, and was held to be affected but little by its shape and lustre. The valuation over, the Dutch generally bought the finest pearls. They considered that they had a right of pre-emption: at the same time they did not compel individuals to sell if unwilling. All the pearls taken on the first day belonged by express reservation to the King or to the Sêthupati, according as the place of their taking lay off the coasts of the one or the other. The Dutch did not, as was often asserted, claim the pearls taken on the second day. They had other and more certain modes of making profit, of which the very best was to bring plenty of cash into a market where cash was not plentiful and so enable themselves to purchase at very easy prices.

The amounts of oysters found in different years varied infinitely. Some years the divers had only to pick up as fast as they were able, and as long as they could keep under water; in others they could only find a few here and there. In 1700 the testing was most encouraging, and an unusually large number of boat-owners took out licenses to fish: but the season proved most disastrous. Only a few thousands were taken on the first day by all the divers together, and a day or two afterwards not a single oyster could be found. It was supposed by many that strong under-currents had suddenly set in owing to some unknown cause and covered the oysters with layers of sand. Whatever the cause, the results of the failure were most ruinous. Several merchants had advanced large sums of money to the boat-owners on speculation, which were of course lost. The boat-owners had in like manner advanced money to the divers and others, and they also lost their money And the Dutch did not make anything like their usual profit

During the whole of the year 1700 the kingdom appears to have been in a very disturbed state owing to a desultory war with Tanjore. The circumstances which gave rise to this war are not recorded in any of the memoirs which I have come across, but it seems likely that it originated in the dispute between the governments of Tanjore and Râmnâd which has been alluded to above. It was concluded in the following year, after a remarkable victory which will be hereafter described: but not until considerable damage had been inflicted by the numerous bodies of cavalry which Tanjore sent into the field.

In this same year the missionary Bouchet obtained an interview with the great Dalavây Narasappayya, the recorded particulars of which are interesting as throwing light upon the customs and etiquette of the Madura court. It appears that Bouchet, like all the principal Jesuit missionaries of his day, always adopted the guise of a Guru, and passed for an Asiatic so well that his nationality was ordinarily unsuspected and unquestioned. Accordingly he felt no hesitation in appearing before Narasappayya, who was notorious for his uncompromising hatred of Parangis and of the religion which they professed: and as Christianity was being persecuted with unusual severity at the time he resolved to lay his grievances before the great man and if possible obtain from him a promise of protection. Having obtained an audience, he entered the reception-hall and advanced towards the place

where the Dalavây was seated; and as he approached, the Dalavây, to his surprise and intense delight, rose from his seat and saluted him with the *namaskâram*, in the manner in which disciples salute their teachers, that is to say by joining the hands and holding them up over the head. In return Bouchet gave the *âsîrvâtham*, or Guru's salutation to disciples, which consists in stretching out both hands horizontally towards the person saluted, as if about to receive and welcome him. After this the Dalavây made Bouchet sit down beside him in eastern fashion on a kind of sofa barely large enough to contain them, in such wise that their knees touched. This was a special mark of distinction, as implying the closest familiarity . and considering that Narasappayya was a Brâhman of Brâhmans and a special hater of Europeans, and that there were some hundreds of Brâhmans looking on whilst the missionary was thus honoured, his mingled feelings of surprise and pleasure may easily be comprehended. The presents which Bouchet had brought with him were now brought forward These were a terrestrial globe two feet in diameter, with the names of places inscribed in Tamil ; a small glass globe backed with quicksilver ; a figure of a cock composed of shells ; some magnifying and burning glasses ; a few bracelets of jade [illegible] silver ; and lastly a few mirrors and some curiosities from [illegible]. They [illegible] graciously accepted and examined , and th[illegible]onversation was commenced, in the course of which Bou[illegible]ormed the Dalavây that he had come from the north fro[illegible] great city of Rome to preach the sacred law, and that ha[illegible] been a witness during several years of the illustrious career [illegible]e great man whom he had the pleasure of addressing, he had been seized with a strong desire of seeing and paying his respects to him. He also added that he much desired the Dalavây's favour, and that as obedience to constituted authorities was one of the first principles of the law which he preached, the Dalavây might place implicit reliance in his and his disciples' loyalty. The Dalavây replied in terms equally complimentary; and then withdrew for a short time for the purpose of showing the presents to the Queen During this interval the missionary was shown over the royal gardens by some of the courtiers, and as he was seen to quit the reception hall the report was bruited about that the Roman Guru had been sent to prison. But his enemies were greatly disappointed a short time afterwards, when they came to hear of the very flattering manner in which the Dalavây gave him leave to depart. After showing the curiosities to the Queen, who was greatly pleased

with the glass globe the cock and the bracelets, Narasappayya returned to the reception-hall, and having sent for Bouchet dismissed him with the same marks of honour with which it was customary to dismiss ambassadors, namely by placing on his head as a veil a piece of cloth of gold about eight feet in length and sprinkling scent over his person. And it was at the same time intimated to him that the Queen had expressly ordered that any request he might think proper to make should be granted. Bouchet might now have ruined his enemies by speaking a word · but he refrained from motives of clemency, and merely asked in general terms for protection, and took his leave. On retiring he found to his great embarrassment that the State palanquin had been ready to convey him to his residence. He hesitated at first to enter it, thinking it inconsistent with the humility of a Christian priest to be carried in so magnificent a conveyance: but after a moment's reflection he resolved to accept the proffered honour, feeling sure that the fact of his being seen in the royal palanquin would produce an immense effect on the minds of the persecutors of his flock. Accordingly he took his seat and was carried off through all the principal streets of Trichinopoly with bands of music preceding him, and a large concourse of Christians running alongside and behind of the palanquin, who testified their delight by loud shouts of joy and announcements of the coming of their great Guru. In this manner he was carried the whole way to his house which was about twelve miles from the fort: and on reaching it he repaired at once to the Church of his village, and publicly offered up thanks to God for the triumph which had been vouchsafed to him.

The Dalavây who treated Bouchet so handsomely was implicitly trusted by Mangammâl, and had made himself or rather had been made by his mistress the absolute master of the whole kingdom. His word was law; and no business of importance was undertaken without his express sanction. But fortunately for the people he was one of those few men who are not spoilt by the possession of unlimited and irresponsible power; and so great were his talents and good sense, so just and impartial his orders, that he was declared on all sides to be without exception the very greatest minister who had ever directed the affairs of the kingdom. My authority for this statement is Father Martin, who was doubtless prejudiced to some extent in Narasappayya's favour. But it must

not be forgotten that Choka Nât'ha, who was an especial protector of the Christians, is described by the Jesuits as an infamous tyrant, and that they have not attempted to gloss over the vices of Tirumala, another of their great patrons: whilst as a rule their estimates of character appear to be singularly careful and conscientious.

Owing to the disturbances consequent on the Tanjore war it was impossible to travel along any of the King's high roads; and curiously enough we find the missionaries selecting for safety's sake paths through the extensive jungles of the Kallans or robbers, which stretched away north of Madura and in the vicinity of Tanjore. The majority of these Kallans had been converted in great numbers in Tirumala's time—see ante page 126—and had completely given up their predatory habits; and many of them who had not been converted had been induced to withdraw from their evil courses by the example of their Christian friends and connections. But their old reputation still clung to them: and travellers durst not enter their neighbourhood unless they had previously engaged the services of a Kalla guide. The persons of the missionaries however were invariably respected by these lawless people, and if any property was at any time taken from one of them by mistake, it was always restored as soon as the mistake was discovered.

We have now arrived at the conclusion of the war with Tanjore, which was brought about in the year 1700 in the following circumstances. The Dalavây had encamped his army along the south bank of the Kâvêri, with the object of watching the enemy and checking if possible the constant irruptions of detachments of his cavalry into the more fertile parts of the kingdom. But in spite of every precaution he found it to be impossible to do as he desired. The enemy's cavalry was so vastly superior to his own that it marched on either side of him and round him at pleasure. and the damage caused by it in every part of the country was serious and alarming. At last Narasappayya determined on the first opportunity to make a sudden attack upon Tanjore, and by this means to compel the enemy to draw in his troops for the purposes of defence Having kept his design perfectly secret, he was enabled in the course of a few days to throw his troops across the river unobserved, and was commencing to march for Tanjore before his movement became known to his opponents Upon discovering his intention the Tanjore General collected his troops with all possible speed, and hurried

across the river to the defence of his capital but before he had accomplished the passage, freshes caused by a heavy fall of rain on the western ghauts suddenly came down the river, and carried off a portion of his baggage and some of his horses and men Seeing this, the greater portion of the army hastily spread themselves along the bank, in endeavouring to assist those who were struggling in the stream, and were soon in great disorder and confusion Narasappayya received intelligence of what was going on from his spies, and without losing a moment by delay charged down in full force upon the straggling bodies of which the Tanjore army was now composed, and before they could form into divisions, cut them to pieces, and gained a most decisive victory, almost without the loss of a man.

After this Narasappayya proceeded to ravage every part of the Tanjore country in a very complete and thorough manner, and the Mahratta Râja was not a little annoyed at seeing himself vanquished by a people who until quite lately had been in the habit of deferring to his wishes and even obeying his orders. He suspected that it must be through the treachery of his minister Baloji or Vagoji Pandithan, that this reverse had befallen him; and his suspicions were actively fomented by the lies and calumnies of the minister's numerous enemies. He therefore resolved to punish him. But Vagoji Pandithan (whom I take to be the Varaboji Pandithan of page 213 ante) was a man of great astuteness, and having heard of the Râja's intention came before him without delay and declared that he "would cut off his own head and bring it to the Râja on a plate if he did not within eight days contrive to conclude a peace with the Râja's enemies." The term was short: and the Râja expressed his satisfaction. Upon this the minister sent round agents to all the principal merchants, and ordered them under pain of confiscation of all their goods to lend him each a considerable sum of money, which was at once lent. He at the same time borrowed largely from all his friends and relations: and to the sums thus obtained added a large amount taken from the royal treasury. The total sum collected amounted to 500,000 Ecus, and was employed in the following manner. A portion was sent to the Queen Regent as a subsidy; another was distributed amongst her ministers; and the remainder was given to the father of the Dalavây, a man notorious for his surpassing avarice The plan succeeded admirably. Within eight days peace was concluded; and the artful Brâhman was restored to favour.

In the summer of 1701 the Queen Regent of Madura and the King of Tanjore entered into an offensive alliance against the Râja of Mysore, and forgetting their old quarrels made joint preparations for war on a grand scale. The cause of this unexpected and almost unprecedented alliance was an act which threatened to involve both kingdoms, and more particularly Tanjore in absolute ruin. The Râja of Mysore had thrown an enormous dam across the bed of the Kâvêri, and had by this means diverted into his kingdom the whole of the freshes produced by the commencement of the south-west monsoon. not a drop of water had been permitted to reach Trichinopoly and Tanjore, and the cultivation of rice-crops was suspended. At the moment however when an expedition was about to start for the purpose of destroying the great dam, the Kâvêri came down with unusual violence and completely swept it away in a moment. Being very large and solidly constructed the work was strong enough to withstand the pressure of moderate freshes: but not that of the enormous volume of water which rolled down with extreme velocity when the monsoon was at its full.

In 1702 the country suffered an irreparable loss in the death of Narasappayya. It appears that he invaded the Marava country at the head of a large army with the intention of reducing the Kilavan Sêthupati to submission, and was defeated and killed in a battle fought with that able ruler and General. The King of Tanjore was acting in concert with the Dalavây on this occasion; but the Kilavan was nevertheless well able to hold his own, and succeeded in completely establishing his independence It seems strange at first sight that so small and unimportant a State as Râmnâd should have been able to resist, even for a few days, the attack of the combined armies of so large a kingdom as Madura and so rich a country as Tanjore: but it is by no means difficult to account for the fact that it was able not only to resist but to defeat them The reason was probably this. The army of the King of Madura consisted of bodies of men belonging to different castes, who were for the most part strangers in the land in which they lived and animated by no feelings of patriotism or of loyalty to the King or of fidelity to their General. And they were commanded and officered by men of different castes, who were bound together by no common ties and regarded one another not only with jealousy but also with suspicion and distrust. In a word, as has been shown in Chapter VII, the army was altogether wanting in discipline and cohesion and a

slight reverse or a quarrel amongst its leaders would turn it within a very few days into a disorganized rabble, and perhaps cause it to melt away bit by bit in the very presence of the enemy. And what was true of the Madura army was probably true of that of Tanjore. But the Râmnâd army was differently constituted, and was animated by an entirely different spirit. Both soldiers and officers were nearly all of one caste, namely the Marava; and the few of them who were not Maravans, belonged to the allied caste of the Ahambadiyans. There were therefore no dissensions and jealousies amongst them originating in matters of caste. And as they were the descendants of countless generations of men who had from time immemorial lived in and bled for one and the same small tract of country, they were no doubt incited to resist invasion by a spirit of true patriotism such as in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries stirred the hearts of few if any of the nations located in South India. Then again though not strictly speaking a warrior caste, the Maravans were a caste which had always been accustomed to a martial and adventurous mode of life; and their traditions were connected with the commission of murders robbery and deeds of violence of every kind rather than with the peaceful and unexciting incidents of agriculture and commerce. and they therefore formed far better materials for an army than any of the Tamil castes of Madura, and probably than any of the foreign. And lastly it generally happened that most of the principal Maravans were connected with the Sêthupati and with one another both by blood and by marriage; and accordingly when they were called upon by their natural head and protector to fight against an invader, they marched to battle like a numerous band of brothers led by a common father, and were able to forget for the moment all petty animosities and feuds.

The following passage from a Jesuit letter shows how the Râmnâd army was manned and officered.—

« Presque toutes les bourgades et les terres du Marava sont pos-
« sédées par les plus riches du pays, moyennant un certain nombre
« de soldats qu'ils sont obligés de fournir au prince toutes les fois
« qu'il en a besoin. Ces seigneurs sont révocables au gré du prince:
« leurs soldats sont leurs parents, leurs amis ou leurs esclaves, qui
« cultivent les terres dépendantes de la peuplade, et qui prennent les
« armes dès qu'ils sont requis. De cette manière, le prince du Mara-
« va peut mettre sur pied, en moins de huit jours, jusqu' à trente et
« quarante mille hommes, et par-là il se fait redouter des princes ses

"voisins, il a même secoué le joug du roi de Maduré dont il était "tributaire."

Mangammâl's grandson came of age in the year 1704 or 5; and this event appears to have led to some serious disturbances which had a very tragical ending. The particulars connected therewith cannot unfortunately be ascertained with anything approaching precision, as we have no Jesuit letters written between the years 1701 and 1709, and Hindû MSS. throw scarcely any light upon the occurrences of this period. But a comparison of oral traditions with a few clearly apparent facts affords some ground for the conclusion that the following were the circumstances which ushered in the new reign. The Queen Regent seems to have lived for some two or three years to the great scandal of her subjects on terms of too great intimacy with Narasappayya's successor, a Brâhman of the name of Achchaya; and relying on his support to have refused to make way for her grandson when he came of age. In consequence of this a strong party was formed against her, and she was arrested and confined in the building which is now used as a jail. And not satisfied with this measure of punishment her enemies resolved to murder her; and did the deed with a refinement of cruelty almost too horrible to conceive. They slowly starved her to death: and to aggravate her sufferings periodically placed food near the bars of her prison window, at such a distance that she could see and smell, without being able to reach it with her hands. It is said that the place where the unhappy woman was thus tortured is still pointed out to strangers, and that the story of her fate still excites compassion: but whether the horrible legend is true it is I believe impossible now to discover. However there is nothing *primâ facie* improbable in it as it stands, and there exists some evidence tending to corroborate it. A statue of a young man may be seen in the little chapel built by Mangammâl on the west side of the golden lily tank which is commonly known as the statue of Mangammâl's minister and paramour: and in a picture on the ceiling of the chapel there is a portrait of the same person opposite to one of the Queen. And it is observable that the portrait of Mangammâl shows that she did not dress as an orthodox Hindu widow should dress, but indulged in jewels and finery fit only for a married woman. These circumstances are certainly in favor of the story of the intrigue with Achchaya being true; and if so, then the story of the imprisonment and murder is rendered more worthy of credence.

A curious ghost story told in one of the O H. MSS. at page 224 connects the death of Mangammâl with that of her co-temporary the Râja of Mysore; and contrasts the characters of the two rulers in very strong colors. It is to the effect that the Râja of Mysore, who according to Wilks, vol. i, page 211, was named Chick Deo Raz and died on the 12th December 1704, was a man of a mean and sordid mind and never by any chance performed acts of charity: accordingly when he died he went to Naragam the place of torment, and lay where he fell in great agony. Shortly afterwards he recognized one of his subjects, who had been carried off by mistake by one of Yama's messengers and was about to be released and sent back to the world of the living; and calling him to his side the Râja told him he must be so good as to take a message to the Râja's son and successor. The spirit agreed to do what was asked, and the Râja thereupon said, "When I ruled over Mysore, I laid up great treasures for myself "and never performed any works of charity. and hence my miser-"able fate. But Mangammâl of Madura has always been a charit-"able woman, and now that she is coming to the world of the dead "they are setting up triumphal arches and making all kinds of grand "preparations for her reception. Go then to my son and tell him "that he must at once spend in works of charity all the treasure "which is buried in a place which I will presently describe to you, "that by so doing he may peradventure rescue my soul from this "place of torment." The Râja then described the place, and the liberated spirit forthwith delivered the message. The Râja's son did not give it credence at first: but shortly afterwards he received intelligence from Madura to the effect that Mangammâl had died at such an hour on such a day, and finding that the time agreed with the time indicated by the message he felt certain that the message was genuine and began to act in entire accordance with the directions which it contained.

This story is certainly remarkable as illustrating most forcibly on the one hand the selfish and avaricious character of a Râja, who according to Wilks was in the habit of never breaking his fast in the morning until he had placed two thousand Pagodas in his treasury, and succeeded in collecting so much treasure that he was called the "Lord of nine crores;" and on the other hand the generous and amiable character of a Princess, who in happier circumstances and in a more enlightened age might have been an ornament both to her country and to her sex.

CHAPTER X.

FROM A.D. 1705 TO A.D. 1741.

A long and uninteresting reign.—Vijaya Ranga Choka Nâtha's absurd liberality.—The weakness of his government.—Marava affairs.—Works of irrigation.—Famine.—The price of grain.—The drought of 1709.—The great inundation.—The death of the Kilavan.—Satî.—Disturbances.—End of the long famine.—Wars in the Marava country.—Thandâ Têvan and Bavâni Sankara.—The Râmnâd kingdom divided.—The Râyar of Chandragiri.—The King dies.—The political situation.—His widow Mînâkshi adopts a son.—The party against her.—The second pattam.—Vangâru Tirumala's claims.—Another Mahometan attack.—Tanjore is taken.—Vangâru Tirumala seeks the assistance of Safdar Ali Khân.—The award.—The Queen calls in Chandâ Sahêb.—His oath.—He is disconcerted.—He leaves Trichinopoly and returns.—Operations against Madura.—The battle of Ammaya-Nâyakkan-ûr.—Vangâru Tirumala flees.—Chandâ Sahêb throws off the mask.—The Queen takes poison.—The Mahrattas are called in.—The defeat and death of Daust Ali.—The fall of Trichinopoly and capture of Chandâ Sahêb.—The kingdom finally falls to pieces.

WE have now come to the end of that series of Jesuit letters which so usefully illustrates the modern political history of Madura, and from this time forward we shall have to rely almost entirely upon native MSS. and the secondary evidence afforded by English historians And curiously enough the nearer we approach the period of the commencement of British ascendancy in the south, the more meagre and unsatisfactory will our information become.

Vijaya Ranga Choka Nât'ha's long reign which commenced about

1705 and lasted about twenty-six years, seems to have been principally distinguished by the extraordinary and ill-regulated munificence of his gifts to Brâhmans Churches and religious institutions. Every other year it is said he used to perform a pilgrimage to each of the more celebrated shrines within the limits of his dominions: and on these occasions gifts were lavishly showered on all who were so fortunate as to gain access to him. His Generals and ministers were encouraged to prey on him and pillage the country without stint And in a word, in all that he did and in all that he said he showed himself to be a vain, weak-minded Prince, utterly unfitted to govern either himself or others.

In 1709, only a few years after he ascended the throne, the weakness of his administration began to bear fruit, and there was a serious riot in the town of Madura produced by injustice on the part of the government, which must have very considerably detracted from his authority. And shortly afterwards the whole of the royal troops mutinied in consequence of their pay being misappropriated by the Dalavây, Naravappayya. Instead of addressing them personally and paying forthwith all that was due, the King contented himself with sending them from time to time unsatisfactory messages, to the effect that the Dalavây should be made to settle with them within a few days. And at last things began to look so threatening that the Sêthupathi was applied to for assistance. The Sêthupati pointed out to the King the terrible folly of his proceedings, and at last the King did what he ought to have done at the very first; and the mutiny was with some little difficulty suppressed. Whether the Dalavây was dismissed for this misconduct does not appear: but we know that some years afterwards one Venkata Râg'havâchârya was Dalavây, so possibly the King had sense enough to rid himself of the scoundrel. And moreover as the Dalavây in whose time the Madura riot took place was a Nâyakkan named Kastûri Rangayan, it seems probable that he too was punished for his misdeeds by dismissal. However this may have been, there were undoubtedly constant changes in the ministry and disturbances during this long reign; and the entire period over which it extended must have been one of incessant commotions and anarchy: so much so that when the King died in 1731, the strength of the country had been so completely frittered away that the catastrophe which will hereafter be described was all but inevitable.

Whilst the Madura kingdom was suffering from misrule, the Marava was kept in good order by the strong hand of the Kilavan. It will be remembered that in 1702 he succeeded in completely shaking off the yoke of Madura: in 1709 he again distinguished himself by gaining a signal victory over the King of Tanjore. It appears that for some few years the Marava country had been suffering from extraordinary drought and heat which brought about famine and epidemics, and it was in consequence reduced to a state of great desolation and weakness The King of Tanjore thought to take advantage of the opportunity by invading his old enemy's dominions; but he was repulsed with loss and compelled to sue for peace.

That the famine which raged at this time was not brought about by carelessness and improvidence on the part of the Sêthupati's government or by the want of works of irrigation, but was attributable solely to a deficient rain-fall, is clearly shown by the following interesting passage from a letter of Father Martin, dated Marava, 1713.

"On ne prend nulle part autant de précautions que dans le Marava, "pour ne pas laisser échapper une goutte d'eau, et pour ramasser "toute celle des ruisseaux et des torrents que forment les pluies. On "y voit une assez grande rivière appelée *Vaiarou.* Après avoir "traversé une partie du Maduré, elle entre dans le Marava, et quand "elle remplit bien son lit, ce qui arrive d'ordinaire pendant un mois "entier chaque année, elle est aussi grosse que la Seine. Cependant "par le moyen des canaux creusés par nos Indiens, et qui vont "aboutir fort loin à leurs étangs, ils saignent tellement cette rivière "de tous les côtés, qu'elle s'y perd entièrement, et n'arrive à son "embouchure, qu'après avoir mis plusieurs semaines à remplir les "nombreux réservoirs vers lesquels on l'a détournée.

"Les étangs les plus communs ont une demi-lieue de levée · il y en "a d'autres qui ont une lieue et plus J'en ai vu trois qui ont plus de "trois lieues Un seul de ces étangs fournit assez d'eau pour arroser les "campagnes de plus de soixante peuplades. Comme le riz veut "toujours avoir le pied dans l'eau jusqu'à ce qu'il ait acquis sa "parfaite, maturité, lorsqu'après la première récolte il reste encore de "l'eau dans les étangs, on fume les terres, et on les ensemence de "nouveau : *car tout le temps de l'année est propre à faire croître le "riz, pourvu que l'eau ne lui manque pas.*"

The last words of this quotation have been put in Italics by me, as

being strongly corroborative of the remarks made in the chapter on climate, touching the supreme importance to the Madura District of a constant supply of rain. So much attention is being paid at the present time to the subject of famine in India, that it cannot but be useful to remember that in one country, if not in more, the horrors of famine have been experienced from time immemorial in spite of all the precautions which a rich and absolutely despotic government could take to ensure a sufficiency of effective works of irrigation In Madura it is the want of rain and not the want of works of irrigation that produces periodical famines.

The severity of the famines of the early part of the eighteenth century may be gauged in the following manner. Ordinarily the price of rice was, as has been shown in page 155 ante, a fanam or 2¼*d.* for eight Râmnâd *markâls* or about ninety-six pounds of excellent husked rice: but Father Martin had known the price to rise to four fanams or nine pence for one markâl or twelve pounds. In other words he had known a rise in price of no less than thirty-two hundred per cent. to take place within a twelvemonth ! Lest it should be thought that I must have mistaken Father Martin's meaning, I will quote his exact words, which occur in his letter of 1713 quoted from above. They are as follows :—

"C'est à la faveur de ces eaux que les laboureurs font couler des "étangs dans les campagnes, qu 'on voit croître une quantité prodigieuse "de riz ; lorsque les pluies sont abondantes, le riz et les autres "denrées y sont à vil prix : pour un fanon, on aura jusqu'à huit "*markals* ou grandes mesures de très bon riz pilé, ce qui suffit pour "la nourriture d'un homme durant plus de quinze jours Mais aussi "quand les pluies viennent à manquer, la cherté devient si grande, "que j'ai vu monter le prix d'une de ces mesures de riz, jusqu'à quatre "fanons (dix-huit sous)"

When these terrific rises took place, it was customary for the starving ryots to borrow a few pounds of rice from more fortunate neighbours, undertaking to repay for each pound lent eight ten fifteen or more pounds out of the earliest crop they might be able to raise The condition was doubtless very hard. But it was perfectly fair, inasmuch as the borrowers were at liberty to go and buy in the markets at the ruling rates, and had they so done would have been compelled to pay still higher prices for what they required ; and it is somewhat startling to find that Father Martin and his worthy

colleagues peremptorily forbade the members of their flocks to traffic on these as they were pleased to call them un-Christian principles. By thus acting they must have contributed largely to the distress which everywhere prevailed.

The intense drought which lasted during the greater part of 1709 was succeeded by a sufficiency of rain in the month of August, and an abundant supply in October and November: and every one was hoping that the long series of bad seasons which had brought so much misery upon the country was about to be terminated, when there occurred on the 18th December one of those tremendous cyclones which sometimes though happily but very rarely visit the Madura country in the winter season. The tempest commenced at 7 A. M with a strong gale from the north-east, accompanied by a very violent fall of rain. This lasted till nearly noon, when the wind and rain suddenly ceased: and a profound calm ensued, which continued till about 5 P. M. The wind then got up again with great suddenness, and began to blow from the south-west with even greater force than in the morning. The hurricane lasted during the greater part of the night, and within a few hours caused an inundation which led to the most terrible results. As the tanks were at this time all full, and as almost all their bunds had their concave sides facing the west, large waves were raised and rolled in upon the central and weakest portions of the bunds with a fury which they were wholly unable to resist Small splits and crevices were rapidly formed in them. These were rapidly enlarged by successive blows, and at last, one after another, all the tanks in the country began to burst. Each discharged its contents over the low-lying lands in its neighbourhood, already completely overlaid by a rainfall of many inches, and vast lakes were thus formed, and were every moment increased in volume both by the rain and by the freshes which came roaring down the beds of the rivers. As they swelled and swelled, these lakes vented their superabundant waters upon the sinking lands of the Marava country, and in the dead of the night, when it was pitchy dark, almost before the unfortunate inhabitants of those parts could collect their scattered senses, a mighty wave came surging and foaming upon them bearing along with it the wreck of houses and churches, trees, struggling sheep and cattle, the corpses of men women and children, half-ripened crops of all sorts, in a word all that was most valuable and useful in the country over which it had careered. The bold and vigorous contrived by some means to escape

destruction, but thousands perished miserably in vain attempts to flee; and the sun rose next morning upon a sight such as must have moved the hardest to compassion. In every direction as far as the eye could reach the whole country was submerged with the exception of a few high tracts which rose like islands out of the surrounding waste of waters. Property of all kinds was being tossed hither and thither by eddies and currents, and innumerable carcasses of animals were being carried along mingled with thousands of corpses. The rice-crops had been torn bodily out of the soil, and the largest and toughest trees, even tamarind trees, were lying with their dripping roots in the air. But it was not until the waters had subsided that the full extent of the damage done could be ascertained. It was then perceived that not only had the rice-crops utterly perished in almost every part of the Râmnâd kingdom, but many of the fields in which they grew had been covered with sand and salt earth deposited by the inundation, and had consequently been rendered useless until cleaned and a second time prepared for cultivation at a great expense, and most of the wells and tanks had been fouled and poisoned.

In consequence of this visitation the famine raged in the Marava country more furiously than ever in 1710; and numbers emigrated to Tanjore and Madura. And the misery of the people was aggravated in no slight degree by the death of the Kilavan, and the disturbances by which it was as a matter of course attended. The veteran died aged upwards of eighty, and after a reign of a quarter of a century. During the latter portion of this period his animosity against Christianity had either given way to a better feeling or had remained inactive, and at no time since the foundation of the Madura Mission had the missionaries so much to be thankful for as they had in this period. There seems to have been no active persecution, and the work of converting the heathen went on more busily than ever.

The death of the Kilavan was followed by one of those painful spectacles in which the misguided spirit of Hindûism so much delights. No fewer than forty-seven of his wives burnt themselves, I should perhaps more correctly say were burnt upon his funeral pile. A large and deep ditch was dug at some little distance from the town of Râmnâd, and nearly filled up with a vast quantity of wood; and at the proper moment the body of the dead Prince richly clothed and adorned was laid upon the top of the pile, which was

then set fire to at the bottom in many places, whilst divers ceremonies were performed by the attendant Brâhmans. When the lower part of the pile had begun to burn briskly the troop of victims drew near to what was to be their sacrificial altar, all covered from head to foot with jewels and crowned with garlands of flowers, and began to move round the pit in procession. Shortly afterwards the chief widow held up aloft the sword which her departed lord had been accustomed to carry, and addressing his successor spoke the following words "See here," said she, "the weapon with which our "King was wont to triumph over his enemies: be you careful never "to use it for any other purpose, and above all never to stain it with "the blood of your subjects Govern them as he governed them, "like a father; and like him you will live happily for many years. "As for me, since he is no more there is nothing left that should "keep me in this world, and I have but to follow him whither he is "gone." With these words she placed the sword in the hands of the new King, who received it without betraying any signs of emotion, and then with a wild cry threw herself boldly on the pile, calling loudly upon the names of her Gods.

The second widow was a Kalla woman, the sister of the Tondiman Râja of Puthu Kôttei, who as has been shown above was appointed by the Kilavan soon after the commencement of his reign. He was present on this occasion, and had to take from his sister the jewels with which she was adorned: and whilst so doing he could not restrain his tears. Throwing himself upon her bosom he embraced her with the tenderest affection: but the unhappy woman appeared to be all unmoved; and after looking for a few moments now at the pile now at the attendants, and crying out now and again O! Siva, Siva, threw herself on the burning mass with the same boldness as the first.

The other widows followed one by one some going to meet their death with a firm countenance, others with an air of abstraction and bewilderment. One only more timid than her fellows ran and threw herself on the neck of a Christian soldier who was standing by and implored him to save her. But her entreaties were ineffectual. The man was violating the explicit orders of his priests in being present at this ceremony, and being alarmed at public attention being attracted to him shook off the unfortunate woman with so great violence that she lost her balance and fell headlong into the pit. At

the same moment he hastily withdrew, his whole frame shivering with a presentiment of coming evil, and barely reached his home before he was attacked by a raging fever which a few hours afterwards ended his life.

Whatever boldness was exhibited by these wretched women in throwing themselves upon the top of the pile, they no sooner felt the heat of the furnace beneath them than they began to make frantic efforts to escape their doom. Hurrying to and fro, struggling and fighting, tumbling one over another, they vainly endeavoured to reach the edge of the pile; and filled the air the while with ear-piercing screams and groans. And in order to smother their cries, and at the same time accelerate the burning of the mass, it became necessary to throw heaps of heavy faggots upon the heads of the victims. After this their voices grew more and more feeble; and at last were altogether lost in the crackling and roaring of the flames. When all the bodies had been consumed the Brâhmans drew near to the still smoking pile, and after performing more ceremonies collected the charred bones and ashes, and having carefully wrapped them in rich cloths carried them to the island of Ramêshwara and there threw them into the sea. After this the pit was filled up; and a temple was erected over its site in honor of the departed King and his wives.

It is stated by Father Martin that at the time when the Kilavan's widows burnt themselves, *Satî* was practised only by the wives and concubines of Princes; and that women of ordinary rank, whether Brâhmans or not, were not required by the custom of the country to follow their husbands to the grave Women of the Râja caste sometimes indulged a morbid vanity by performing the act of self-cremation; affecting to believe that they were descended from the ancient sovereigns of India, and therefore bound in honor to follow the custom of their ancestors. And still more rarely Brâhman widows thought proper to go through the ceremony. Amongst other castes the practice was almost unknown. Father Martin further gives it as his opinion that women of princely rank could hardly avoid *Satî* without disgrace and total loss of honor; and that those who hesitated to act in accordance with the custom of their caste were overcome by the incessant entreaties and remonstrances of their relations; and if their courage failed them, they were plied with certain liquors which removed from them all apprehension of death. It is observable that these remarks upon Satî made in 1713 agree very closely

with those of the Abbé Dubois made a century later and after a long residence in Mysore. On the other hand it is clear that even Princesses were not absolutely bound to consent to Satî, and were not always despised and degraded on account of their refusal to burn themselves; for as we have seen Mangammâl declined the honor, and yet enjoyed a long and prosperous reign—the regency amounted in fact to a reign—and in spite of her amours left behind her a more honored name than did most of her predecessors. And the widow of her grandson followed her example.

Shortly before his death the Kilavan had nominated as his successor one Bavâni Sankara Têvan, an illegitimate son by a favorite concubine. But the nomination was not approved of by the Maravans, and the old Sêthupati was compelled to sanction the choice of the people which fell upon one Vijaya Rag'hu Nât'ha; who was accordingly crowned Sêthupati. It appears from the Jesuit letters that this man was the younger son of the Kilavan, and brother of that Vaduga Nât'ha of whom mention has been made at page 224 ante; and that the latter was set aside in favor of the former as being less able and fit to rule than his brother. It seems probable, however, that neither of these Princes was a natural son of the Kilavan, as he would scarcely have nominated a bastard in preference to his own son, and would hardly have passed over the elder son in favor of the younger, when the ability of that elder son to rule had been admitted by the Kilavan in appointing him governor of Oreiyûr, and afterwards of the important province of Arundângi and the very considerable territories attached thereto. Ponnusâmi Têvan's memorandum makes Vijaya Rag'hu Nât'ha to have been the adopted son of the Kilavan, and no doubt this was so.

Vijaya Rag'hu Nât'ha was ardently attached to Hindûism, and became an unrelenting persecutor of Christianity; though he never went to the same length as the Kilavan. But his brother was always an active patron of the missionaries, and it would appear that after the death of the Kilavan Vaduga Nât'ha became a convert.

The year 1720 brought with it the cessation of a famine which appears to have lasted for a long series of years; and perhaps commenced in the terrible year 1709, the year of the great storm and inundation. An abundant harvest was gathered in, and the people speedily forgot their troubles. But the country was thrown into confusion once more by the illness and death of the Sêthupati. The Râja of Puthu Kôttei incited no doubt by Bâvâni Sankara Têvan had entered into an alli-

ance with the King of Tanjore, and declared war against his Lord: and the Sêthupati was compelled to march out to Arundângi to give battle to his enemies. Whilst he was carrying on operations with very indifferent success in the neighbourhood of that fortress, a grievous epidemic broke out in his camp which within a few days carried off eight of his children and some of his wives, and at last attacked and prostrated him. He was carried back to Râmnâd and appears to have temporarily recovered from the effects of his malady: but if so, a relapse ensued and he died not very long afterwards, having first appointed one Thandâ Têvan who was a great grandson of the father of the Kilavan to be his successor. Vijaya Rag'hu Nât'hâ is said to have married no less than three hundred and sixty wives, and to have had as many as a hundred children born to him by them and by various concubines and yet he left no heir of his body. All his legitimate children seem to have been carried off by disease, and the Jesuits sincerely believed that his misfortunes were brought on his head by his cruelty towards Christians.

Thandâ Têvan was not permitted to mount the throne without opposition. Bavâni Sankara Têvan, who it will be remembered had been nominated as his successor by the Kilavan but set aside as being a bastard, now came forward and claimed the succession: and as he had married a niece of the deceased Sêthupati's chief concubine, and was strongly supported by his mother-in-law, he contrived to procure his coronation by the principal Maravans. Upon this Thandâ Têvan applied for assistance to the King of Madura and also to the Tondiman Râja of Puthu Kôttei, promising to cede to the latter, if successful, the districts dependant on the forts of Kîranilei and Tirumayang Kôttei He obtained the required assistance within a few days, and proceeded to closely besiege his rival in Arundângi. and the latter feeling that he was unable to cope with the forces arrayed against him, gave up the contest for a time and fled to Tanjore. Having succeeded in gaining the favor of the King of that country by promising to cede to him the territories north of the Pâmbâr, Bavâni Sankara was enabled within two or three months after his flight from Arundângi to invade the Râmnâd country. As soon as he became aware of his adversary's movements, Thandâ had called to his assistance the allies, by means of whom he had been raised to the throne: and the King of Madura, or more probably one of his ministers, had sent a small body of men to protect the northern frontier of Râmnâd, whilst the Tondiman Râja put his troops in motion and finally encamped them at a little

distance from his allies. But the Tanjorean General who accompanied Bavâni Sankara soon disposed of these obstacles in his path. He first fell on the Madura troops, who fled at once without offering the slightest resistance; and then attacked the Tondiman, and having succeeded in taking his two sons prisoners compelled him to sue for peace. The invaders then besieged Râmnâd; and having effected an entry into the fort by mining, seized the unhappy Sêthupati and some of his supporters and put them to death.

Bavâni Sankara thus became Sêthupati a second time; and reigned till about the year 1729, when he was in his turn deposed under the following circumstances. It appears that he foolishly quarreled with some of his Poligars, and amongst others with Seshavarna Periya Udeiyâ Têvan, a famous chieftain who was connected with him by marriage, and was the descendant of a Poligar who conspired with the Tambi against the Dalavây. Seshavarna was driven out of his pâleiyam, and fled to Tanjore; where he ingratiated himself with the King by slaying single-handed a very large and ferocious tiger. And he found there Kattaya Têvan, the maternal uncle of the late Sêthupati who had escaped from Râmnâd at the time of its capture by Bavâni Sankara, and was now a refugee like himself. The two companions in misfortune soon became fast friends, and resolved to join in an attempt to overthrow the usurper of the Râmnâd crown. The King of Tanjore was requested to furnish them with troops and money; and agreed to help them on the usual condition, namely that of a cession of the provinces north of the Pâmbâr. Bavâni Sankara had omitted to make over these territories in accordance with the agreement entered into by him before he became Sêthupati: and the King of Tanjore thought that if the confederates succeeded through his assistance in conquering the Sêthupati, he, the Râja, would be able to obtain his ends far more easily than if a single ruler reigned over the Râmnâd country. The Dalavây of Tanjore was accordingly despatched with an army to depose the Sêthupati and re-instate the exiles and a battle was fought at Oreiyûr in which the Sêthupati was defeated and made prisoner. He was then carried off to Tanjore, and after being vehemently reproached for his breach of faith thrown into prison.

After this decisive success the confederates parcelled out the lands of the Râmnâd kingdom amongst themselves in the following manner. The King of Tanjore took all the lands north of the Pâmbâr. And

the remainder was divided into five parts, of which three were assigned to Kattaya Têvan, who became Sêthupati with the title of Kumâra Muttu Vijaya Rag'hu Nât'ha: and two parts were made over to Seshavarna Têvan, who assumed the title of Râja Muttu Vijaya Rag'hu Nât'ha Periya Udeiyâ Têvan, though he was more commonly known as the Nâl-Kôttei-Udeiyâ-Têvan from being the possessor of four fortresses. He was subsequently styled the Râja of Sivagangei.

A very interesting copper Sâsanam, of which Mr. Fischer the lessee of the Sivagangei Zamindâri kindly furnished me with a copy, and which purports to have been engraved in the S. S. 1655 or A. D. 1733, states that Muttu Vijaya Rag'hu Nât'ha Periya Udeiyâ Têvan, the son of Periya Udeiyâ Têvan, and son-in-law of the Hiraniya Garb'ha Arasupati Rag'hu Nât'ha Sêthupati, was amongst other things the owner of the fertile lands on the banks of the Veigei, the owner of the Sembiya Vala Nâdu, and the master of the harbour of Tondi; that in consequence of the advice of a certain Gnyâni (in whose favor was made the grant of which the Sâsanam is the memorial) he went to Tanjore and there killed a tiger, and having returned from that country conquered Bavâni Sankara Têvan; and afterwards dug a tank at the spring near which he first saw the Gnyâni and received advice from him, and called the said tank Sivagangei or the water of Siva. The Sâsanam also calls him the *arasu-nilei ittavan* or founder of the monarchy, i. e., of the Sivagangei monarchy; the *Chôla-mandala-chanda-prachanda* or all powerful in the Chôla country; and *Pândi-mandala-St'hâpanâchârya* or establisher of the Pândya kingdom Altogether the Sâsanam corroborates very strongly the history recorded in Ponnusâmi Têvan's memorandum, and is very valuable as helping to fix the date of the final dismemberment of the Râmnâd kingdom, and the rise of the present Sivagangei Zamindâri.

We must now revert to the affairs of the Madura kingdom. As stated above, the reign of Vijaya Ranga Choka Nât'ha seems to have been distinguished only by an absurd liberality to Brâhmans and Churches; and the history of the Karnataca Governors says nothing more about him than that he gave many gifts to Srîrang'ham and many other sacred places. But an unrecorded event of importance seems to have occurred during his time, namely the subjection of the kingdom to the Râyar of Chandragiri. Two Telugu copper Sâsanams

in the Pagoda at Madura, which purport to be grants of the years 1713 and 1717, and which appear to be perfectly genuine, show that in each of those years there was a Lord Paramount over Madura and that his title was in 1713 Vîra Venkata Dêva Mahâ Râyalu Ayya, and in 1717 Ranga Râya Dêva Mahâ Râyalu Âyya The circumstances in which these personages acquired authority over the King of Madura do not appear from the documents, and it is somewhat hazardous to guess about these matters: but it appears to me that a key to the question must be sought for in the fact that Mangammâl was a daughter of Lingama the Nâyakkan of Chandragiri Dupakal One of her grants shows that she sought to prop up her title to govern the country as Regent by an alleged authorization from the successor and heir of the Râyars, and it is very probable that she found it necessary on more than one occasion to invoke his interference in her behalf. And the Râyar having thus acquired some influence in the country, would not fail if he was a man of energy to extend it very considerably during the reign of an imbecile like Mangammâl's grandson. However it came about, this supremacy of the ruler of Chandragiri is certainly noteworthy, inasmuch as it is usually supposed that the power of the ancient family of the Râyars had entirely died out by the middle of the seventeenth century. It would be a somewhat startling discovery to make hereafter, that at the beginning of the seventeenth century not only the Madura but the Tanjore and several other countries were paying tribute to the Râyar of Chandragiri.

The King seems to have died in the year 1731. He left no issue; and no brothers or other near male relations clearly entitled to succeed him: and the political situation was therefore most pregnant with danger.

Queen Mînâkshi, the widow of the deceased, appears to have been an ambitious and high-spirited woman; and she had not improbably been accustomed to take an active part in the transaction of public business during those lengthened periods which the King devoted to pilgrimages. She was accordingly by no means inclined to give up on a sudden the power and position which she had for some time enjoyed, and was desirous of emulating her great namesake whose history is told in the Madura Purâna. Moreover according to the custom of Madura she would seem to have been entitled to succeed to her husband's property in default of sons, or

of brothers living with him in a state of union at the time of his death: and if she succeeded to his property, she might very well succeed to the throne also Then again she was in actual possession of the Palace and fort of Trichinopoly, and of all the royal treasures; and was *pro tanto* in a better position than any possible claimant of the throne And lastly it was her imperative duty she alleged to adopt a son for the purpose of rescuing the soul of her husband from *Put* or the place of torment, in obedience to his dying wishes, and pending such adoption and the minority of the person selected for adoption, she of all persons would be the fittest to administer the government of the kingdom, first as Regent during the interregnum, and afterwards as guardian and Regent for the minor King In these circumstances, and being strenuously backed by the counsels and assistance of her brothers and a strong party of relatives, Mînâkshi assumed the reins of government, and declaring that her husband had authorized her to adopt, adopted the infant son of Vangâru Tirumala a member of the royal family.

How long Mînâkshi was permitted to govern the kingdom in peace, to what extent if any the governors of provinces admitted her authority, and whether any of the Poligars paid or promised to pay tribute to her, are questions to which I have been altogether unable to find satisfactory answers It seems probable however that the validity of her claim was for a time generally recognized; and that she was looked upon as the Queen of the Pândya kingdom until compelled by the force of circumstances to drop that title and assume one less exalted.

When she had been in power for some little time, administering the government through her brother Venkata Râyar Perumâl Nâyakkan, a party was formed against her by the Dalavây Venkata Râyar Âchârya, of which the avowed object was to depose the Queen and set up in her place Vangâru Tirumala, the father of the boy whom she had adopted and crowned King. As the descendants of this man still live in a village in the Marava country, and affect to believe themselves to be the direct heirs of the old Pândya throne through him, it will be well to trace his lineage if possible, and to ascertain what was the nature of the claim put forward in his behalf by his supporters. According to the history of the Karnataca Governors, a book undoubtedly composed by the dependants and adherents of the Madura Nâyakkan family, he was the Vangâru

Tirumala stated to have been the *Irandâvathu Pattam* or second in power, or as I have translated it before for convenience' sake the heir apparent, in the time of King Ranga Krishna Muttu Vîrappa who began to reign in 1682; and he must therefore have been the son of Prince Kumâra Tirumala, who was heir apparent to King Choka Nât'ha and the son of Kumâra Rangappa, who was the son of that younger brother of Tirumala who, as has been shown in page 178 ante, was set aside on the death of Tirumala in favor of Tirumala's illegitimate son. Such was his parentage, if the history of the Karnataca Governors can be believed; we must now endeavour to make out his claim. He must either have claimed the crown in virtue of his descent from Tirumala's younger brother and connection thereby with the deceased King, or in virtue of his position as Irandâvathu Pattam in the year 1682. If he claimed on the ground of descent, the answer was obvious. He belonged to a junior branch of the royal family, no member of which had succeeded to the throne, and of which the head had formally resigned his rights in consideration of certain districts being assigned to him, and after receiving this consideration had never put forth any claims. In the next place there was no blood relationship between Vangâru Tirumala and the deceased King; for the latter was the descendant of a bastard son of Tirumala. And lastly the widow had formally and validly adopted a son, who succeeded to the throne as a matter of course It was impossible therefore that Vangâru Tirumala could claim to inherit the throne. And the author or authors of the history of the Karnataca Governors would appear to be quite aware of this impossibility, as no attempt has been made to show the nature of the claim set up; whilst great care has been taken to trace the successive Irandâvathu Pattams from very early times down to that of Vangâru Tirumala. I think it may be assumed therefore without much hesitation that Vangâru Tirumala's party based his claim on the circumstance, real or fictitious, that he had some fifty years previously been formally recognized as the Irandâvathu Pattam at the time when Ranga Krishna Muttu Vîrappa was crowned King. If so, the question arises, what right or title would this recognition confer upon him? The natives of Madura appear to think that what was intended by appointing and installing a second pattam or sovereign was to provide for the immediate succession to the throne and administration of the government in the event of the first pattam or reigning King either dying without male issue, or leaving a son or sons too young to reign.

That in the former case the second pattam would take the crown as an inheritance such that the succession would vest absolutely in him and his heirs male for ever: whilst in the latter case he would take only an estate for life or for a term of years, the son or sons of the deceased King being remaindermen; but an estate which would be convertible into a perfect and indefeasible inheritance by his survivorship. But if this was the usage having the force of law which controlled the rights of the second pattam—and seeing that the crown ordinarily descended to the eldest son and his heirs the usage certainly could not have been more favourable to the second pattam—how came it to pass that when Ranga Krishna Muttu Vîrappa died leaving his widow pregnant, Vangâru Tirumala did not succeed him, and so far as we know did not in any way oppose Mangammâl's assumption of power? It would certainly seem probable that the second pattam had no right to succeed except in default of male issue being left by the King or supplied to him by adoption; and that the usage was not as stated above. And if so, then Vangâru Tirumala's limited right to succeed was altogether defeated by the birth of the posthumous son Then again it is no where suggested that the rights of a second pattam, however large or restricted they may have been, were continued to Vangâru Tirumala by the royal family appointing him second pattam to Vijaya Ranga Choka Nat'ha: and unless they were so continued, they must have lapsed the very moment that the want in anticipation of which his appointment was originally made, was supplied by Mangammâl assuming the Regency. Supposing however that he was appointed second pattam to Vijaya Ranga Choka Nât'ha, in that case his right to the inheritance as a whole must have been defeated by an adoption, and he could not under any circumstances take more than a life estate: and if so, then it would have been especially his interest to give his son in adoption, whereas on the contrary the history of the Karnataca Governors takes great care to bring prominently forward the fact that Vangâru Tirumala refused to give his son in adoption, on the ground that he was entitled to the inheritance in his own right. Taking all the facts of the case as they stand, there can be no question I think but that Vangâru Tirumala had no title whatever either as heir or as second pattam; and that he willingly gave his son in adoption because he well knew that he had no title himself.

It will be observed that the fact of the adoption has been taken

as proved, although flatly denied by the history of the Karnataca Governors: and it should therefore be explained that the evidence in its favour would seem to be overwhelmingly strong. The MS. of the Record Office expressly affirms that there was an adoption, the validity of which was always admitted by everybody but Vangâru Tirumala. The MS. translated at page 232, volume ii. of the O. H. MSS., states that the infant "was adopted and installed by being anointed when four years old by Mînâkshi;" and also that Mînâkshi performed the funeral rites of her husband, which she would not have done had there been an heir to the crown other than the adopted son. And the Pandion Chronicle, translated at page 245 of the same work, states that Vangâru Tirumala took his son "the crowned Prince" a few years later to Trichinopoly, and unless the boy had been adopted by Mînâkshi he could not have been crowned during the life-time of his father. And the same MS. states that where the father and son were both pensioners of the Nabob of the Carnatic, the former received a hundred Rupees per diem as subsistence money, whilst the latter received as many Pagodas: and this difference can only be accounted for by supposing that the son had been crowned King of Madura after his adoption, and was therefore a more important personage than his father. And lastly, the Srîtala book and all the native MSS. generally which speak of this period, seem to speak of Vangâru Tirumala's son in terms which seem to show conclusively that he was held to be a man of much higher position and entitled to far more consideration than Vangâru Tirumala himself; and this could hardly have happened, as will be seen hereafter, had not the son been adopted. I think therefore that the fact of the adoption may be taken to have been proved with sufficient clearness; and that the fact of its existence was falsely denied in the history of the Karnataca Governors solely because it was fatal to Vangâru Tirumala's pretensions, and by consequence to those of his descendants.

Whatever may have been the nature of the claim, it was put forward with great vigour and resolution, and it was supported by the most convincing of arguments, a numerous armed force. Wilks tells us, no doubt upon sufficient authority, that the minister who made a handle of Vangâru Tirumala succeeded in forcibly entering the fortress of Trichinopoly, and came near to destroying the Râni before she was aware of his intentions: but after a short and sharp struggle was repulsed and driven outside.

It was probably not long after this that an attack was made upon the Hindû kingdoms of the south by the Mahometans of Arcot. In the introductory part of the Mission du Maduré it is stated that in the year 1734 Daust Ali Khân the Nabob of Arcot, being desirous of forming a principality for the benefit of his eldest son Safdar Ali Khân, attacked the rulers of Madura and Tanjore who had neglected to pay to the Nabob the tribute for which they had made themselves liable. Accordingly Safdar Ali Khân and Chandâ Sahêb, the son-in-law and confidential minister of the Nabob, were placed at the head of a large army and entrusted with a sort of roving commission to fall upon and spoil all such kingdoms situated in the extreme end of the peninsula as still remained in the hands of Hindû rulers. Trichinopoly would seem to have been too strong for the invaders; and no attempt was made to reduce it by force. But Tanjore was carried by storm, and placed in the hands of Bada Sahêb the brother of Chandâ Sahêb: and the Mahometans marched thence into the kingdom of Travancore and made themselves masters of it with the greatest ease. Encouraged by these successes they made a raid up the Western Coast, sacking cities and spreading desolation in every direction, and after collecting a considerable booty returned to Arcot.

This expedition does not appear to have been heard of by Orme or Wilks or Duff: but I think there can be no reason to doubt that the general description of it above given is correct, as the information in the Mission du Maduré is apparently extracted wholly from letters written at the time the events described took place. And some evidence may be found in the O. H. MSS. corroborative of the fact of the appearance of the Mahometans before Trichinopoly at this time. A memoir translated at page 233, vol. ii, states that Chandâ Sahêb came to Trichinopoly on two separate occasions; and there is nothing in the history of the Karnataca Governors inconsistent with this statement.

When the Mahometans came to Trichinopoly in 1734, Vangâru Tirumala, or more probably the man who used him as a tool, made overtures to Safdar Ali Khân and offered to pay him three millions of Rupees if he would oust the Râni and make over the kingdom to the pretender. The Nabob's son was only too happy to accede to this arrangement, and the offer was accepted without hesitation: but there was a by no means unimportant impediment in the way of the agreement being carried out, namely the circumstance of Trichino-

poly being an uncommonly strong place and being in the hands of the Râni. Moreover the Râni was perfectly cognizant of what was going on, and was quite certain to take all necessary precautions against surprise. It seemed hopeless therefore to attempt to do anything by force, and being anxious to get hold of the promised reward as speedily as possible, Safdar Ali Khân adopted the following ingenious plan. A manifesto was issued, in which it was stated that in order to put an end to the unhappy differences existing between the Râni and the Prince, his Highness the Nabob's son would take upon himself the responsibility of deciding the question at issue; and in order that he might have ample materials upon which to found his judgment, all interested in the decision of the case and all the legal pundits in the kingdom were invited to appear before him and favor him with their opinions touching the law bearing upon the question. This invitation was of course disregarded by the Queen's adherents: and it need not be a matter of surprise if a decision in favor of Vangâru Tirumala was very speedily arrived at. A bond for the amount stipulated for was then executed by the successful suitor, and delivered to the judge. who forthwith marched away, leaving Chandâ Sahêb to enforce if he could the execution of the award.

The Queen seems to have been alarmed by the turn which affairs had taken, and negotiations were opened with Chandâ Sahêb with the object of inducing him to violate his instructions and go away The Mahometan was not slow to take advantage of this almost unhoped for opportunity, and intrigued to so good effect that at last he prevailed upon the Queen's party to engage to pay him the enormous sum of one crore of Rupees, more than a million sterling, in consideration of him ignoring the award and placing the Queen in undisturbed possession of the kingdom. The Queen was sufficiently sensible to mistrust the mere promise of a man who showed himself to be so little troubled with scruples of honor and conscience, and insisted upon his taking an oath upon the Koran that he would observe to the letter the terms of his agreement. Accordingly Chandâ Sahêb was conducted by the Queen's brother to a building on the banks of the Kâvêri called the Dalavây-mantapam, and then took a solemn oath to give over the kingdom to Mînâkshi in its entirety, and never to betray her interests in any the slightest degree. Wilks says that this oath was taken upon a brick covered with a handsome cover and made to look like a Koran; and very

possibly this was so, but I have not come across any evidence going to corroborate the assertion, and no other historian than Wilks appears to know anything about the matter. After the oath was taken, a large quantity of treasure and numbers of elephants, horses and other property were delivered to Chandâ Sahêb in pledge for the future payment of the sum promised; and he was then admitted into the fort, and proclaimed the news that he had changed his side, and intended to support the Queen.

Vangâru Tirumala appears to have been residing in Trichinopoly at this time, and to have been on perfectly good terms with his rival. And it is stated both in the history of the Karnataca Governors and in the memoir translated at page 232 of the O. H. MSS., that soon after Chandâ Sahêb entered the fort the Queen sent off Vangâru Tirumala and his son to Madura in order to ensure their safety. This extraordinary state of things may perhaps be accounted for on the supposition that Vangâru Tirumala was a weak inoffensive man and personally liked by the Queen, and was made use of against his will by a strong faction, which would have opposed the Queen's authority with equal boldness and energy if Vangâru Tirumala had not been in existence And it was of course to her interest to shield her adopted son, inasmuch as her title to the Regency wholly depended upon her right as mother to be guardian of the minor King. Accordingly Vangâru Tirumala retired with his son to Madura, and commenced, probably with the express sanction of the Queen, to administer the southern provinces and also Dindigul.

Chandâ Sahêb, astute as he was, appears to have been entirely disconcerted by this thoroughly Hindû arrangement He had been admitted into the fort for the sole purpose as he supposed of destroying the Queen's rival; and the moment he set about doing the work he had undertaken, that rival was spirited away out of his reach, and actually permitted to assume the government of a large portion of the Queen's dominions. He concluded therefore that it was useless for him to remain where he was, and soon afterwards went off to Arcot; resolving however to return on the first favorable opportunity and carry out the scheme of ambition which a very short acquaintance with the state of the Madura kingdom had shown to be practicable.

There is nothing to show what was done upon this by the faction opposed to the Queen · but there is every reason to suppose that it was not inactive, and that it intrigued with Chandâ Sahêb. For in

the year 1736 he came a second time to Trichinopoly, and having been admitted into the fort, probably not without some misgivings on the part of the Queen, proceeded to make himself master of the whole kingdom. Whether as Orme suggests the Queen fell in love with him; or whether he persuaded her that it lay in his power to destroy her enemies, the minister and other leaders of the hostile faction, and to place her in a far better position than she could hope to attain unaided; or whether he altogether ignored her wishes and declared to her at the outset what his plans and intentions were; it is probably now impossible to discover. But it is clear that he succeeded within a very short time in usurping the entire government of the provinces then in the Queen's possession, and in reducing her to the position of a mere puppet. Having established himself firmly in Trichinopoly, Chandâ Sahêb next turned his attention to the conquest of Madura and the provinces governed by Vangâru Tirumala. He is said to have assembled a force of eight thousand cavalry and some infantry, and to have despatched them under the command of two Brâhmans of the Queen's party, Gôvindayya and Râvanayya with instructions to commence operations by gaining possession of the fort of Dindigul. The troops stationed in the neighbourhood were defeated or forced to retire; and it was very speedily taken by storm. The army then marched upon Madura, and as a last hope Vangâru Tirumala hastily collected a few troops, horse and foot, and sent them to Ammaya-Nâyakkan-ûr to oppose an enemy four times as numerous: leaving the capital completely unprotected A battle was soon afterwards fought, and the Madura troops being reinforced by those of a few Poligars, seem to have made a determined stand: but their leaders were both killed after having fought bravely for some hours, and after this misfortune no further resistance was offered to the invaders. There was now nothing to stop Chandâ Sahêb's victorious Generals, and as they were about to enter Madura, Vangâru Tirumala hastily quitted it and fled for protection to the Râja of Sivagangei, by whom he was kindly received and placed for safety in the fort of Vellei-Kurichi The whole country was then overrun by Chandâ Sahêb's troops, and speedily reduced to at least nominal submission.

Chandâ Sahêb now threw off the mask and showed himself in his true colors. His schemes had all succeeded; the Madura kingdom, or at all events the greater and more important portion of it was held by his troops; Vangâru Tirumala was a refugee; and Mînâkshi was a

helpless woman, living in a building which he could at any moment seize and turn into a prison. Accordingly he openly proclaimed himself to be the ruler of the Madura kingdom, and locking up the Queen in her Palace assumed to himself all the power and dignity of a Sovereign Prince. And thinking after a while that the Queen might find means to do him harm, and that she was an expense to him, and finding perhaps that the presence of the poor woman in the Palace was productive of unpleasant action on the part of what he supposed to be his conscience, he began to take into consideration the advisability of murdering her. But he was saved the trouble of committing this fresh crime. Her misfortunes were more than Mînâkshi could endure; and weary of her life she took poison and placed herself beyond the reach of her betrayer.

Had Vangâru Tirumala been a man of ordinary spirit, or had the party of which he was the tool been composed of men respectable by reason of their position or eminent on account of ability and courage, there can be no doubt that the death of Mînâkshi would have opened a door for the expulsion of the Mahometans and the restoration of the Nâyakkan dynasty. With all his courage and versatility of genius, Chandâ Sahêb could not have resisted with any chance of success such an army as Tirumala sent against the Dalavây, or such an army as Choka Nat'ha led against Tanjore. His resources were undoubtedly extremely limited; and his influence was probably altogether inappreciable outside the limits of the tracts of country immediately dependent on the principal fortresses of which he had become the master And what influence he had, must have been in no small degree invalidated by the jealousy which his proceedings had excited at Arcot. But Vangâru Tirumala had always been an imbecile, and was now growing old and infirm; whilst amongst his party there was not one single man of mark. Moreover he had never been in possession of extensive funds, and was at this time completely destitute of resources. He had not a rood of land which he could call his own, and as there was no immediate prospect of him gaining any he had of course no credit amongst the bankers And the Poligars, who had long since shaken off their allegiance to the Lord of Madura and had never been very punctual in the matter of paying tribute even when the Madura government was at its strongest, were not very likely now that every thing was in confusion to come forward with heavy contributions in recognition of Vangâru Tirumala's utterly unfounded

claims It is not to be wondered at therefore if the opportunity afforded by Mînâkshi's death was suffered to slip away unheeded; and if Chandâ Sahêb was left for the moment in undisturbed enjoyment of his ill-gotten gains.

Vangâru Tirumala could do nothing for himself. and he knew it. His only chance therefore was to call to his aid a stronger man than Chandâ Sahêb: and he roused himself at last to beg the Mahrattas of Satara to come and help him. The chiefs of that restless people, ever alive to the advantages of invasion and plunder, were willing enough to listen to his request; and the more so as they had been called upon by more than one power to invade the Carnatic—it was even thought that the Nizam-ul-mulk himself had invited them to chastise Daust Ali Khân—and as they saw a rare chance of advancing their peculiar interests by an expedition into the south modelled upon that of the great Sivaji. Accordingly at the end of the year 1739 Rag'huji B'honslai marched southwards at the head of a large force of cavalry, the Mission du Maduré says sixty thousand horse and one hundred and fifty thousand foot, Orme says one lac of cavalry, the native MSS. sixty thousand horse, and the cautious Duff fifty thousand.

The operations of the invading army have not been described with much fulness by English historians, and they do not seem to be quite clear with regard to the actual results obtained by the Mahrattas on this occasion. It will therefore be well for me to give a brief account of their doings as described in the Mission du Maduré It appears from this authority that as soon as Daust Ali Khân who was at Arcot heard of the approach of the enemy, he sent off an express to his son to come at once to his assistance, and pending his arrival marched off to defend the various defiles by which it was likely that the Mahrattas would attempt to enter his dominions. The defence of the least important of them was entrusted to a Hindû General: and as soon as he became aware of this fact, Ra'ghuji B'honslai set to work to corrupt the fidelity of this Officer by offering him valuable presents, and by representing that it was his duty as a Hindû to assist the Mahrattas in crushing the Mahometans and replacing on their lost thrones the representatives of the ancient families of the south. The Hindû was convinced by these specious arguments, or tempted by the liberal promises which accompanied them and gave up his post. Upon this the Mahrattas

marched through the pass, and after a time came up with Daust Ali Khân at a place only four French leagues west of Pondicherry. It is not explained why Daust Ali left the ghauts and marched to the coast, nor why the Mahrattas suffered him to reach its neighbourhood without a battle. but it is said that Daust Ali was in complete ignorance of the fact that his enemies had circumvented him, and that when he saw them he actually mistook them for the army of his son up to the very moment when they opened fire upon him. The battle is stated to have taken place on the 20th May 1740—the date given by Orme—and to have been fought with obstinate fury on either side The courage was horrible, and it was not until Daust Ali was killed and fell from his howdah that victory inclined towards the Mahrattas. But that event at once put an end to the conflict. The rout of the Mahometans was complete; almost all their principal officers were slain, and the remains of the army sought safety in a precipitate flight M. Dumas the Governor of Pondicherry thought it advisable to afford an asylum to the family of the Nabob, and accordingly permitted the women and children of Daust Ali of Safdar Ali and of Chandâ Sahêb to enter the walls of his fortress, accompanied by a very large retinue, and received them with all the honors due to their rank. The convoy consisted of twenty palanquins escorted by fifteen hundred horsemen, eighty elephants, three hundred camels, two hundred carriages, and two thousand beasts laden with treasure. Other families of distinction were also admitted within the fortress: and a crowd of troops were suffered to encamp under its walls.

Two days afterwards Safdar Ali came up with an escort of four hundred horse, and having been apprised of the defeat and death of his father fled at once to Vellore. He was followed thither by the Mahrattas, and forced to conclude a peace of which the price was the payment of a hundred lacs of Rupees, about a million sterling, and the cession to their rightful owners of all the kingdoms of the south. But Chandâ Sahêb would not recognize this treaty, and declined to give up Trichinopoly and accordingly the Mahrattas proceeded to invest that fortress. The siege was conducted with great resolution and energy. Chandâ Sahêb's brother, Bada Sahêb, marched to his assistance but was unable to enter Trichinopoly, and was killed fighting bravely. And the fortress was presently carried by assault; and Chandâ Sahêb made a prisoner and taken off to Satara.

This account differs in several particulars from that given by Orme, and certainly seems to be by far the more trustworthy. It will be observed that is said in the Mission du Maduré about the the secret treaty between the Mahrattas and Safdar Ali; and nothing about the Mahrattas pretending to return to their own country after concluding the peace, and then hurrying back to Trichinopoly from Sevegunga and suddenly falling upon Trichinopoly before Chandâ Sahêb could lay in provisions sufficient for a siege. Orme's story of Chandâ Sahêb selling all his stores of grain the moment the Mahrattas turned their backs upon his capital, and having no time to lay in fresh stores before they returned, seems to say the least of it highly improbable; and one would much like to know his authority for the statement. Considering that Chandâ Sahêb was possessed of only one considerable fortress; that he was a Mahometan holding by force a country which he had taken from Hindûs by most disgraceful and fraudulent conduct, that he was at variance with Safdar Ali. and as far as is known had not a single influential friend to support him; looking to all these circumstances it seems to me to be almost incredible that he should be guilty of so prodigious a blunder as selling off all his stores of grain and thereby leaving himself at the mercy of the first large army which might happen to attack him. Orme states that after the peace, the date of which he does not mention, the Mahrattas marched off to a place called Sevegunga, and having encamped there until December, broke up their camp on hearing of the sale of the grain, and "by very expeditious marches appeared in sight of Trichinopoly before he could remedy the distress to which he had unwarily reduced it." It is not stated where this Sevegunga was situated, nor in what way the Mahrattas were occupied whilst encamped there, but Duff places Sew Gunga at a distance of two hundred and fifty miles from Trichinopoly and Wilks adds that it lies N. W. of that town; and Duff states that whilst his main army remained at Sew Gunga Rag'huji B'houslai went to Satara upon an important errand. Now whilst very unwilling to call in question the accuracy of so precise an historian as Duff, I cannot refrain from suggesting that his Sew Gunga, the Sevegunga of Orme, was in fact Sivagangei the capital of the Zamindâri of that name in the Madura district, and that before the Mahrattas sat down before Trichinopoly they occupied themselves with over-running and plundering the Madura and Tanjore kingdoms. Not only is the story told by Orme and those who followed him exceedingly

improbable in itself: but we have the authority of the Mission du Maduré for the statement that after the death of Daust Ali the Mahrattas "spread carnage and desolation over the kingdoms of Tanjore and Madura." And as Vangâru Tirumala was protected by the Râja of Sivangangei or Shevagunga as the English call it, and invited the Mahrattas to come and help him, nothing could be more natural than to suppose that they marched to Sivagangei and had an interview with the pretender before laying siege to the town occupied by the usurper of the Madura kingdom.

The fall of Trichinopoly in March 1741 and the capture of its master had been preceded by the death of Bada Sahêb the governor of Madura, and that of another brother of Chandâ Sahêb, named according to Orme Saduck Sahêb, who had been appointed to the command of the fort of Dindigul and was killed in attempting to succour Chandâ Sahêb. Accordingly the kingdom of Madura was now reduced to a state of complete anarchy, from which it was rescued only to be finally dismembered and divided amongst a number of petty chiefs and adventurers. But little needs to be told of the deeds of these men, and one more chapter will bring us down to the period of the final assumption of the whole country by the British Government at the commencement of the present century.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM A.D. 1741 TO A.D. 1790.

Morâri Raû Governor.—The Nizam drives him out.—The pretender becomes a pensioner at Arcot.—Mohammad Ali and his brother Mak'hphûz Khân rule the country.—Mayana.—Allum Khân.—The repulse of Captain Cope.—His success.—Madura is sold to Mysore.—The adopted son of Mînâkshi is crowned King.—And is deposed.—Colonel Heron's expedition.—The Kallans' idols.—The Fakîr's umbrella.—The miracle in the Pagoda.—Mohammad Yûsuf Khân.—Mak'hphûz Khân's misrule.—The revolt in Madura.—The Muthali appointed Renter.—Captain Calliaud's expedition.—Madura is recovered.—Anarchy.—The Kallans are chastised.—Hyder Ali's raid into the country.—Mohammad Yûsuf drives him off.—Mohammad Yûsuf rebels.—He is hanged.—His history.—His character. His successors' incapacity.—The peace of 1772.—Hyder Ali's descent upon the Carnatic.—State of the country in consequence.—Colonel Fullarton's expedition.—The first Collector at Madura.—The Dindigul country made over to Mysore.—Its revenues.—The Poligars are refractory.—Hyder Ali chastises them.—The secret of his success.—The battle of Vattila-gundu.—The siege of Dindigul.—Mîr Sahêb.—Colonel Lang takes Dindigul.—Sequestrations.—Syed Sahêb.—Tippu Sultân resumes all the pâleiyams.—Dindigul is taken again by the British.—And is finally held by them.—The division of the Râmnâd kingdom.—Vèllian Sêrveikâran.—He helps Chandâ Sahêb.—His raid amongst the Poligars.—The prostrations in the mud.—He imprisons the Sêthupati.—His alliance with Colonel

Heron.—The Regency.—Mohammad Yûsuf demands tribute.—The Râja of Tanjore is defeated.—The expedition of General Joseph Smith.—Mâpillei Têvan's disturbances.—Sivagangei affairs.—The Murdus – Description of the country in 1785.—The Kalla country —State of Christianity.—Relapse of the Kallans —The great Beschi. —His works.

THE political history of the Madura kingdom as such has now come to an end : it only remains for me to trace as closely as circumstances will permit the events which took place between 1741 and 1801 in the several fragments into which the kingdom was split up ; or rather of those fragments which are at present comprised in the Collectorate of Madura. It will be the business of other servants of the Government to write hereafter the history of Salem, Coimbatore, Trichinopoly, Puthu Kôttei, Tinnevelly and other provinces which once belonged to the Pândya-mandalam . and it would be a mere waste of time and labour on my part to attempt without possessing any local knowledge of those provinces to give their history

Before commencing what will be it is to be feared a very meagre and unsatisfactory account of a period remarkable for nothing but a wearisome state of anarchy and confusion, the monotony of which was but slightly varied at intervals by various fortresses changing hands after more or less bloodshed and treachery, it is necessary to remark that in future the names Madura, Dindigul and others will be used to denote towns only without any reference being made to tracts of country.

After taking Trichinopoly the Mahratta leader Rag'huji B'honslai appointed Morâri Raû to be its governor temporarily ; and the latter appointed Appâji Raû to be the governor of the less important fortress of Madura. The only recorded act of the new governor was the bringing back to Madura of the idols which had been removed to Mâna Madura for safety when Chandâ Sahêb usurped the government of the country : and it seems probable that he was a man of subordinate position, who had neither the means nor the authority to do anything beyond keeping the fort safely and collecting the revenues of a small tract of country. We may assume without hesitation that the Poligars paid no attention to his commands, if he was foolish enough to issue any to them : and there is nothing to show that he was in possession of any part of the country in the neighbourhood of Tinne-

velly. It is stated in the Pandion Chronicle that Vangâru Tirumala had an interview with Rag'huji B'honslai at Trichinopoly; and that before that leader left Trichinopoly he directed Morâri Raû to place the Pretender upon the throne of Madura, upon his entering into an engagement to pay thirty lacs of Rupees as the price of the service rendered to him by his friends. And it is also stated, though in rather ambiguous terms, that these orders were executed. But it seems perfectly clear that whatever the Mahrattas may have said, nothing was done by them; and they never intended to do anything towards the surrender of their conquests into the hands of an imbecile who evidently could not have kept them for a twelvemonth.

In 1743 the great Nizam-ul-mulk determined to drive back the Mahrattas into their own country; and entered the Carnatic at the head of a great army "in which the riches, the luxury, and the magnificence vied with the prodigious number and valour of his soldiers." Morâri Raû was quite unable to cope with an antagonist so formidable as the Nizam, and gave up the fort at once and Madura was in like manner surrendered by its governor.

According to the Pandion Chronicle Vangâru Tirumala bestirred himself yet again and visited the Nizam, in the hope of obtaining his favor and assistance. The Nizam received him kindly, it is said, and promised to do what he could for him, and took him and his son to Golkonda. And after appointing Anwar-udîn Khân to act as Nabob of Arcot, he one day put Vangâru Tirumala's hand in the Nabob's, and ordered the latter to protect the Nâyakkan, and to place him in possession of the Madura kingdom upon receiving from him the sum of thirty lacs of Rupees and a promise of a like amount annually in the shape of tribute. After this Anwar-u-dîn treated Vangâru Tirumala with great consideration, making him immediately an allowance of a hundred Rupees per diem for his support, and his son one of a hundred Pagodas, and promising him at the same time to put him in possession of the Madura country, so soon as he should have disposed of some emergent business. But these promises were never fulfilled. The Pandion Chronicle says that Vangâru Tirumala was poisoned soon afterwards by Anwar-u-dîn whilst living at Arcot as a pensioner, the Nabob being jealous of him and wishing to keep Madura for himself: but the story seems highly improbable and certainly needs corroboration. After the death of his father the minor Nâyakkan returned to Vellei-Kurichi where his family still resided, and sometime afterwards married a relation of the Râja of

Sivagangei his protector He never returned to Arcot: and if he had any intention of so doing, it was frustrated by Chandâ Sahêb regaining his liberty in 1748, and shortly afterwards attacking and slaying Anwar-u-dîn. After this it would have been worse than useless for him to leave Vellei-Kurichi; and so he continued to live in obscurity and inaction, and troubled himself no farther about rights of which the fates clearly denied him the enjoyment.

After the defeat and death of Anwar-u-dîn at Ambûr, his second son Mohammad Ali fled to Trichinopoly and proclaimed himself Nabob of Arcot; and it became necessary for the ambitious Chandâ Sahêb to defeat and oust him from that stronghold, or he could by no means maintain his own superiority. He had been appointed Nabob of Arcot by his friend and ally Murzafa Jing, and it behoved him to establish his position: accordingly he marched to Pondicherry, and after a little coquetting on the part of the famous French Governor, Monsieur Dupleix, induced the French to espouse his cause, whilst the English espoused that of his antagonist. And then followed the operations against Tanjore; the march of Nazir Jing into the southern provinces; his retreat and murder; the flight of Mohammad Ali; and the other events described by Orme, which led up to Chandâ Sahêb marching to Arcot and being generally recognized as the real Nabob in 1751.

From the time of the expulsion of the Mahrattas by the Nizam in 1744 until 1747 or 48, the Madura country appears to have been held by officers appointed by Anwar-u-dîn and Mohammad Ali: and in the Record Office at Madura there still exist four Persian orders purporting to have been issued by these Nabobs during this period. The two earliest purport to have been issued by Mohammad Ali Khân, the two latest by Anwar-u-dîn Khân. And the existence of these orders strongly corroborates the statement made in the Srî-tâla book and in the Record Office MS. (to which we have so many times had occasion to refer) to the effect that the Nizam appointed Mak'hphûz Khân and Mohammad Ali Khân to rule the country. If he did, they must have been subordinate to their father, and his orders would be valid within the limits of their jurisdiction. The Record Office MS. next goes on to say that the two sons of the Nabob left the country in charge of one Mayana in 1748, and went away: and this statement is perfectly consistent with the supposition that they were called away by their father to assist him in the crisis brought on by the liberation of Chandâ Sahêb. This Mayana seems to have been sup-

planted by a Mahometan named Abdul-hakimat Khân, possibly immediately after the battle of Ambûr and the death of Anwar-u-dîn; and this man was in his turn ousted by Allum Khân who is called in the Srî-tâla book a cousin, and in the Record Office MS. a brother-in-law of Mayana. Orme states that Allum Khân was a soldier of fortune who had formerly been in the service of Chandâ Sahêb and afterwards in that of the King of Tanjore, and that having left the service of the latter "he came to Madura, where his reputa-"tion as an excellent officer soon gained him influence and respect, "which he employed to corrupt the garrison, and succeeded so well, "that the troops created him governor, and consented to maintain the "city under his authority for Chandâ Sahêb, whom he acknowledged "as his sovereign"

This account agrees sufficiently well with that given in the Srî-tâla book, which makes him to have come with two thousand cavalry by way of the Tondiman's country, and to have taken the fort and ruled the country for one year. Taking the two accounts together we may perhaps conclude that he was invited to come to Madura by his relation Mayana, the ex-governor, and took advantage of the opportunity to make himself master of the fort: and observing the turn which events had just previously taken in favor of his old master Chandâ Sahêb, he very naturally proclaimed his adherence to the cause of the successful claimant of the Nabobship.

At the commencement of 1751 whilst Allum Khân was ruling in Madura a detachment was sent by Mohammad Ali against the city, in the hope that by taking it he might be enabled to re-establish his authority in the South. Orme thus describes what took place.

"The loss of this place, by cutting off the communication between "Tritchinopoly and the countries of Tinivelly, deprived Mahomed-"ally of more than one-half of the dominions which at this time "remained under his jurisdiction. On receiving the news, Captain "Cope offered his service to retake it. His detachment was ill "equipped for a siege, for they had brought no battering cannon from "Fort St. David, and there were but two serviceable pieces in the "city: with one of these, three field pieces, two cohorns, and 150 "Europeans, he marched away, accompanied by 600 of the Nabob's "cavalry, commanded by another of his brothers Abdul-wahab "Khan; and on the day that they arrived in sight of Madura, "they were joined by the army returning from Tinivelly. There

"were several large breaches in the outward wall; the gun "fired through one of them on the inward wall, and in two days "demolished a part of it, although not sufficient to make the breach "accessible without the help of fascines. Difficult as it was, it was "necessary either to storm it immediately, or to relinquish the siege, "for all the shot of the great gun were expended. The sepoys, "encouraged by a distribution of some money, and a promise of much "more if the place should be taken, went to the attack with as much "spirit as the Europeans. The first wall was passed without resist-"ance, and at the foot of the breach in the second appeared three "champions, one of them a very bulky man in compleat armour, "who fought manfully with their swords, and wounded several of "the forlorn hope, but were at last with difficulty killed. Whilst "the troops were mounting the breach, they were severely annoyed "by arrows, stones, and the fire of match locks, notwithstanding "which they gained the parapet, where the enemy had on each side "of the entrance raised a mound of earth, on which they had laid "horizontally some palm trees separated from each other, and through "these intervals they thrust their pikes. At the bottom of the ram-"part within the wall, they had made a strong retrenchment, with a "ditch; and three or four thousand men appeared ready to defend "this work with all kinds of arms. The troops, wounded by the "pikes as fast as they mounted, were not able to keep possession of "the parapet, and after fighting until ninety men were disabled, "relinquished the attack. Four Europeans were killed: the sepoys "suffered more, and four of their Captains were desperately wounded. "The next day Captain Cope prepared to return to Tritchinopoly, "and blew the cannon to pieces, for want of means to carry it away "The troops of Mahomed-ally, encouraged by this repulse, no longer "concealed their disaffection, and 500 horse, with 1,000 peons, went "over to Allum Khan before the English broke up their camp, and "two or three days after, near 2,000 more horsemen deserted like-"wise to the enemy."

The pages of Orme contain no allusion to any subsequent success of Captain Cope, and lead one to suppose that the expedition terminated in his withdrawal after the severe repulse above-described. But Hindû accounts tell quite a different story. According to the Srî-tâla book Allum Khân placed Mayana in charge of the Madura country, and Mayana sold it to the Mysoreans; and Captain Cope whose name is disguised by native kako-epy as Kukku Sahêb, took

possession in behalf of the Râja of Mysore, and was soon afterwards driven out by Velliyan Sêrveikâran the Dalavây of the Sêthupati, and Tândavarâya Pillei the Minister of Sivangangei. It is stated that these two besieged him from the 30th of the month Pirattâsi to to the 20th of Kârtikei 1752-53, and on that day succeeded in forcing him to capitulate: and that they thereupon crowned the adopted son of Mînâkshi, and established him in Madura. He ruled for sixteen months, and was deposed by there Mahometan Captains: who were shortly afterwards besieged and forced to give up the fort by Captain Cope and the Dalavây of Râmnâd, who had entered into an offensive alliance against them. This account seems to be at first sight highly improbable. Why should Captain Cope be described as being in the service of the Râja of Mysore? And why should he enter into an alliance with the Dalavây of Râmnâd? And then the mere fact of the account being opposed to that given by Orme renders it very suspicious, not to say incredible. But on the other hand the Srî-tâla book contains a piece of evidence which is exceedingly favorable to the credibility of its account of Captain Cope's acts It states incidentally that he polluted the town by causing many cows to be killed and eaten within its walls. This was a crime which none but an European would commit, and the commission of which a native historian would hardly record without good reason. And the account is directly corroborated by the Record Office MS, and by a memoir furnished to me by a Mahometan gentleman; and indirectly by other MSS: whilst however improbable it may appear to be at first sight, it is in no way inconsistent with the course of events which are known to have occurred about this time.

The Record Office MS. states that Mayana sold the country to the Mysoreans, and then retired into private life and lived in the fortress of Tirumbûr: and that Kukku Sahêb, a Mysorean General, took possession of Madura; and was compelled to surrender the fort to Tândavarâya Pillei and Velliyan Sêrvei, after fighting with them during the period stated in the Srî-tâla book. And it then speaks of the coronation and reign of Vangâru Tirumala's son, and of his subsequent expulsion by the Mahometans, and of the defeat of those Captains by the Râmnâd Dalavây: but says nothing about Captain Cope's alliance with the Dalavây.

All the native MSS. apparently concur with Orme in stating that after ruling Madura for a year, Allum Khân went to Trichinopoly to take part in the war that was going on round that fortress at the

beginning of 1752, and was soon afterwards killed there, and that before leaving Madura he appointed two Mahometans named respectively Mayana and Nabi Khân to be commanders, the first who was his relation of Madura, the second of Tinnevelly. And it seems clear that soon after the death of Allum Khân and the murder of Chandâ Sahêb by Mohammad Ali, Mayana in conjunction with his son-in-law Mohammad Barki, entered into some intrigues which resulted in the cession of Madura to some party or power. Now it appears from Wilks, vol. i, chapter viii, that early in 1752 a Mysorean army marched to the assistance of Mohammad Ali, and it is quite possible, although neither Wilks nor Orme tells us anything about it, that a detachment of Mysoreans was commanded by Captain Cope in his expedition against Madura, and if so, the fact of his being called a Mysorean General in the native MSS. would be very naturally accounted for. And on the supposition that he contrived to get possession of Madura by paying to Mayana a sum of money advanced by the Mysoreans for the purpose, the account given in the Srî-tâla book and the Record Office MS. becomes at once intelligible and credible. The Râja of Mysore was in possession of Dindigul at this time: and if he thought proper to buy the adjoining province of Madura, when professedly an ally of Mohammad Ali who claimed to be its master, the transaction would of course be kept strictly secret It is quite possible too, that the terms of the transfer were unknown for some time to Captain Cope, and that being ignorant of the Tamil language he took possession of the fortress under the impression that it had been surrendered to Mohammad Ali.

However this may have been, whether Captain Cope was hoodwinked, or whether he was guilty of treacherous and unsoldierlike conduct, and whether or not he took possession of Madura, I think there can be no doubt that in the year 1752 the adopted son of Mînâkshi was declared king of the Pândya-mandalam by Mayana and his colleagues, assisted by the governments of Râmnâd and Sivagangei: and enjoyed a species of mock sovereignty for some few months. He was then deposed and sent back to Vellei-Kurichi by his Mahometan patrons, who seem to have been bought over by Mohammad Ali. Orme states that Mohammad Ali produced as evidence of his title to the sovereignty of Madura and Tinnevelly a writing which purported to have been signed by Mayana, Mohammad Barki, and Nabi Khân, and was dated the 29th November 1752; and it would seem to be not unlikely that this document, which acknowledged the justice of

Mohammad Ali's claims, was executed shortly before Mayana found it convenient to relegate his client to the obscurity from out of which he had dragged him. Mayana is said to have been in his turn expelled by the Dalavây of Râmnâd . but whether this is true or not it is impossible to say. According to Orme Mohammad Barki was in possession of Madura in 1755. Perhaps although he was attacked and defeated by the Râmnâd Dalavây, he was nevertheless permitted to retain Madura as a tributary and vassal of Râmnâd, and on condition that he disavowed Mohammad Ali's authority. Orme states that the Poligar of Maravar, by whom I suppose he means the Sêthupati, sided with Chandâ Sahêb and the Mysoreans against Mohammad Ali, and it is therefore quite possible that he attacked Mayana, when Mayana changed sides and sold himself to the Nabob.

In the beginning of 1755 another expedition was sent by Mohammad Ali against Madura and Tinnevelly, consisting of five hundred Europeans and two thousand Sepoys furnished by the Honorable Company, and commanded by Colonel Heron an officer newly arrived from England, and one thousand horse commanded by Mak'hphûz Khân, the Nabob's elder brother. The operations of these forces are described at length by Orme, and it will be sufficient for me to notice only a few of them very briefly.

As soon as the English appeared in sight of Madura, the gates were thrown open to them without any resistance being offered and apparently without any treachery being employed. A deputation from the Sêthupati awaited their arrival; and Colonel Heron was induced by the promises held out to him to enter into an alliance with that chief, upon his own responsibility and without waiting for orders from Madras. After the business was concluded, it was resolved to forthwith attack Mayana the Governor of Madura, who had fled to Kôvil-kudi a place a few miles west of Madura, and ensconced himself in the strongly built Pagoda of Tirumbûr. Accordingly in the evening a large force of Sepoys was sent on with orders to surround the Pagoda and wait until the British came up with battering guns. By mistake these orders were not carried out: and when the British troops arrived at their destination they found that Mayana had escaped, that the guns had broken down on the road, and that the scaling ladders had been forgotten. But the Pagoda was stormed notwithstanding these impediments. Colonel Heron, with a rashness of which an officer in his position ought to

have been heartily ashamed, carried a torch to the gates and set fire to some bundles of straw which he caused to be piled up against them, and Mohammad Yûsuf Khân the commander of the Sepoys followed his example: and within an hour or so the gates were burnt down and the place taken. The troops were permitted to plunder the Pagoda, and amongst other things they carried off a large number of brazen idols which were very dear in the eyes of the Kallans of the neighbourhood, hoping to be able to sell them for at all events their weight of metal. Orme justly observes that this act brought upon those who were guilty of it a vast amount of odium and detestation: and it is observable that contemptible as was the value of the plundered articles, this circumstance is the only one recorded in the Record Office MS. in connection with Mak'hphûz Khân's stay in Madura As Mayana had escaped, and Madura had been given up, there was no occasion for Colonel Heron to stay any longer in the country; and leaving a garrison of Europeans and Sepoys in the city, he moved off to Tinnevelly in the month of March. He returned in May, having engaged meanwhile in some disgraceful transactions which subsequently led to his dismissal from the service: and after reinforcing the garrison marched off towards the Nattam pass on the 28th May. The disaster which then befell him has been so fully described by Orme and is so familiar to his readers that it would be out of place to quote the passage here, and I shall content myself with observing that the Srî-tâla book speaks of the occurrence in such a manner as to show that if the idols had only been restored to the Kallans when they first surrounded the convoy, they would in all probability have been perfectly satisfied and the attack would have been at once discontinued. And indeed Orme's description seems to point to much the same conclusion.

Mak'hphus Khân is said by Orme to have obtained the farm of the Madura and Tinnevelly countries from Colonel Heron at the yearly rent of 1,500,000 Rupees "having contrived every means to make the state of the province appear less advantageous than it really was," and having given that officer a considerable present He placed in charge of Madura a man named Barkat Ulla The only event which is recorded in native MSS. as having occurred during the administration of this officer was an attempt on the part of a lame Fakîr to establish a small mosque on the top of the unfinished Râyar-Gôpura at Madura, of which mention has been made at page 167 ante. His proceedings were made the more intolerable by him

contemptuously hoisting up an umbrella on one of the pillars of the building, and an immense crowd of Hindûs assembled daily round the gôpura, and endeavoured by entreaties and argument to dissuade him from carrying out his intention. But he persisted; and as he was supported by the authorities nothing could be done by the excited people beyond calling down curses upon the heads of those who wantonly insulted them. In the meanwhile the displeasure of the Gods was shown by a miracle which took place it is said in the sight of thousands of fervent worshippers The image of B'hadra Kâli which stood on the south-east corner of the Royal Mantapam in the great Pagoda, opened its left eye at about forty-eight minutes after sunrise on the third of Tei in the Iva year, (A. D. 1755-6) and remained open until the morning of the fifth. Whether or no this miracle actually occurred, it is of course impossible to say: but the image of B'hadra Kâli may to this day be seen and the legend is always described to visitors to the Pagada.

In 1755 the Honorable East India Company's Government thought the time had come for them to take more decisive action with regard to the settlement of the Madura and Tinnevelly countries. Mak'h-phûz Khân's administration was altogether a failure; and unless timely steps were taken, there seemed to be every reason to fear that the countries would be lost Not being able to spare any Europeans they despatched to the south Mohammad Yûsuf Khân the Commander-in-chief of all their coloured troops with a thousand Sepoys, and directed him to join them with those of Mak'hphûs Khân and of the Nabob, and take the command of the whole force Mohammad Yûsuf arrived at Madura on the 6th April 1756, and proceeded at once to make a searching enquiry into the state of its defences. Orme states that the Governor of Madura, Danish Mend Khân who was better known by the name of Barkat Ulla, was very averse to though unable to prevent Mohammad Yûsuf's interference, and only with great reluctance agreed to receive a reinforcement of two companies of Sepoys into the town And this statement seems to throw some light upon subsequent events, which will be described hereafter.

After spending a few days in inspecting the stores and fortifications, Mohammad Yûsuf moved off to Tinnevelly, wither we need not follow him. But the following passage from Orme must be quoted as it shows very clearly and no doubt correctly the state of the country at this time.

"During this progress Mahomed Issoof had not been able to collect

"any money from the revenues, for the maintenance of his troops; "because the ravages of the Polygars had ruined most of the villages "and cultivated lands of the country through which he passed; and "the real detriment of these devastations was increased by the pre- "tences they furnished the land-holders to falsify their accounts, "and plead exemptions for more than they had lost He found "Maphuze Cawn in greater distress than himself, unable either to "fulfil the stipulations at which he had rented the country from "Colonel Heron, or to supply the pay of the Company's sepoys left "with him under the command of Jemaul Saheb, or even to furnish "enough, exclusive of long arrears, for the daily subsistence of his "own troops. This distress naturally deprived him of the necessary "authority over the Jemmadars, or officers of his cavalry, who in "Indostan, as the ancient mercenary captains of Italy, hire out their "bands, and gain not a little by the bargain. Every kind of disorder "likewise prevailed in all the other departments of his administra- "tion, at the same time that the indolence and irresolution of his "own character confirmed all the evils which had been introduced "into his government"

Mohammad Yûsuf and Mak'hphûz Khân remained at Srîvelliputtûr in the Tinnevelly country during the months of June and July, making various arrangements with Poligars and others; and by the end of that time the country was to all appearance quiet and likely to so continue. Accordingly Mohammad Yûsuf requested Mak'hphûz Khân to move off with his troops to Arcot, and there settle accounts with his brother the Nabob; and Mak'hphûz Khân agreeing to the proposal marched to Madura, apparently with the intention of doing as he had been requested, whilst Mohammad Yûsuf went to Tinnevelly As soon as Mak'hphûz Khân reached Madura, his cavalry consisting of two thousand picked men surrounded his house, headed by the governor of the town; and declared that he should not move until they had been paid their arrears of pay, which according to their account amounted to seven lacs of Rupees. At the same time three companies of Madras Sepoys who were in the town at the time, were disarmed and turned out; and the brother of Mohammad Barki entered the fort with two thousand Kalla troops whom he had collected in the Nattam country. And soon afterwards the standard of revolt was openly raised, and invitations were issued to all the Poligars to assist in re-establishing the government of Mak'hphûz Khân.

This step was taken by the troops of Mak'hphûz Khân, doubtless with his approval and concurrence, in consequence of a certain man of the Muthali caste whose name does not appear having taken from the Company the farm of the Tinnevelly country at a yearly rent of eleven lacs of Rupees. The agreement was concluded in the month of July, and he forthwith commenced to administer his country, after being invested with plenary jurisdiction civil and criminal; and having bound himself to maintain not less than one thousand of the Company's Sepoys, who were to be officered by the Company; and having undertaken to give sufficient security for the payment of his rent in three several instalments in each year. Orme says that this Muthali had a brother named Alagappa, and it is therefore probable that he was the brother of a Muthali who according to the history of the Karnataca Governors was made Dalavây to the adopted son of Mînâkshi during his brief tenure of authority in 1752. It is expressly stated that the Dalavây Alagappa was sent into the Tinnevelly country, and Orme says rather rashly that the family of the Muthalis had been renters of the country for a century. With regard to the terms of the rent, it is observable that Orme states that at that time Tinnevelly ordinarily yielded a revenue of from 11 to 12,00,000 Rupees per annum; but the Madura country being naturally sterile, and having become greatly reduced in extent in consequence of the encroachments of neighbours, and being surrounded by tribes of Kallans and the lawless subjects of the Poligars, yielded only about 1,20,000, whilst its expenses amounted to three times this sum: and it was only worth holding, because the fortress of Madura was the key of the districts of the south. But when Colonel Heron let Mak'hphûz Khân farm the two districts for 15,00,000 Rupees in 1755, it was generally supposed that he was bribed to accept so inadequate a consideration: and Orme tells us that this in the clearest manner There is here a gross discrepancy which it is beyond my power to explain away.

On hearing of what had happened, Mohammad Yûsuf marched at once on Madura, and on the 10th of August encamped at Skandamalei. As his whole force consisted of only 1,500 Sepoys and six field pieces, and he had no battering cannon, he wisely concluded that it would be worse than useless to attempt to storm the place, protected as it was by superior numbers; and accordingly he resolved to await instructions from Captain Calliaud who was then holding Trichinopoly.

After all kinds of negotiations had been conducted between Captain Calliaud, Mohammad Yûsuf, Mak'hphûz Khân, Barkat Ulla, the officers who commanded the troops in possession of the fortress, and many other individuals, almost every Captain, Poligar, Râja and Chief of the south, espoused the cause of one or other of the contending parties; and a desultory war began, which has been fully and admirably described in the pages of Orme. In May 1757 Captain Calliaud made a gallant attempt to carry the fortress of Madura by escalade: but an unfortunate accident prevented him from succeeding, and he was repulsed with some loss. A few days afterwards he was compelled to hurry off to Trichinopoly to take part in the operations which were being conducted in its vicinity, leaving the greater part of his army before Madura; and he was unable to return to Madura until July. Immediately on his return he commenced breaching a rampart on the western side of the town with a couple of eighteen-pounders and four field pieces; and having knocked down the parapets of both the outer and inner walls, and having shattered the walls themselves to some extent within a few hours' time, he resolved to storm without delay. The storming party consisted of 120 Europeans led by Captain Calliaud himself, a company of Coffrees who followed them, and 400 Sepoys led by Mahommad Yûsuf who brought up the rear. The breach was ably and courageously defended; the loss sustained by the storming party was considerable; and after the expiration of half an hour Captain Calliaud ordered the retreat.

After this repulse Captain Calliaud's health which had been for some time failing, grew so dangerously bad as to compel him to leave the camp, and take rest in the village of Tiruvalûr. On the 4th of August he had recovered his strength sufficiently to admit of him resuming the command of the besieging army: and he found that the period during which he had been absent from the scene of operations had not been altogether barren of results Some reinforcements and munitions of war had come into camp; some new allies had been gained; there was a great scarcity of food within the city; and altogether the prospect was by no means discouraging. Soon afterwards Barkat Ulla offered to give up the fortress if Captain Calliaud would pay or agree to pay him some twelve lacs of Rupees. This proposal was treated with contempt: but it led to further negotiations; and at last to the great relief of the authorities at Madras who were all this time in a great state of alarm lest the

French should contrive to get hold of Madura, the city was given up to Captain Calliaud in consideration of his paying Barkat Ulla the sum of Rupees 1,70,000. Of this amount one lac was to be allotted to the discharge of the arrears of pay due to the troops of Makh'phûz Khân, 20,000 was to be a present to Barkat Ulla, each of the four Captains who signed the treaty with him was to receive 8,000, and the balance was to be divided amongst some other recipients.

After vainly endeavouring to come to terms with Mak'hphûz Khân, Mohammad Yûsuf marched with a considerable force to Tinnevelly. No great results were obtained by him. Disturbances everywhere prevailed. The Kallans ravaged the country in every direction The great Hyder Ali invaded the district round Madura, and was with difficulty beaten off. And lastly no revenues worth speaking of could be collected. Captain Calliaud was therefore sent after awhile to report upon the state of the country. His representations speedily convinced the Council at Madras that no permanent settlement of the country could be hoped for so long as Mak'hphûz Khân was permitted to remain in it, arrogating to himself all kinds of power and authority and maintaining an armed force, and it was accordingly proposed to the Nabob that his brother should be induced to quit the south by the promise of an adequate maintenance. The Nabob sent an agent to his brother in the Tinnevelly country, with authority to make certain proposals to him. but nothing came of the attempt. Mak'hphûz Khân was a man of a foolish and stubborn disposition, utterly unable to see the reasonableness of any proposition to which he felt averse : and he perversely declined to consider any terms which were not based upon a recognition of his right to govern the whole of the two southern provinces It seems too that he was too much under the influence of the most wrongheaded of the Poligars to act independently of them, and the hopes of these men were centered in an alliance with the French, who appeared to them at this time to be the rising power in the peninsula.

In July 1758 the urgent necessities of the Company's government compelled the recall of Mohammad Yûsuf from the southern districts. and this event was soon followed by their relapse into the state of anarchy and confusion from which that excellent officer had with so much difficulty rescued them. The garrison of Sepoys left in Madura could do nothing more than hold it, and collect enough revenue from the lands lying immediately underneath its walls to defray the cost

of their subsistence. The Kallans on the north and Poligars on the west ravaged unchecked whatever lands were cultivated between their boundaries and the tracts close to Madura. and in the south things were if possible in a still worse state, as Mak'hphûz Khân had thrown himself entirely into the arms of the principal of the rebel Poligars, and there was no longer any hope of bringing him to reason. The Company thought proper in these circumstances to grant the farm of both the Madura and Tinnevelly countries to Mohammad Yûsuf for one year for the very moderate sum of five lacs. He returned to his charge in the spring of 1759, and having resolved to apply strong remedies to the evils from which it was suffering, commenced his work by falling savagely on the Kallans of Nattam Avenues were cut through their woods, and as they attempted to escape sharp-shooters posted in advantageous situations shot them down without mercy Only a few were taken prisoners, and these were executed as malefactors of the deepest dye. After teaching this turbulent race an useful lesson, Mohammad Yûsuf marched to Tinnevelly at the head of a force of about 6,000 men, and there engaged in more or less important operations of which it is unnecessary to give the details

In May 1760 Hyder Ali, who according to Wilks had by this time contrived to possess himself of almost the entire power of the government of Mysore, made a secret treaty with the French; who agreed amongst other things to assist him in conquering the southern countries of Madura and Tinnevelly And shortly afterwards the Mysorean army stationed in the Dindigul district, which at that time included Vattila-gundu and other places not very far distant from the town of Madura, commenced hostilities against some of the Poligars whose feuds lay between them and Trichinopoly: and it was currently reported that they intended seizing the Nattam pass and thereby blocking up the road between Madura and Trichinopoly. In order to prevent this inconvenience Mohammad Yûsuf sent a detachment consisting of 1,500 Sepoys, 300 horse, and 3,000 Peons from Tinnevelly to Madura, with orders to march thence into the Dindigul country; and at the same time the officer in command of the Nabob's troops employed in the defence of Trichinopoly, marched with his whole force to Nattam. The Mysoreans did nothing until October, when they laid siege to the fort of Vattila-gundu, and after six days took it by assault. But a reinforcement from Madura came up next day and joined the troops who had been engaged in defending

the fort from without, and a successful attack was then made upon the enemy's camp: he was completely discomfited, and lost all his artillery; and was compelled to evacuate the fort which he had so lately taken.

Farther operations on the part of Mysore, or rather I should say on the part of the adherents of Hyder Ali, were prevented by that adventurer being suddenly brought into a very desperate situation by the schemes of his personal enemies. And the taking of Pondicherry by the English in January 1761 served to awe the rebellious Poligars into something like submission; whilst the departure of Mak'hphûz Khân from the Tinnevelly country and his apparent reconciliation with his brother had deprived them of all pretext for disobedience. The country therefore became more quiet than it had been for many years, and there seemed to be some grounds for the belief that it would so continue. Without counting troops employedin garrison duty, Mohammad Yûsuf was certainly in command of a large force, for at the very time when he sent the expedition to Madura to act against the Mysoreans he was able to put himself at the head of 4,000 Sepoys and some cavalry and march against a Dutch expedition. And his troops were well disciplined and well chosen And certainly no Poligar and no combination of Poligars at that time was in possession of so considerable resources

Mohammad Yûsuf continued to govern the Madura country for sometime longer, and appears to have made himself exceedingly powerful. The memoirs furnished to me by Ponnusâmi Têvan and another furnished by a Mahometan gentleman agree in stating that he conquered all the Poligars without exception, and exacted tribute from the King of Travancore, and he overran the Sivagangei and Râmnâd countries. But these successes brought no profit to the Honorable Company's government. Either the expenses of Mohammad Yûsuf's administration were too great to admit of him acting up to his pecuniary engagements, or he thought he might render himself sufficiently strong to maintain himself in independence, and acting in accordance with the long established and almost unvarying custom of India delayed remitting tribute to his Lord until his Lord came with an overpowering army to enforce obedience and collect arrears.

This event happened towards the end of 1762. A considerable force was sent against him, and he was regularly besieged in his capital by an army of Englishmen Mahometans and Maravans. The

Sêthupati, the Tondiman, and the Râja of Sivagangei combined against him together with many of the Poligars ; and the unfortunate man found himself without a friend. Unappalled by this formidable array against him, Mohammad Yûsuf defended himself with the greatest energy and skill. and at the end of eight or nine months the besiegers found that they had made but little progress But treachery effected what force could not effect : and the gallant soldier who had served in so many campaigns, always with marked distinction, was seized by a confidential servant and given over to his enemies ; who in May 1763 with a want of mercy which at this time seems all but inexcusable, hung him like a dog

The history of the career of this remarkable man as preserved by tradition is very peculiar and interesting. According to one of Ponnusâmi Têvan's memoirs which as observed before are generally very fairly accurate, Mohammad Yûsuf Khân, better known in Madura by the name of Gaun Sâh Kummanthân (Khân Sahêb, Commandant) was a Hindû of the Vellâla caste born in Paniyûr in the Râmnâd country. In his youth he was wild and disobedient to his parents, and eventually ran away to Pondicherry and served under a European for three years and a half, at the end of which period he committed some great fault which led to his immediate dismissal After this he served under a Mr. Brunton, who took great pains with his education, and had him instructed in several languages. Next he entered the service of the Nabob, and being a man of great ability rapidly rose from being a Tandalgâr and then a toll-collector, and next a Sepoy to the posts of Naigue, Havildar and Subahdar. In the course of time he greatly distinguished himself against Bada Sahêb at Saint Thomas' Mount, and was promised the governorship of the southern countries. At Arcot he married a Parangi woman. Subsequently he came to Madura, chastised the Kallans and Poligars, and reduced the whole of the south to submission with the exception of the Marava Râjas. He began to plan the conquest of these countries also, and it was in consequence of the representations made to the Nabob and to the English at Trichinopoly by the ministers of Râmnâd and Sivagangei that the Nabob resolved to bring a large army against his vassal, and finally hung him. It is also stated that Mohammad Yûsuf carried a magical ball of gold in the flesh of his right arm, and was thereby rendered safe from all bodily harm . consequently when he was dropped from the gallows the rope broke, and when he was dropped a second time the rope broke a second

time. Finally he removed the golden ball, and then the rope did its duty.

Mohammad Yûsuf's high character and eminent administrative ability are forcibly contrasted with the incapacity and tyrannical conduct of his successors in the following passage, which occurs at page 21 of the report of Colonel Fullarton dated Pondicherry, 7 March 1785, which has lately been printed by order of Government :—

" The conduct of Mahomed Issuf Cawn deserves to be exempted " from this general accusation While he ruled those provinces, his " whole administration denoted vigour and effect. His justice was " unquestioned, his word unalterable; his measures were happily " combined and firmly executed, the guilty had no refuge from pun- " ishment His maxim was, " that the laborer and the manufacturer " should be the favorite children of the Circar," because they afford " strength and comfort to the public parent; but that the Poligar and " the Colliery, though equally entitled to truth and justice, have no " pretension to indulgence, because they are the worthless prodigals " who waste their own means and ravage those of others. " Let them " become Zemindars," said he, " and cultivate their own lands, instead " of plundering their industrious neighbours, then they shall be cher- " ished; but while their habit is idleness and their business devas- " tation, I will treat every one as a public enemy who wields a pike, " or wears the turban of a Polygar." On comparing the state of that " country with his conduct and remarks, I felt that wisdom, vigour, " and integrity are of no climate or complexion "

After the death of Mohammad Yûsuf the Madura country was placed the charge of one Abirâl Khân Sahêb on behalf of the Nabob and the British Government. But it appears that it was not considered safe to entrust him with any military power: and from this time forward Madura seems to have been always commanded by British Officers, an arrangement which was rendered necessary both by the circumstance of it being the key of the southern countries, and by its propinquity to Dindigul which was in the hands of Hyder Ali.

Abirâl Khân's administration seems to have lasted for some six years; and to have been in no way remarkable. Indeed the annals of the times of this officer and of his numerous successors in the management of the Madura country in behalf of the Nabob, some of whom were Mahometans, some Mahratta and other Brâhmans,

some Tamils, seem to have been utterly barren of events. I have endeavoured to gather some scraps of information about them and their doings: but little more appears to be known about them than their mere names. However the state of things in Madura during this period of Mahometan domination may be imagined from the following facts, which were communicated to me by the grandson of one of these officers, and the truth of which I see no occasion to doubt. About the year 1772 there were only two substantial brick and stone buildings in the whole town, namely the old Palace and the residence of the Mahometan manager: the only dwellings were mud hovels thatched or tiled. The manager used to amuse himself by causing Hindû sacred processions to halt for hours at a time in front of his house; they were never permitted to pass on until he was tired looking at them, or felt disposed to be gracious to their conductors. He also built up a wall across the gateway of the Râyar gôpura in order to prevent Hindû processions being conducted as usual along the street which led through it: and this wall was never removed until the time of the first English Collector.

In 1772 a peace was concluded with Hyder Ali; but this circumstance does not appear to have effected the state of the country. Some orders of this year issued by Mohammad Ali show that the Kallans were as troublesome as ever, and that it was necessary to commence military operations against them.

A short period of peace, during which the British government seems to have made no attempt to improve and solidify its acquisitions in the south, preceded the eventful year 1780 in which occurred Hyder Ali's celebrated invasion of the Carnatic. No sooner had that great commander begun to spread terror and devastation in the countries through which he moved, than multitudes of armed men began to pour down the sides of the Mysorean mountains and overrun the countries south of the Kâvêri. The standing crops were everywhere destroyed; every house not within a fort was burnt down, all the tank-bunds dams and channels by means of which cultivation was carried on were cut through blocked up and rendered useless. Famine began to rage furiously in almost every district between the Kâvêri the sea and the western ghauts. and the greater part of the southern country presented the appearance of a vast wilderness which had been blackened and laid waste by some terrible conflagration. And taking advantage of this opportunity the Kallans and

Poligars soon bestirred themselves, and vied with the enemy in completing the work of devastation and ruin. Nor was this all According to the very able report of Colonel Fullarton .—

"The ravages of the enemy were by no means the greatest evils "that those districts sustained There were inherent growing causes "of decline. The husbandmen were killed or driven off, the cattle "became wild, cultivation was neglected, and the fields desolate, yet "over this wilderness the Renter, the Amildar, the Monegar, the "Tahsildar, and all the instruments of public exaction, tyrannized "with unavailing rigour The forts, excepting Tanjore, were neglected "and decaying, the military stores had been in a great measure "expended or embezzled. The Military Store-keepers, Grain-keepers, "Paymasters, and Commissaries, belonging to the Civil Service, were "habituated to disavow any controlling power in the Commandant "of the place, nor were the exhortations and example of Mr. Sullivan "sufficient to correct the evil.

"Hence disorder arose in these departments, both civil and "military. The King's and Company's officers were at variance. "The subjects of the Nabob were loud in their complaints against "Europeans; while the Tanjoreans extended their aversion to all "classes of our countrymen The large arrears due to the troops and "other grievances rendered it impracticable for officers to maintain "discipline in their corps Happy if they could prevent mutiny "among men, who, brave and faithful as they undoubtedly were, "could hardly be restrained from clamour when reduced to procure "subsistence by selling their own children.

"The discordant powers of the Civil Servants in the different "departments increased the evils already enumerated; such was "the measure of those evils that the ablest persons despaired of "retrieving your affairs Nor was it held practicable to maintain the "southern army in the field, dispirited by defeat and destitute "of resources."

This wretched state of things was mended to some extent by the decisive measures adopted by Colonel Fullarton, who in 1783 marched into the southern country from Trichinopoly at the head of a considerable force, and in less than a month reduced it entirely to submission. The various operations of the southern army have been fully described by the officer who commanded it in the report alluded

to above, and were confined almost wholly to the Tinnevelly country: it will therefore be unnecessary for me to touch upon them.

In 1785 the following was the state of the Madura country as observed by Colonel Fullarton:—

"I come now to the state of Madura, bounded by Mellore on the "east, by the Nattam Collieries on the north, by the country of "Dindigul, belonging to Hyder, on the west, and by Tinnevelly on "the south. Its territory is not more than forty-five miles in "length and thirty-five miles in breadth, and its annual revenue "is diminished to £34,000.

"When the Gentoo Rajah, Trimul Naique, reigned there in the "last century, his territories extended over many parts of the "southern countries. His treasures were great, and he has left "monuments of magnificence hardly surpassed in any age or country. "These proud buildings still remain, a melancholy contrast with "present poverty and depopulation. The gallant resistance made by "Mahomed Issuf, when he disclaimed allegiance on the Nabob, proves "if the works were repaired, this place might be defended against "the most powerful Indian enemy. Its vicinity to the country of "Dindigul, belonging to Tippoo Sultaun, renders it a position of "capital importance in the event of operations against that power."

It will be observed that the country yielded considerably more in 1785 than in 1756, when according to Orme the total collections of the Madura country seldom exceeded 1,20,000 Rupees, and were quite insufficient to defray the cost of holding it by the sword.

In September 1790 Mr. McLeod was appointed to take charge of the Honorable Company's collections of revenue for the Madura province, and from that time up to the present we have authentic though not always very intelligible accounts of what few important events took place within the limits of the district. As the British Government has never lost its firm hold of the Madura country for a single day since the date on which it appointed its first Collector, our Political History may now be brought to a close. An attempt will be made in Part IV of this work to trace the Revenue History of the district from the earliest times of which we have any reliable record: and it will be more convenient to set out in that part the political events of this century which require a passing notice, than to narrate them consecutively in this. The revenue history will

derive very considerable elucidation, whilst the small amount of political history which still remains to be told will in no way suffer from this arrangement.

It will be necessary however before concluding this part of my subject to bring up the history of the Dindigul and Marava countries to the same level as that of the old Pândya capital; or the commencement of Part IV will be unintelligible: but a very few pages will suffice to show all that appears to be known of what happened to them during the period which has been treated in this chapter.

And first with regard to the Dindigul country.

We have seen above how Dindigul fell into the hands of Chandâ Sahêb before the battle of Ammaya-Nâyakkan-ûr: and Orme tells us that Chandâ Sahêb placed his brother Saduck Sahêb in command of the fortress, and that the latter was slain in battle by the Mahrattas while endeavouring to succour his brother who was at that time besieged in the fortress of Trichinopoly. This was in 1741.

It must have been almost immediately after this event took place that Dindigul with its dependencies was made over to the Mysoreans by the officer left in charge of them, one Mîr Imâm Ulla It appears that Birki Venkata Raû then in command of the Mysorean army below the ghauts, a force consisting of some 4,000 horse and 1,000 foot took advantage of the circumstance of Saduck Sahêb's death to menace the province which lay next to his master's with invasion; and that the Commandant of Dindigul preferred making a bargain with Mysore to being ousted by the Mahrattas. Accordingly the cession was made, and Birki Venkata Raû was appointed manager of the newly acquired district by the Râja of Mysore.

According to an historical memorandum respecting the affairs of Dindigul drawn up for the information of the Dindigul Committee of 1796 and of which a copy exists in the Madura records, the Palani and Virupâkshi pâleiyams had been previously annexed by Mysore, and were attached at this time to the Dârâpuram district; whilst those of Ideiya-kôttei and Mâmbâra had been attached to that of Arava-kuricchi. In the same year the village of Vêdasandûr was detached from the pâleiyam of Ammaya-Nâyakkan-ûr and made a portion of the Government lands. And the Palliyappa-Nâyakkan-ûr pâleiyam was relieved from its dependency on Ammaya-Nâyakkan-

ûr, and made a separate estate And Vadagarei was resumed on account of arrears of tribute.

In 1742 the whole district is said to have yielded a revenue of about 1,01,700 Star Pagodas. And Kambam and Gûdalûr were still separate pâleiyams paying tribute to the master of Dindigul.

In 1748 Madûr was resumed for arrears of tribute. And Birki Venkata Raû was recalled, and succeeded by Venkatappa; who in 1751 was succeeded by Nâmagiri Râja.

In 1751 the pâleiyams were placed under the control of Venkatappa; and the Government lands under that of Srînivâsa Raû, the son of the abovementioned Birki Venkata Raû.

In 1755 Venkatappa reported to head-quarters the contumacy of the Poligars, and the fact of their having fallen very considerably into arrears; and it was deemed necessary to send Hyder Ali to bring them to their senses, with a small force consisting of 700 horse, 1,000 foot, and 4 guns. On his arrival he was joined by the Poligars of Ammaya-Nâyakkan-ûr and Nila-kôttei, and at once fell upon the Palani Poligar, who had collected about 7 or 800 followers, and utterly routed him He then plundered the pâleiyam of every thing valuable which it contained, and compelled the fugitive Poligar to agree to pay a fine of 1,75,000 Chakrams.

After this Hyder Ali marched against Virupâkshi, and was met on the boundaries by a Vakeel, who agreed to pay him 75,000 Chakrams Next he attacked Kannivâdi, and was detained for two months in clearing away the jungles and obstacles which surrounded the Poligar's stronghold As soon as he had finished this preliminary work, the Poligar agreed to pay 3,00,000 Chakrams, and paid down on the spot 70,000 Erriyôdu was next attacked. As he was marching against it, Hyder Ali was opposed by a body of troops belonging to the Poligar of Shokkampatti and cut them to pieces Upon this the Poligars of Erriyôdu and Shokkampatti came together before him, and consented to pay, the former 70,000, the latter 30,000 Chakrams Next Hyder Ali marched up towards the Kambam valley and fell upon Bôdi-Nâyakkan-ûr. The Poligar resisted him for a short space of time, and then fled: he was accordingly punished by the confiscation of his pâleiyam. Whilst he was encamped in this pâleiyam, the Kambam Poligar came in and agreed to pay 10,000 Chakrams Thence the force moved on to the Utthama-pâleiyam; and here the Poligars of Kambam and Gûdalûr visited Hyder Ali, and agreed to

pay the former 10,000 Chakrams (as he had agreed at Bôdi-Nayak-kan-ûr) and the latter 2,000. But they did not act up to their engagements, and fled away; and in consequence their pâleiyams were confiscated, and ever afterwards continued to be Government lands.

What was done with the other pâleiyams does not appear. But on his return to Dindigul Hyder Ali resumed the following pâleiyams, on account of their owners not paying him the sums which they had agreed for, viz.—1, Kannivâdi; 2, Erriyôdu; 3, Shokkampatti; 4, Tottiyan-kôttei, 5, Palliyappa-Nâyakkan-ûr; and 6. Thêvathâ-napatti which had been some years previously seized and annexed by Kannivâdi. And the Poligar of Kannivâdi was sent off to Bangalore as a prisoner.

In 1757, as we have seen before, Hyder Ali made a descent from Dindigul upon the Madura country, and took Sôlavandân; but was beaten off by Mohammad Yûsuf. He was shortly afterwards recalled to Seringapatam. Before he left the province however he had collected about half of the contributions which the Poligars had promised, those of Palani and Virupâkshi alone having paid only a small portion of what they had promised. And whereas Vadagarei and Madûr were the only two resumed pâleiyams when he first came to Dindigul, when he left all had been resumed except 1, Nila-kôttei, 2, Ammaya-Nâyakkan-ûr; 3, Kômbei, 4, Ideiya-kôttei; 5, Mâm-bâra The two last had formerly belonged to Arava-kuricchi, but were added to the Dindigul province by Hyder Ali.

Such were the main incidents of Hyder Ali's memorable incursion into the Dindigul province: and it is difficult to say which is the most remarkable, the extraordinary ability which made it possible for him to reduce so many chiefs to submission with the handful of men he commanded, or the extraordinary disunion amongst these chiefs which permitted him attack and crush them one after another. Perhaps no event in the history of South India proves more conclusively than this one, the utter inability and unwillingness of Hindû chiefs and nobles to combine together against a common foe, whether he be a Mahometan a Mahratta or an European. The Poligars whom Hyder Ali defeated on this occasion with a force of 1,700 men, were well supplied with provisions and money, and were in a position to bring into the field at least 30,000 troops And these troops it must be remembered were not mercenaries whose fidelity

could not be depended upon, but the hereditary servants dependants and relatives of the Poligars, who cultivated the lands which were invaded and whose ancestors had served for generations under the ancestors of the Poligars The conduct of the Poligars can only be accounted for on the supposition that hardly one of them could trust another, and most were the hereditary enemies of many and both jealous and suspicious of all the rest of their fellows. And doubtless the same state of things prevails generally in all parts of India and at all times: and it is only an exceptionally great Indian leader of men like Hyder Ali or Sivaji or Râma Râz, who can sometimes contrive to keep a large number of subordinate chiefs in order, and compel them to lay aside for a while their petty feuds and jealousies in furthering the common weal

Before Hyder Ali left Dindigul Srînivâsa Raû was removed from his office for incompetence, and Venkatappa was appointed sole Amaldâr or Superintendent of both the pâleiyams and the Government lands. He was succeeded shortly afterwards by Sûriya Nârâyana Muthali, who in 1758 restored, it is not stated for what reasons, the following Poligars, viz.—those of 1, G'hantappa-Nâyakkan-ûr; 2, Erachaka-Nâyakkan-ûr; 3, Tavasu-Madei, 4, Ambatâra, 5, Maranût; 6, Emakalâpuram.

In 1760 occurred the collision between the Mysorean force and the expedition sent by Mohammad Yûsuf from Tinnevelly, mentioned before in page 289. It is said that in the action near Vattila-gundu the Mysorean Fouzdâr and many of his subordinates were killed, and Shîr Khân the commander of the troops sent by Mohammad Yûsuf then took possession of the Utthama-pâleiyam, Periyakolam, Kambam and other districts; and that he held them up to the time of the execution of Mohammad Yusûf when he found it necessary to relinquish his conquests

The next important event was the siege of Dindigul by Colonel Wood's detachment in 1767. It lasted for only one day. The fort was taken, and was held by the British for eight months, at the end of which time it was restored to Hyder Ali by treaty

In 1772 the Dindigul country was granted to Mîr Sahêb the brother-in-law of Hyder Ali, subject to the following services, namely that of maintaining one thousand horse for Hyder Ali's use, and that of keeping up a force sufficient for the defence of the country. The Palani and Virupâkshi pâleiyams had for some unexplained cause

been detached from the province of Dindigul, and were not included in the grant; but in all other respects the province was in the same state as in 1758.

In 1773 the following pâleiyams were resumed, namely; 1, G'hantappa-Nâyakkan-ûr; 2, Kômbei; 3, Nila-kôttei; 4, Erachaka-Nâyakkan-ûr. And Palani and Virupâkshi were re-annexed to the country, and also resumed. At this time the district yielded, it is said, 1,48,051 Star Pagodas per annum.

In 1774 Maranût, Tavasu-Madei and Ambatâra were resumed, and Sandeiyûr and Thêvâram were restored to their owners

Mîr Sahêb lost his life at the battle of Porto Novo; and the grant then lapsed.

In April 1783 Dindigul was taken by the division under Colonel Lang, which was then operating upon the countries dependent upon that fortress Arava-kuricchi and Caroor. And shortly afterwards all the sequestered pâleiyams, which comprised at that time all except 1, Thêvâram; 2, Ideiya-kôttei; 3, Mâmbâra; 4, Ammaya-Nâyakkan-ûr; 5, Sandeiyûr, were restored to the dispossessed Poligars.

In accordance with the treaty of Mangalore the country was restored to Tippu Sultân in July 1784; having been managed from the time of its capture by the Resident at Tanjore, Mr. Sullivan. It was now granted to Syed Sahêb, who is said to have been a nephew to Mîr Sahêb, upon the same terms as it had been granted to Mîr Sahêb; and he took charge of his grant in September. He found that it was then yielding revenue at the rate of 1,19,554 Star Pagodas per annum.

In 1785 he resumed the following pâleiyams, namely Palani, Sandeiyûr and Erriyôdu: and in the next year Madûr and Shokkampatti

In 1788 Tippu Sultân came to Dindigul, and found it necessary to resume all the remaining pâleiyams on account of arrears of tribute, with the exception of Kômbei, Ideiya-kôttei and Mâmbâra, viz:—

1. G'hantappa-Nâyakkan-ûr.
2. Thêvâram.
3. Bôdi-Nâyakkan-ûr.
4. Erachaka-Nâyakkan-ûr.
5. Palliyappa-Nâyakkan-ûr.
6. Nila-kôttei.
7. Virupâkshi.
8. Kannivâdi.
9. Maranût
10. Emakalâpuram.
11. Tavasu-madei
12 Ambatâra
13. Ammaya-Nâyakkan-ûr.
41. Tottiyan-kôttei.

These fourteen sequestered estates were then separated from the Dindigul district, and attached to the Shankle-droog province

They were also taken away from Syed Sahêb, and placed in the charge of certain Commissioners, who are said to have colluded with the dispossessed owners, and criminally misappropriated the revenues

During the whole time of the administration of Syed Sahêb, Vadagarei and Thêvathânapatti were Government lands

In 1790 Sandeiyûr was restored to its owner In August Dindigul was taken by Colonel James Stuart. At that time only four pâleiyams were in the hands of their owners, viz.—Kômbei, Ideiyakôttei, Mâmbâra, and Sandeiyûr. But shortly afterwards all the pâleiyams, including the fourteen abovementioned, were restored by the British Government to their respective owners

The above is the only available information touching the history of the Dindigul country between the years 1740 and 1790 we must now see what happened in the Marava countries during the same period.

It will be remembered that somewhere about the year 1730 the ancient kingdom of Râmnâd was divided into five parts, after Tanjore had taken the northern provinces; and that Kattaya Têvan took three of them, and Seshavarna Têvan two. Soon after this event the Sêthupati seems to have acquired the name of the Periya or elder Maravan; whilst the Râja of Sivagangei was known as the Chinna or younger Maravan: and English writers of the eighteenth century always speak of the greater and lesser Marava Poligars and countries. And the two countries were called by the Tamils the Periya and Chinna or great and little *Vadakkeis* or divisions

It is stated in Ponnusâmi Têvan's memorandum that soon after the division took place the two Maravans joined their forces and attacked Tanjore, with the object of recovering the provinces which had been annexed by the Râja as the price of his intervention in their behalf: and that this disgraceful breach of faith having been rewarded with success, the Maravans shared the recovered territories

The Sêthupati's Dalavây, Vellian-Sêrveikâran, seems to have been a man of great energy and ability, and to have succeeded in getting all the power of the Râmnâd government into his own hands; and whilst his name is occasionally mentioned in history that of his master is never heard of after his accession to the throne.

Kattaya Têvan died probably about the year 1752; and his son

was thereupon crowned. He died after reigning for only a few days or weeks; and then Vellian Sêrveikâran crowned Râkka Têvan, a cousin of the deceased Kattaya Immediately afterwards the Râja of Tanjore invaded the Râmnâd country: but he was at once repulsed by the Dalavây.

In 1752, according to Orme, the Sêthupati sent 4,000 Peons and Kallans to the assistance of Chandâ Sahêb whilst his old rival and enemy the Râja of Tanjore assisted the Nabob with 3,000 horse and 2,000 foot under the command of his General Monackjee, and the Tondiman Râja assisted him with 400 horse and 3,000 Kallans.

The part taken by Vellian Sêrveikaran in setting up the adopted son of Mînâkshi on the throne of Madura in 1752 has been already shown It was probably during the short reign of that unfortunate prince that the Râmnâd Dalavây made an expedition into the south, and attempted to reduce the Poligars to submission, and restore order throughout the Madura kingdom. It is said that he subdued all the Poligars but the Ettiyapuram, who was venerated as a Guru, and was (presumably) spared on that account. And a curious circumstance is recorded in connection with Velian Sêrveikâran's raid amongst the Poligars, which ought not to be passed over without notice. It appears from Ponnusâmi Têvan's memorandum that in order to show his superiority over those whom he defeated, he, like other Dalavâys, used to cause mud to be prepared and thrown on the ground in front of his seat, and etiquette required the Poligars who came to pay their respects to him and receive his orders, to prostrate themselves at full length in the mud on approaching the presence. One is scarcely prepared for such an exhibition of arrogance on the part of the Dalavâys and still less on the part of the Dalavây of Râmnâd. It seems to be inferrible however from the memorandum that Vellian Sêrveikâran was the first minister of Râmnâd who attained the exalted titles of Dalavây and Kârbâr, and possibly it was owing to his head being turned by his successes and by the acquisition of these dignities that he was induced to behave in this fashion

An intrigue of which the particulars are not known resulted in an attempt to ruin the successful Dalavây. and he was recalled from Tinnevelly to Râmnâd Here he turned the tables on his adversaries; and rebelled against the Sêthupati, who fled for safety to the fort of Pâmbam. The Dalavây assembled some troops; took the

fort; and imprisoned the Sêthupati. And having deposed him, raised to the throne a member of the Kilavan's family named Sella or Vijaya Rag'hunâtha Têvan. During the reign of this Sêthupati which is said to have lasted six years the Râja of Tanjore again invaded Râmnâd: and was again defeated by the able Dalavây.

And in 1755 occurred Colonel Heron's expedition to Madura, on which occasion a deputy of the Sêthupati waited on the English commander and after asking his pardon for the mistake committed by the Sêthupati in siding with Chandâ Sahêb, induced him eventually to enter into an alliance with his master; which however was shortly afterwards repudiated by the authorities at Madras in consequence of the strong representations made by their allies the Tondiman and Râja of Tanjore.

Sella Têvan died about the year 1760, and was succeeded by his nephew Muttu Râmalinga Sêthupati, a child of two months.

Vellian Sêrveikâran seems to have died about this time; and was succeeded in office by a man named Thomôtharam Pillei. And the mother of the infant Sêthupati, Muttu Tiruvây Nâtchiyâr, seems to have acted as Regent.

Whether the Nabob Mohammad Ali undertook any expedition against the Sêthupati before the time of Mohammad Yûsuf, does not appear: I think it may be concluded however that he did not. It is perfectly clear that nothing was done against him before Colonel Heron's expedition, or he would not have been anxious to enter into an alliance with the English And the state of things in the south between 1755 and 1760 was such that no attempt to reduce to submission so powerful a chief as Vellian Sêrveikâran could have been thought of by the Nabob's subordinates It was probably after the death of this minister, and at the commencement of the regency in the year 1760 or thereabouts that Mohammad Yûsuf first directed his attention to the State of Râmnâd, and conceived the idea of exacting tribute from the infant Sêthupati.

In 1763 as has been already shown the Dalavây Thomôtharam Pillei joined in the siege of Madura, and did what lay in his power to effect the ruin of Mohammad Yûsuf.

In 1770 the Râja of Tanjore was again defeated, this time most decisively by an army under the command of Thomôtharam Pillei: and this was the last occasion on which the troops of Râmnâd were permitted to distinguish themselves.

In 1773 the British Government sent a force into the Râmnâd country under the command of General Joseph Smith; and it was speedily reduced to submission And the Queen Regent and the minor King were made State prisoners.

In 1785 the country was described by Colonel Fullarton as being fifty miles in length by thirty in breadth; and as being well-peopled by an industrious population, and abounding in cattle The revenues amounted to about five lacs of Rupees per annum, and the yearly tribute to the Nabob had been fixed at the sum of Rupees 1,75,000 The country had been managed since its annexation by renters and had been for the most part free from disturbances until the eventful year 1781; when it was overrun by a host of rebels under the leadership of one Mâpillei Têvan, a relation of the Sêthupati's family. The disturbances then excited were put an end to by the expedition of 1783 under Colonel Fullarton, to which allusion has been before made. And no event happened after that year which needs to be recorded in this Part.

Much less is known about the history of Sivagangei than about that of Râmnâd.

According to Orme the Râja of Tanjore in 1749 sent his General Monackjee into the country of the lesser Maravan in order to wrest from him the fort of Arundângi; and the Tondiman assisting him, the enterprise was successful It does not appear who was the Râja at this time: but it seems probable that Seshavarna Têvan was dead, and that his son Muttu Vaduga Nâtha Udeiyâ Têvan had succeeded him. It also seems probable that this Râja was a man of no energy or ability; and left the entire conduct of affairs in the hands of his chief minister.

In 1752 Tândavarâya Pillei the minister of Sivagangei joined in the siege of Madura described before, and in placing Mînâkshi's adopted son upon the throne

In 1762 and the following year he engaged in the operations against Mohammad Yûsuf

In 1773 two dependents of the Râja, named the Periya or elder and Chinna or younger Murdu, conspired against him and apparently killed him at the battle of Kâleiyâr-kôvil. Soon afterwards the country was reduced together with that of Râmnâd: and the Râja's widow, who was at the time pregnant, escaped together with many of the principal persons in the kingdom to Mysore

In 1781 the Murdus returned to Sivagangei at the head of a number of armed men, and being unopposed proceeded to rule the country in the name of Hyder Ali, after setting up some obscure individual as a kind of puppet Râja. In 1783 this state of things was put an end to by the Southern Army · and shortly afterwards the widow of the late Râja was appointed Zamindârni by the Nabob.

In 1785 the Sivagangei country was thus described by Colonel Fullarton —

"The territory of Shevigunga, or the Little Marawar, stretches "from the sea coast on the east to the districts of Mellore and "Madura on the west, and from the country of Tondiman and the "Nattam Collieries upon the north, to the territories of the Great "Marawar on the south, containing about fifty miles in length and "forty miles in breadth. The soil, in general, is unfriendly to the "growth of corn, though not quite destitute of running streams or "artificial reservoirs, but the country is overgrown with thorns and "bushes The woods of Calicoil, nearly forty miles in circumfer- "ence, are secured with barriers and other defences around the fort "of Calicoil, which is situated in the centre of the thickets, and "considered as a refuge from exaction or invasion These woods "and the surrounding country abound with sheep and cattle, the "inhabitants are numerous, and can bring twelve thousand fighting "men into the field, armed with swords, pikes, spears, and firelocks. "Though less barbarous than the Collieries, their neighbours, yet "arts and industry have made little progress among them The "country is capable of great improvement, but at present hardly "yields more than five lacs of Rupees to the Rajah, who pays "1,75,000 Rupees to the Nabob of Arcot. The Rajah is of the "Taver family, and a descendant of the sovereigns of the Great "Marawar, from which Shevigunga was separated at no very distant "period."

The Kalla country or country of robbers, though considerably larger than the Madura has no history which needs to be told, if indeed it can boast of any history. Colonel Fullarton's description of it in 1785 would probably be applicable to any period except the present century during the last five hundred years; and if it was at any previous time inhabited by a peaceful and civilized population, all vestiges of that population have perished. Colonel Fullarton writes as follows ·—

"The country of the Collieries, including the territories of Tondi-
"man, Mellore and Nattam, extends from the sea coast to the con-
"fines of Madura, in a range of sixty miles by sixty-five; with the
"exception of some spots, which have accidentally been cultivated,
"it is overgrown with thickets, and inhabited by savage tribes.
"Before that country can be rendered valuable, the woods must be
"cleared, the strongholds occupied, and the Collieries compelled
"to relinquish their predatory habits; for in its present condition,
"fertile tracts are lost to cultivation, and the wild inhabitants
"amounting to thirty or forty thousand men in arms, under dif-
"ferent Chiefs, endanger public safety in moments of hostility."

In concluding this Part of the manual I must take a final glance at the state and progress of Christianity in the Madura country during the last century. There is but little to tell. We have seen the mode in which Father Bouchet was treated by the great Dalavây. A letter of 1709 shows that the Kallans had relapsed from their temporary conversion; and in consequence of the weakness of the then Government had become so bold and wicked that even missionaries dared not traverse their country without a guide. And they were not only masters of their own country: but made life and property insecure in all the districts adjoining theirs. Gang robberies by torch-light were of nightly occurrence, and in every direction herds of cattle were lifted and murders committed by them with impunity. The Sêthupati had chastised them repeatedly; and had established forts in their country. But all was to no purpose The garrisons were surprised and slain, andthe Kallans became more troublesome than ever.

The defection of the Kallans was more than counterbalanced by successes in other quarters: and in 1713 there were upwards of a million converts. But in 1714 and the following year there was so much persecution in the Marava country that the missionaries were compelled to quit it for a time. Converts were horribly ill-used and mutilated; the Churches were destroyed; and the open profession of the true faith exposed every one to great danger. But in 1720 the Sêthupati relented, and began to treat the Christians with some little kindness and favour.

From 1720 to 1743 we have no letters in the collection of the Mission du Maduré. But it appears that during portions of that

period the missions of Vadugar-patti, Âûr, and Tanjore were successively placed under the care of the famous Beschi, whose name is perhaps even better known in South India than that of Robert De Nobilibus. His mode of life is described as having been similar to that of his illustrious predecessor John De Britto, and the Mission du Maduré repudiates, thoughly hardly in such a manner as to show that they are utterly unfounded, the statements to be found in various modern authors to the effect that Beschi lived in a sumptuous and princely style. The following passage is quoted in the Mission du Maduré in order that readers may know what sort of statements touching Beschi's career they ought not to believe; and therefore its insertion here may perhaps put unwary readers on their guard.

"Le P. Beschi ayant conçu le projet de visiter Sanda Saëb, nabab "de Tirouchirapali, s'appliqua à l'etude du persan et du turc, et y "fit des progrès si rapides qu'en trois mois il put parler et écrire "couramment dans ces deux langues Le nabab l'accueillit avec "bienveillance, fut enchanté de son rare talent, et le surnomma "*Ismat Sanniassi* (le pénitent sans tache). En preuve de son estime "et de son affection, il lui fit présent d'un superbe palanquin en "ivoire, qui avait appartenu à Satoulakan, son grand-père; il le "retint à sa cour, l'institua son Divan ou premier ministre, et, pour "subvenir aux dépenses qu'entraînait une si haute position, il lui "assigna à perpétuité quatre gros villages situés sur le bord du "Coléron, dout le revenu annuel était de 12,000 roupies.

"Lorsque le magnifique Divan se mettait en route, son palanquin "était précédé par douze porte-drapeaux, quatre pions à bâton d'ar- "gent, trente gardes d'honneur à cheval, un cheval portant le *tanga* "et le *nagasoura* (timballe et trompette,) deux chevaux de parade, "l'un noir et l'autre blanc, richement caparaçonnés, pour lui servir "de monture, et enfin une foule de hérauts, courant, criant à tue- "tête, et faisant un topage proportionné à la noblesse du personnage.

"Derrière lui venait un chameau chargé du *nagaram* (grosse "caisse royale;) un autre portait le *kaïtalam* (tambour ordinaire); "un troisième, sa chapelle: trois autres chameaux, chargés des ten- "tes et des baggages, fermaient la marche."

The Mission du Maduré admits that Beschi visited Chandâ Sahêb and also the Nabob of Vellore; and that he induced the General of the Society in Europe to send out a letter and some presents to Daûst Ali Khân in 1739; and that he was loaded with favours both

by Daûst Ali and Chandâ Sahêb. And it is further admitted that very possibly the Nabob, following the custom of the country, may have endowed the Christian Church with four villages; and that Beschi may have been honoured with an Indian title, though he could not have accepted the post of Divan. It certainly seems not impossible that what is said of Beschi in the passage quoted was very nearly if not absolutely true.

Of all the Jesuit Missionaries who have worked in India, Beschi is probably the most distinguished for learning and intellect. His knowledge of Tamil was simply wonderful. He was equally familiar with the high and low dialects: and his compositions in that language have excited the admiration and envy of many a South Indian poet. Unlike Robert de Nobilibus, he was averse to introducing many Samskrit terms and expressions into his Tamil works; and rather aimed at acquiring a perfectly pure and idiomatic style. And in this he was perfectly successful. Had Tamil been his native tongue it would have been impossible for him to acquire a greater proficiency in it.

His principal works were the following, viz:—

1. *The Tembâvani* written in 1726, a poem illustrating the mysteries and doctrines of the Gospel. This astonishing production is so well known that a description of it here would be superfluous. It will be sufficient to say that Tamils could not believe it was the work of a foreigner, and that Europeans, English and others, vied with one another in praising its beauties.

2. Several minor poems of great merit such as the *Kitteriammal* or life of Queen Catherine of Portugal, the *Tiroucâvalour-kalambam, &c.*

3. His prose work the *Vêdiar-Oloukkam,* a series of considerations touching the duties of one called to an apostolical life. The style of this is said to be rich and sparkling. whilst the argumentation is close and forcible, the thoughts profound and striking, and the imagination displayed in it large and exalted.

4. The *Gniana-Ounartel* also in prose, a didactic and doctrinal work, of a very elevated style.

5. The well-known *Paramârta-Courou-Cadei* or tale of the foolish priest and his disciples.

6. A commentary in Tamil and in Latin on the Kural.

7. Some controversial works in Tamil, directed principally against the Lutherans

8. His well-known Tamil Grammar

9. The Tamil, Tamil and Latin, and Tamil and Portuguese Dictionaries, works displaying the greatest erudition and most extensive acquaintance with the Hindû Classics.

10. A vast quantity of miscellaneous works.

Beschi was the last, as he was the most learned of the great Jesuit missionaries. Shortly after his time the suppression of the Jesuit Society and of the Madura Mission took place: and the great work which the latter had effected was almost undone.

PART IV.

THE REVENUE HISTORY OF THE MADURA COLLECTORATE.

CHAPTER I.

The materials for Part IV.—The lands of Dindigul.—Venkatappa runs off with the accounts.—Mr. Collector McLeod.—His revenue system.—Farms.—Settlements with headmen.—The Poligars and Kallans are troublesome.—Three and five-year leases.—The Board disapprove of Mr. McLeod's administration.—He resigns.—Mr. Collector Wynch.—His rash settlement.—Improper behaviour of the Poligars.—The Collector's escort fired at.—Mr. Wynch's report on Dindigul abstracted.—The Dindigul Committee.—Their report abstracted.—Mr. Harington's separate report abstracted.—The views of Government.

THE Revenue History of the Collectorate of Madura is embodied in four kinds of documents, viz.—

1. Reports written by successive Collectors of the Revenues of the Collectorate.

2 Letters from those Collectors to the Board of Revenue at Madras.

3. Letters from the Board of Revenue to the Collectors.

4. Miscellaneous official letters and reports.

An immense amount of correspondence of the above kinds has passed between Madura and Madras since the assumption of the revenues of the Collectorate by the British Government; and the English Record Office at Madura contains an almost inexhaustible

supply of information of various kinds connected with the transaction of public business But there exist many serious obstacles in the way of those who seek to turn this information to account. In the first place the records have never been properly arranged and catalogued. In the second place many most important letters and reports forming portions of series have not been copied, or the copies of them have been lost. Next the copyists who copied the earlier letters and reports were men utterly unacquainted with the English language and therefore committed innumerable blunders, which blunders have never been corrected. Then again the earlier letters and reports were written apparently by gentlemen who had left school at an early age, and were not sufficiently well educated to be able to express themselves clearly and intelligibly when dealing with subjects hard to understand and to explain, such as the details of a revenue settlement; or of the management of funds appropriated to religious endowments ; the reasons for and against an increase or decrease of assessment; and a hundred other subjects of a similar nature. Lastly as the Board of Revenue were for some time, and necessarily, altogether wanting in knowledge of the revenue specialities of Dindigul and Madura, the early Collectors would seem to have purposely veiled the facts which they reported with a mass of verbiage, in order to secure for themselves the enjoyment of a practically unlimited and irresponsible authority.

In these circumstances it becomes a much more difficult task than one would suppose to ascertain precisely the acts which were done by the early Collectors : and the principles in accordance with which they were done, are for the most part unintelligible and therefore inexplicable.

In order to show as clearly as may be the various stages by which the system of administration of the revenues in vogue in the Madura District has reached its present and latest development, I have abstracted all the more important reports to be found in the Record Office; and have elucidated them as far as was practicable through the medium of correspondence of various kinds. The result is far from satisfactory : but the difficulties described above must be pleaded in excuse, and looking to the limited time allowed for the preparation of the manual, of which time only a portion could be allotted to the treatment of this knotty subject, I think I may say I have spared no pains to render Part IV complete as far as it goes.

As the Dindigul revenue system differs altogether from the Madura, and the system adopted in the great Zamindâris differs equally from the Dindigul and the Madura, it will be convenient to describe these systems in separate chapters, beginning with that which was first founded and completed, namely that of the sub-division or country of Dindigul.

The Dindigul country was acquired by conquest in the month of August 1790, as has been shown in Part III. The province consisted at that time of 1, four pâleiyams or feuds which were in the possession of their owners (see Part III, p. 292); 2, five pâleiyams which had been sequestered; and 3, an inconsiderable extent of Government lands .And the fourteen pâleiyams which had been resumed by Tippu Sultân and annexed to the Shankle-droog province, were presently restored to the Dindigul province. Of these lands those comprised under head No 1 were being managed by their owners without any interference on the part of the Mysore Government; and all the other lands were, it must be supposed, being managed by Renters appointed by the Mysore Government, who were responsible for little else than their stipulated rents.

As soon as the conquest was effected, General Meadows, who was at the time commanding in the south, placed one Venkatappa Nâyakkan in charge of the district pending the arrival of an English Collector; and this gentleman appears to have made hay whilst the sun shone, and ran off with all the accounts. On the 6th of September Mr. McLeod arrived, and took charge of the district with the title of "Collector at Dindigul." He held the office until near the end of 1794.

During this period very little was done towards the settlement of the Dindigul country: and Mr. McLeod appears to have been an exceedingly careless and inefficient administrator

The system of revenue administration adopted by him appears to have been the following. The Poligars or their Vakeels used to meet the Collector at Dindigul soon after the middle of October, when the estimates of the probable out-turn of the dry grain harvest had been completed by the Poligar's servants; and an agreement was then come to regarding the amount of Pêshkash or tribute which each Poligar should pay for the current year. The agreement having been made, the Poligar or his Vakeel delivered a document to the Collector by which he bound himself or his principal to pay a certain

sum within a certain time, and to obey the orders of the Madras Government, and to do certain other things; and in return for this the Collector gave a kind of *Sanad* or written order authorising the Poligar to continue in the enjoyment of his estate. The amount of the tribute seems to have been theoretically regulated by established usage· but as Venkatappa Nâyakkan had run off with what records and accounts there were, and as it was the interest of everybody to deceive the Collector as greatly as possible; and as the Collector had to place almost implicit reliance in his interpreters and other subordinates; it is probable that the engagements entered into with the Poligars were regulated for the first few years by chicanery and chance far more than by custom and precedent.

The Government lands were for the most part farmed out to Renters by the year in the following manner .—

Tenders for the farms of groups of villages or of single villages were invited, and the highest bidders who were able to furnish decent security were appointed farmers, in consideration of them promising to pay regularly and punctually the stipulated amounts of rent, to obey the Honorable Company's Collector in all things; and to conform generally to the established and well-known rules prescribed for the guidance of Renters The farms granted on these conditions consisted solely of the right to collect over a certain area the taxes of various kinds which the Government customarily collected. But as may be imagined, the Renters exercised the most arbitrary sway, and rode rough-shod over the wretched ryots who were entrusted to their tender mercies They were armed with large, practically unlimited powers of coercion and punishment, in order to enable them to enforce payment of their dues and all attempts on the part of the oppressed to obtain redress for their grievances were rendered ineffectual by collusion between the oppressors and the ministerial servants of the Collector. But the practices commonly resorted to by Renters will be explained at length in a chapter on the Madura province.

In the Government tracts which were not rented it seems probable that in the spring of each year the Collector entered into contracts with the headmen of each village. These promised in behalf of the inhabitants at large—1, that a certain amount of land should be cultivated, and 2, that the assessment due thereon should be punctually discharged; whilst the Collector promised in behalf of Government

impliedly of course, that the inhabitants should be permitted to enjoy the produce raised on the area cultivated. The assessment was payable in kind or in money according as the land cultivated was *Nanjey,* that is to say low lying land irrigated by means of Government tanks and channels, or *Punjey,* that is to say high land not irrigated by Government tanks and channels. In the former case the gross produce of each field was reaped and thrashed in the presence of Government officials, and after a certain portion had been set aside for *Swatantrams,* an expression which will be hereafter explained, the remainder was equally divided between Government and the ryots. In the latter case a money rent was paid at the rate of so much per each *kuli* cultivated What the rates actually were, there is nothing to show. A certain letter tells us that during Syed Sahêb's administration the assessment on arable Punjey was raised to sixteen fanams and a half per kuli, that in consequence of this the ryots abandoned their holdings, and that the British Government subsequently lowered the rate to thirteen fanams But I think there is every reason to suppose that what is meant is that the highest rate was lowered to thirteen fanams per kuli, and not that an uniform rate of thirteen fanams was imposed and collected.

The Poligars and Kallans had been taught the danger of open disobedience to British rule by the expeditions sent against them on several occasions but they were not yet prepared to lay aside their wild and predatory habits, much less to become steady and regular payers of tribute and rent Accordingly we find Mr. McLeod complaining at an early period of his administration of the turbulence and want of respect for authority evinced by troublesome chieftains and by the Kallans and their rebellious disposition was not improved by the knowledge that the English Government was engaged in a new war, the results of which no man could foresee. A letter of June 1791 shows that troops were required to maintain the Collector's authority. Another of November 1791 shows that Coimbatore with the surrounding country was then in the hands of the enemy In February 1792 the Ideiya-kôttei and Palani Poligars were plundering in the Coimbatore district At the same time the Râja of Travancore was throwing all kinds of obstacles in the way of the Collector taking possession of Kambam and Gûdalûr, which undoubtedly belonged to the Dindigul district. The Chinna Maradu was engaged in plunder-

ing and murdering the Tondiman's subjects. And the Kallans had quarreled with the Madura Renter and were committing all kinds of excesses.

In these circumstances it is not to be wondered at if the Poligars fell grievously into arrears, and if the Renters took their cue from the Poligars.

On the 28th of September 1793 the Board of Revenue thought proper to direct the Collector to introduce the system of granting leases for three or five years to the headmen of the villages instead of as before to strangers. The order was partially carried out: but the Collector found it to be impossible to induce the headmen of such villages as were exposed to the attacks of the Kallans of Âneiyûr to accept his offers, as they were too much afraid of those scourges of the country to take upon themselves any greater pecuniary responsibility than they were used to.

In the beginning of May 1794 the Collector obtained leave to go to the seaside for the benefit of his health; and Mr. Wrangham his Head Assistant was appointed to act for him. That gentleman appears to have been alarmed at the state into which the finances of the country were drifting; and he lost no time in writing to the Board for troops to act against the recalcitrant Poligars. In reply the Board directed him to summon the Poligars to Dindigul and endeavour to persuade them to do their duty.

An extract from the proceedings of the Board, dated 25th August 1794, shows that the Board were exceedingly angry at the results of Mr. McLeod's administration, and that the revenues of the country had by that time dwindled down to a very low figure. It also shows very clearly the matters in which Mr. McLeod had failed to act in accordance with the requirements of the difficult position which he filled. In the first place he ought to have repeatedly impressed the Poligars with the idea that they were no longer in a position to withhold their tribute at will; and that they could not hope to enjoy their estates for long periods, unless they habitually conducted themselves in a proper manner towards the representatives of the British Government. Then it was clearly his duty as soon as he received intelligence of any outrage having been committed whether by a Poligar or by a band of Kallans, to proceed at once to the scene of the outrage; and after furnishing the Board with full particulars of what had taken place, carry out rigorously such orders as might be

sent to him. The practice of receiving tribute through native bankers instead of receiving it directly from the Poligars was productive of all kinds of irregularities; and must thenceforth be discontinued. It was the Collector's business to enquire with the greatest diligence into the circumstances of all appropriations of the public revenues under the heads of *Inâms, mânyams,* watching fees and the like. And more particularly he should look into the system of allowances known as *Swatantrams,* by which the Company appeared from the accounts to be losing at least 16¾ per cent of its income derived from Nanjey lands and might be losing much more. That system had grown up quite recently, through barefaced collusion between the Renters and the ryots; and it might and should be forthwith abolished without hesitation. The assessment on the land was equitable, and there was no reason why the Company should be defrauded of any portion of its dues. Then again the losses under the head of ruined tanks appeared to be inconceivably large, and required satisfactory explanation. Nothing had been done towards the recovery of Kambam and Gûdalûr from Travancore. The customs were badly managed. And the Renters' accounts were all false and unworthy of credence, as also were those of the Collector. The district in short was half ruined: but something might be done by inducing the leading ryots to rent their villages for terms of five years, and the acting Collector Mr. Wrangham would do all in his power to effect this change. If the ryots hung back, they must be urged by the threat of taking their lands under the direct management of Government officials, in which case there would be no chance of them evading their responsibilities. Lastly Mr. Wrangham must exert himself to introduce order and obedience into a country in which order and obedience seemed to be unknown.

A few weeks after the receipt of this extract Mr McLeod resigned his post: and his *locum tenens* was confirmed as Collector. He remained in Dindigul only a very short time, during which he was called upon to report on certain abuses; and in December he was changed to another district, Mr. Wynch taking his place.

This gentleman had scarcely taken charge of his office when he received a letter from Captain Oliver, the Commanding Officer of the district, to the effect that the Palani and Âyakudi Poligars were engaged in open hostilities, and "the continuance of such irregularities must be attended with loss not only to the inhabitants but to the revenue of the country" A few days later he received a com-

plaint from one of Tippu's officers that the Palani Poligar was plundering on the other side of the British boundary And in January several of the Poligars neglected to attend his summons to Dindigul.

Although he was perfectly ignorant of the state and usages of the country, and had seen enough during the few weeks he had spent in it to warn a sensible man against the danger of acting hastily and without consideration, Mr Wynch thought proper in January 1795 to make a settlement with the Poligars without previously consulting the Board, and without waiting for the orders which he knew they were about to pass on a detailed proposition which had been submitted to them for consideration and approval by his predecessor. The Board felt compelled to sanction Mr. Wynch's proceedings: but they expressed their disapproval of them in their report to Government of the 29th of January, and Government concurred entirely in their view.

The Collector's letters of January February and March show that he was very easily misled by the lying representations of the Poligars' agents and of his own servants, and that disturbances were imminent. The Poligar of Thêvathânapatti had died, and whilst the Board were deliberating as to whom they ought to appoint in his place, Gôpia Nâyakkan, the Poligar of Sandeiyûr, laid claim to the pâleiyam and declined to enter into any engagement for the payment of his arrears of tribute until his claim was allowed. And in the meanwhile he was otherwise misbehaving himself in an extraordinary manner An order had been issued to detach the Âyakudi pâleiyam from the Palani, of which it was and had for sometime been an appendage, and to separately assess it with a tribute of one thousand Chakrams. The Poligar of Palani objected to this proceeding very strongly, and refused to pay his tribute. And it was reported that he had armed a thousand followers and was about to march to Bôdi-Nâyakkan-ûr. The Virupâkshi Poligar had rejected the Collector's Sanad and customary presents, and had laid claim to the Kanninâdi pâleiyam, the owner of which had lately died in confinement. The Kambam and Gûdalûr districts had not been given up, and the Travancore manager of them was committing all kinds of excesses. The situation was therefore discouraging but worse things were to be expected and shortly afterwards happened. In April the Collector determined to make a tour up the valley which lies between the Palani mountains and the Varshanâd and Ândipatti range with the object of inspecting

the pâleiyams situated in it, and so enabling himself to form a just estimate of their value. He marched up the valley with a very small escort, and when he arrived at the boundaries of the Bôdi-Nâyak-kan-ûr pâleiyam he was stopped and informed that he could not be permitted to proceed: and more than this his Peons were fired on from a fort. On the 26th of April he reported this occurrence to the Board and informed them at the same time that the Bôdi-Nayakkan had armed some said six hundred men, some a thousand.

In May the Vadagarei Poligar was sending Peons to the assistance of Bôdi-Nâyakkan, and the Palani and Âyakudi Poligars were both arming, and the Virupâkshi had opposed the Collector's progress. Besides this Appâji Kaûndan of Kômbei was stirring up disturbances in the Kambam valley And lastly Mr Stodart, the Collector's Assistant, who had been sent up the valley to enquire and report, had behaved very badly. and the Collector wrote to the Board to the effect that there was a regular combination against him (the Collector), and that he could do nothing unless strenuously backed up by the Board.

In June a proclamation of the Government was addressed to all Poligars requiring them under pain of immediate punishment to abstain forthwith from arming, and ordering them to obey the Collector in all things. This appears to have had a good effect; and the apprehended disturbances were prevented for a time.

The earliest report on Dindigul to be found in the Record Office is that of Mr. Wynch, dated November the 24th, 1795. It contains a considerable amount of information once of a useful nature; but possesses now little or no interest, except for the antiquarian. And as it was written apparently with no particular object in view, and constructed on no particular plan, and contains information only of the minutest kind, such as the number of houses in such and such a village, the names of the then Nâttânmei-kârans, the distance from one place to another and the like, it will not be possible to make much use of it in this manual. I shall however exhibit a few of its statements, with a view to enable the reader to compare the state of things in Mr. Wynch's time with that described by Mr. Hurdis a few years later.

The whole province was believed by Mr. Wynch to contain in al 6,89,005¼ *kulis* of land. The Government lands amounted to 3,02,568⅛ *kulis*, and comprised 7,077 odd *cheys* of Nanjey and

2,74,259 odd *kulis* of Punjey and might properly be divided into six Tâluks, namely 1, the Kambam, which had been recently given up by the Râja of Travancore; 2, the Utthama-pâleiyam; 3, the Periyakolam; 4, the Ândipatti; 5, the Vattila-gundu; and 6, the Kasbâ or principal, Tâdikambu. Of these the first was under *Amâni* or direct Collectorial management, and the remaining five had been farmed out to Renters in November 1794 for terms of five years. The remainder of the province consisted of twenty-four pâleiyams, of which the names were the following, viz:—

1. Kômbei
2. Erachaka-Nâyakkan-ûr
3. Thêvâram.
4. Bôdi-Nâyakkan-ûr.
5. G'hantappa-Nâyakkan-ûr
6. Vadagarei.
7 Thêvathânapatti.
8. Tottiyan-kôttei
9 Nila-kôttei.
10. Ammaya-Nâyakkan-ûr.
11 Ambatâra.
12 Tavasu-madei
13. Emakalâpuram.
14. Maranût.
15. Madûr.
16. Shokkampatti
17 Erriyôdu.
18. Palliyappa-Nâyakkan-ûr
19 Ideiya-kôttei.
20 Mâmbâra
21. Palani.
22. Âyakudi
23. Virupâkshi.
24. Kannivâdi.

Each of these paid an annual tribute. And they comprised together 3,83,156⅝ kulis of land, the Nanjey amounting to 4,262¼ cheys.

The report then goes on to give a description of the villages which formed the Tâlûks, showing their extent, cultivation, kists, manufactures, taxes, and many other particulars And it also gives full particulars of two routes across the mountains, the one from Gûdalûr to Cochin, the other from Gûdalûr to Travancore.

Having described the Circar or Government villages, Mr. Wynch gives a short account of each of the pâleiyams, of which the following is an abstract:—

I. *Kômbei* was a well cultivated and flourishing estate. It was estimated that it would produce about 3,000 Chakrams per annum; and the tribute proposed was 1,500, or 950 more than had previously been paid. But as Hanumanthapatti had been assumed the actual increase would be over 2,000.

Appâji Kaûndan, the Poligar, a man of the Kâppili caste and of

peaceable habits, maintained about 100 armed Peons; but he was in a position to raise a much larger number at a very short notice, as most of his ryots held their lands on a light rent, subject to the condition of serving as Peons when required. Kômbei was one of the only four pâleiyams which were not sequestered by the Sultân

II. *Erachaka-Nâyakkan-ûr* produced 500 Chakrams. The lands were in a bad condition, owing perhaps to the Poligar being a boy only eleven years old, and the pâleiyam being managed by a Pradâni who received orders from the Poligar of G'hantappa-Nâyakkan-ûr. The pâleiyam ought to produce 1,000 Chakrams. But no increase of tribute could as yet be hoped for, as the minority which had lasted for nine years had not nearly come to an end, and things could hardly mend under such circumstances. This pâleiyam also had not been sequestered by the Sultân. The Poligar was of the Kambala caste.

III. *Thêvâram* was in a shamefully neglected state, and produced only 357 Chakrams instead of 1,700 which it was certainly capable of producing. The Poligar, a middle aged man of the Kambala caste, had been taken prisoner and made a Mussulman by the Sultân. On the assumption of the country by the British Government, the Poligar was restored and paid 110 Chakrams tribute. Mr Wynch proposed assessing the pâleiyam at 500 Chakrams The Poligar was the son-in-law of Bôdi-Nâyakkan, and much under his influence · nothing was known against him

IV. *Bôdi-Nâyakkan-ûr* was a large and very fine pâleiyam, computed to contain 310 cheys of Nanjey and 51,920 kulis of Punjey, of which however by far the greater portion consisted of hills and jungles. It produced according to Mr. Wynch's computation 7,000 Chakrams per annum. It was said to have produced formerly 12,000; but under sequestration never yielded more than 7,500. The pâleiyam contained thirty villages, of which nine were on the hills and little known. The Nanjey was watered from a large tank, and by three channels which were taken off from two rivers the Têniyâr and Varatâr. The Poligar, Tirumala Bôdi-Nâyakkan of the Kambala caste, had behaved very badly when Mr. Wynch first came to the district: but had repented of his conduct and was now very obedient The hill villages were said to have been taken possession of by the Poligar about forty years previously; but when the Râja of Travancore took possession of Gûdalûr he handed them over to the

Pûneiyâtthu Râja, who enjoyed them for two years. In 1793 Bâdi-Nâyakkan recovered them; and since that time the Poligar of Palani had made several attempts to wrest them from him

When sequestered by the Sultân, the pâleiyam paid a tribute of 3,500 Chakrams; but Mr. Wynch was convinced that it could well bear a tribute of 5,000.

V *G'hantappa-Nayakkan-ûr* was a large but barren estate; consisting mainly of jungles, and containing only fifty cheys of Nanjey It was besides in very bad order, owing perhaps to most of its inhabitants being employed as watching Peons. Under Amâni management it had produced 4,500 Chakrams; and there was no reason to suppose, that it had ever produced more than 5,000. The tribute was 1,900, and Mr Wynch proposed raising it to not more than 2,500.

VI *Vadagarei* was a fine pâleiyam, but not in good order. It produced 6,500 Chakrams, and might produce a little more if well managed The Poligar, Râmab'hadra Nâyakkan was fifty-five years old, and a Telugu. He had behaved badly some little time previously. but was now quiet and obedient.

VII. *Thêvathânapatti* was in a very bad condition, through having been without an owner for some time Gôpia Nâyakkan claimed to be its Poligar but had received no Sanad. It produced about 4000 Chakrams The Poligar was Nalladâdu Nâyakkan, a young man of the Kambala caste, and had been adopted with the permission of the Company by the widow of the deceased Poligar, and invested on the 22nd March 1795, on condition of paying a tribute of 3,100 Chakrams. The Sultân had assessed the pâleiyam at 5,000 Chakrams; but Mr. Wynch thought that it could not pay more than it was paying.

VIII *Tottiyan-kôttei* produced about 1,600 Chakrams. In the Sultân's time it paid a tribute of 850, but Mr Wynch thought that its present tribute of 800 was as much as it could fairly bear, at all events for the present. The Poligar was Dodappa Nâyakkan, a man of the Kambala caste about thirty-three years old, and well behaved.

IX *Nila-kôttei* was a very fine pâleiyam, consisting mainly of arable lands. Its supposed produce was about 9,000 Chakrams. It was formerly assessed at 6,000, and the tribute proposed was 7,000. But a certain amount of land was under dispute, and until the enquiry touching the boundaries of the pâleiyam had been concluded,

Mr. Wynch could not give a correct opinion with respect to its value. The Poligar Golappa Nâyakkan was a well behaved young man of the Kambala caste.

X. *Ammaya-Nâyakkan-ûr* was a very large estate comprising a considerable portion of hilly country, many parts of which were cultivated, and 305½ cheys of Nanjey As a whole it was in good order: and produced annually 11,000 Chakrams. It was assessed by the Sultân at 3,690, and was now paying 3,600 to the British Government, and also 1,450 to the Nabob Wallajah. Mr. Wynch proposed an increase of 2,400 Chakrams, which would bring up the total tribute to 7,450. It was now under the consideration of Government, who was to be made Poligar in succession to Kâtthıra Nâyakkan deceased

XI. *Ambatâra* was a small but compact pâleiyam, consisting mainly of cultivable Punjey lands, and was supposed to yield about 2,000 Chakrams per annum. The former tribute was 1,560 Chakrams, the present 1,500 which Mr. Wynch considered to be a fair and equitable assessment. The Poligar was Mobala Nâyakkan, a young man of the Kambala caste.

XII *Tavasu-madei* was a very small estate, hardly capable of paying its nominal tribute of 65 Pagodas The Poligar, Shodala Nâyakkan, was a young man of the Kambala caste, and bore a good character.

XIII *Emakalâpuram* was a small pâleiyam · but in first rate order, nearly all the arable lands being cultivated. The tribute had been 550 Chakrams; but it had been reduced to 450, which was as much as the estate could bear. The Poligar was a youth of the Kambala caste.

XIV. *Maranût* was a small, but compact and well ordered estate. The tribute had been raised from 550 to 600 Chakrams; and it might be raised still higher if certain lands in dispute were found to belong to the pâleiyam. The Poligar, Chinna Alakiri Nâyakkan, was of the Kambala caste.

XV. *Madûr* was a tolerably large estate; but in bad order owing to its proprietor having been considerably involved in debt. It had been put under Government management. The Poligar, Venkatasâmi Nâyakkan, was a man in the prime of life.

XVI. *Shokkampatti* also had been temporarily assumed on

account of its heavy outstanding balances It was not a very large estate, and was in the greatest disorder; while its inhabitants were completely poverty-stricken The Poligar was a young man of twenty, named Pallamuttu Nâyakkan He had given the Collector no trouble, and like the Poligar of Madûr had shown himself very amenable to reason.

XVII. *Erriyôdu* was a very fine pâleiyam containing twelve villages, thirty-nine hamlets, seven tanks, 139½ cheys of Nanjey, and more than 29,000 kulis of Punjey. It was supposed to produce 9,000 Chakrams per annum, but there was reason to believe that it was capable of producing much more, as it had suffered considerably from its proprietor being a minor, and from the interference of the money-lenders. The tribute had been reduced from 7,500 to 6,700 Chakrams The Poligar, Muttu Kumâra Vêlu Vella Kondama Nâyakkan, was a young man of twenty and apparently of a good disposition. Mr. Wynch thought that the tribute might very well be raised to what it had been.

XVIII. *Palliyappa-Nâyakkan-ûr* was a small pâleiyam in a ruinous condition, producing perhaps 400 Chakrams. The proprietor, Palliappa Nâyakkan of the Kambala caste, was an absentee and much to blame for neglecting his estate. The tribute was 1,000 Chakrams and Mr. Wynch was of opinion that it could not be raised, the estate being incapable however well managed of producing more than 2,000 chakrams

XIX. *Ideiya-kôttei* was a very fine pâleiyam; but like Erriyôdu and for like reasons, in a bad condition. The tribute was 2,337 Chakrams and 5 fanams, but might properly be raised. The Poligar was a fine-spirited youth of the Kambala caste, guided by the advice of the Mâmbâra Poligar, a man of ability and conduct.

XX. *Mâmbâra* was a compact little estate, highly cultivated and in remarkably good order. It was one of those which the Sultân did not sequester. The tribute was 400 Chakrams, and ought not to be increased. The Poligar, Sakaram Tomma Nâyakkan, of the Kambala caste was an exceedingly well behaved man

XXI. *Palani* was decidedly the richest pâleiyam in the district. The Company had reduced its tribute from 80,000 Rupees to 16,000 Chakrams, the pâleiyam having been divided into three divisions, Palani, Rattiambâdi and Âyakudi, of which the first was the principal. Shortly before Âyakudi had been altogether separated

from Palani, and become an independent pâleiyam. But Rattiambâdi still paid a tribute of 500 Chakrams to the Palani Poligar, and was perhaps capable of yielding 2,000 Chakrams gross It was proposed to raise the tribute of Palani to 25,000 Chakrams, but Mr. Wynch was doubtful whether so great an increase could be borne after Âyakudi had been separated from it The Poligar, Vêlâyuda Nâyakkan, of the Vêdar caste, was in confinement pending the order of the Board

XXII. *Âyakudi* was a very valuable estate, and had been decidedly the best portion of the Palani pâleiyam when attached thereto. It possessed ten well situated tanks and 311¼ cheys of Nanjey, and its lands were mostly arable It produced at least 8,000 Chakrams. The proposed tribute was 4,000 Chakrams. Mr. Wynch thought that it could well pay 5,000. The Poligar, Obala Kondama Nâyakkan, of the Vêdar caste, was a prisoner on the rock of Dindigul: Mr. Wynch did not know why.

XXIII. *Virupâkshi* was a very extensive pâleiyam, containing a large portion of hill country. It was in bad order and overrun with jungle. But things were mending fast; and it was to be hoped that it would produce in time 12,000 Chakrams per annum, instead of 9,000 which it was now yielding. Mr. Wynch proposed a tribute of 6,000 Chakrams The Poligar belonged to the Kambala caste and was a very old man; his name was Kuppala Nayakkan

XXIV. *Kannivâdi* was a very fine little district in capital order. It contained fourteen villages, forty-eight hamlets, nine tanks, 327 cheys of Nanjey and nearly 38,000 kulis of Punjey. When sequestered, it produced not more than 21,000 Chakrams Its tribute was 12,300 in the Sultan's time, but was reduced to 10,200 by the Company. Mr. Wynch thought that it might be raised to 15,000. The Poligar was a fine young fellow of the Kambala caste named Âdiyappa Nâyakkan

Mr. Wynch next remarks on the conduct and prospects of the Poligars. He writes thus :—" Having submitted the general remarks " on the Pollams I shall proceed to observe, that in general the " conduct of Poligars is much better, than could be expected " from a race of men, who have hitherto been excluded from those " advantages, which almost always attend conquered countries, on " intercourse with their conquerors. With the exception of a very " few, when I arrived, they had never even seen an European . and,

"so far from being impressed with a proper degree of confidence in, "and looking up to, the Circar as their protectors, they dread the "approach of Europeans. This, I am convinced, might easily be "gotten the better of. For, with the exception of Vallaid Naigue "and Gôpia Naigue, I have much pleasure in informing, that every "Poligar in the district has attended my Cutcherry. The influence of "Soucars is certainly an evil, but of no magnitude, when put in "competition with the baneful consequences, that ensue from "dubashes being authorised to act as Soucars. This has been parti- "cularly felt in these districts · for those Pollams in which Vencata- "chélum was permitted to act in this capacity are all in arrears, "Pylney, the Poligar prisoner; Gopu Naiguenoor sequestered, "Madoor and Chokamputty now under management; Yerreyadoo "and Yerracottah in arrears Having made the tour of all the "Pollams in the district, except Pylney, I am enabled to speak with "some degree of precision. I believe the total quantity of land to be "nearly correct; rather under, than over the real quantity. The "accounts were taken by my Huzûr Sumprity from the cadjans of "each village. In respect to the number of houses, they are not to "be considered as correct An house signifies a family, and it fre- "quently happens that one family occupy 3 or 4 houses. There are "no accounts of the exact number of inhabitants: this I shall "endeavour to obtain in future. In the Pollams, exclusive of hill "people, the population is estimated at about 96,000, and in the "Circar lands at about 66,000. This calculation is made on the "supposition, that every house in the Pollams contains 9 inhabitants, "and in the Circar villages 8, women and children above 10 years of "age being included Of this number above 10,000 are supposed to "be Christians. I am concerned that the short time I have been in "this district has prevented me from a possibility of seeing the "whole of the lands I have visited all the Rajadanies, and been "over a great part of the lands, to make proper survey of them "would require much time, more than I have been able to appropri- "ate to the purpose After the monsoon, the moment I am at "leisure, I propose making the tour of the hills. I think it very pro- "bable that I shall find many villages not mentioned in this report, "particularly in the hills of Veeroopatchy In addition I have only "to add, that in deviating from the orders of the Board respecting "the proposed tribute, I have been influenced entirely by a wish to "increase the revenues of this country. And I could not have held

"myself justified, had I withheld from your knowledge, that the
"Poligars were enabled to bear an increase of tribute amounting to
"12,000 annually. Should the proposed tribute 1,03,185 be adopted, it
"will bring the Pollams within 1,123 Chakarams of what they paid
"in the Sultan's time. And should Iagoody be assessed at 5,000
"in lieu of 4,000, the decrease will be very trifling indeed. At the
"expiration of these leases, I should conceive, the Circar lands might
"likewise be brought to their full value, and this little district pro-
"duce to the Company (which it did to the Sultaun) about 2
"lacks of Chakarams"

From the statements appended to the report it appears that the amounts of tribute paid by the Poligars were not calculated with reference to any fixed standard, but depended altogether upon circumstances. Probably in the then unsettled and declining state of the country the Officers of Government were content to collect what the Poligar was content to pay. This supposition would account for the great disproportion observable in many instances between the "present produce" of a pâleiyam, and the amount paid on its account by its owner For instance, the "present produce" of Erachaka-Nâyakkan-ûr was 600 Chakrams, but it paid only 170 to the Circar: and Tavasu-madei produced 200, but paid only 65. On the other hand Palani produced 30,000, and paid 16,000, and Ideiya-kôttei paid 2,537 and fanams five out of 4,000 Some paid exactly 40 per cent of the gross collections, as Mâmbâra whilst Shokkampatti paid half as much again as it produced, and Palliyappa-Nâyakkan-ûr nearly three times its produce! Mr. Wynch proposed to revise the Pêshkash of the district, but he does not inform us upon what principles. And from a comparison of the amounts proposed by him with those proposed by Mr Wrangham, and those collected under the Sultân's management, it would appear as though no fixed principle of assessment had been as yet thought of

Mr Wynch never wrote a second report on Dindigul. Under his management or no-management, the affairs of the district fell into so grievous a state of disorder and the revenue fell off so terribly, that it became necessary for Government to appoint a special Commission to go to Dindigul and set things right The members of this Commission were Mr Harington and Captain McLeod. They took charge of the district of Dindigul in the month of June 1796, and at once proceeded to investigate the causes which had produced the bad state of things which they found to be existent.

By August of the same year they had finished their work; and on the 31st of that month they despatched their report to Government.

From this report it appears that the Committee commenced operations by summoning the *Karnams* or accountants of the various villages to Dindigul, for the purpose of investigating their accounts and ascertaining what amounts had actually been collected from the ryots who held lands under Amâni management. They also sent for the Karnams of the Palani pâleiyam, and deputed responsible persons to the resumed pâleiyams Shokkampatti Madûr and Sandeiyûr to find out what the Amaldârs entrusted with the making of the collections in those parts had been doing, and how great a proportion of their collections they had brought to account, how much they had embezzled. The results thus obtained were not altogether to be depended upon For the Amaldârs had used every endeavour and every artifice to involve the accounts of their several divisions in confusion and obscurity. and it was far from easy to make out how their peculations had been concealed. Still some embezzlements had been brought to light In two villages of Palani for instance, the Committee discovered a deficit of no less than 722 and odd Star Pagodas. And on examination it turned out that the Karnams of that district were in the habit of setting down in their accounts as "Inâm" all the lands and even villages of which they retained or rather embezzled the collections.

In Madûr and Shokkampatti the Poligars, although supposed to have been dispossessed of all authority, had nevertheless been moving about with armed Peons annoying and intimidating the ryots and Karnams And not only had they secured for themselves some of the very best lands in the pâleiyams by making the Karnams write them down as "Inâm," but they had seriously interrupted the Honorable Company's collections and even collected on their own account And in Sandeiyûr the Company's collections had fallen off to Star Pagodas 280, owing to the disturbances caused by the Poligar Gôpia Nâyakkan and the intrigues of the Amaldârs.

In the Customs Department great abuses existed, of which some were brought to light. It appeared that there was a practise of exempting certain individuals from liability to pay customs; and it was impossible to say to what extent the revenue had suffered in consequence of this pernicious practice. And the Committee

discovered that the man whose name appeared on the list of public servants as that of the "Collector of Customs," did not actually hold that office but had merely bound himself to be answerable for another.

The Amaldârs appeared to have been under the influence and direction of the Collector's head servants, and so their accounts had not been properly checked. Their charges under the head of expenses of collection had been very high, indeed out of all reason The *batta* for the Sepoys allowed for their protection amounted alone to upwards of 3,000 Star Pagodas in a twelvemonth

The Circar lands had been let out on five-year leases before Mr Wynch came to the district, and two years of the term of these leases (Fasly 1204 and 1205) had expired. On examining the accounts furnished by the lessees, and comparing them with those of preceding years, the Committee came to the conclusion that the lessees had fabricated false returns, and had used every possible means to keep Government in ignorance of the real value of the Circar lands. And when the Committee set about measuring and appraising some of the Circar villages, the Renter, Appâji Pillei, went so far as to cause all the ryots to desert their lands, fearing lest they should give information prejudicial to his interests There was no doubt whatever that these lands were far more valuable than they were represented to be, and it was only necessary to examine the accounts of former years in order to become convinced that this was the case.

Many alienations of lands and of rights to customs had been made without authority by the native servants in public employ, who it seemed habitually intrigued with the most influential men in the district These alienations the Committee were of opinion must be at once resumed. And two men, Kumâra Pillei and his son Appâji Pillei, who had been proved to have done an immense amount of harm by fraudulently procuring these alienations to be made, and by systematically working with the Collector's under-strappers in under-valuing the Circar's possessions, and also by helping the Poligars to make improper annexations, ought to be banished for ever from the district. Their machinations would thus be stopped and their fate would be a salutary warning to others. The son was a Renter, and the father had very improperly been allowed to be his surety

The Committee had put the pair in confinement on discovering this fact: and they now wished to have them permanently removed. There would be no difficulty on account of Appâji Pillei's lease not having yet expired, for he had violated his engagements by falling in arrears with his kists, and by making improper alienations of lands; and also by neglecting to give *pattas* to his ryots Consequently the lease might be declared forfeited whenever Government might think proper to take it from him.

So too all the other Renters had fallen into arrears, and had been guilty of practises similar to those of Appâji Pillei. And the Committee strongly recommended evicting every one of them. They had oppressed the ryots by undue exactions, having neglected to give them pattas; they had allowed the tanks to go to ruin; and they had caused many people to emigrate to the adjoining pâleiyams, where arable lands were abundant and settlers encouraged A great improvement in the revenue of the district might reasonably be expected if these farms were resumed, and the lands put under Amâni management. It was true indeed that some of the Renters had paid up their arrears within thirty days, when called upon to do so. But by this compliance with orders they could not be held to have atoned for all the violations of their engagements above enumerated.

With regard to the Poligars generally, the Committee were of opinion that the Pêshkash then collected from them was far too light They had scrutinized the accounts of the pâleiyams which had been given in during the previous administrations of Venkata Râu, Mîr Sahêb, and Syed Sahêb and they saw no reason to suppose that the pâleiyams were unable to yield again as much revenue as they had when administered by those Officers They propose therefore to raise the Pêshkash of each Poligar from 14 to 28 per cent, and to settle with him for a period of ten years. The data on which they calculated the proposed Pêshkash were of course imperfect. and the Collector would probably find it necessary thereafter to suggest modifications in their rates. But it would be well to give the Poligars confidence in the Company's Government, reserving at the same time the power of setting limits to their wealth and strength, should it be found that their resources had been underrated. The gross revenue derivable from the pâleiyams according to the Committee's calculations would amount to 37,342 Star Pagodas per annum. And

the Pêshkash payable by each Poligar had been calculated with the view of allowing him to keep a certain number of armed Peons for protection against the Kallans, and in addition one-third of the computed value of his lands.

Whilst the ten-year leases were running the pâleiyams should be throughly surveyed by scientific men; every fortified place should be razed to the ground as soon as discovered; roads at least one hundred feet broad should be constructed through their centres; and a strong force of Sepoys should be posted at Dindigul. By these means, and these means only, the more turbulent Chieftains would be reduced to submission and security would be permanently established. The Poligars habitually supported one the other, and it were useless to expect them to give up their lawless courses and predatory habits, so long as they were able to flee to their jungly retreats and there laugh at the Collector's authority. Strong measures must be adopted in dealing with them: and in each case the very first act of contumacy on the part of a Poligar must entail the absolute forfeiture for ever of his pâleiyam

And the more effectually to curb the turbulent and independent spirit evinced on all occasions by these men, it was of the last importance that Government should deprive them at once of the privilege of guarding the country from robbers by means of large establishments of armed Peons. For the supposed performance of this duty they were allowed to collect *Kâvali* or watching fees from the Government villages and they thus gained an influence and authority over the ryots which were highly undesirable and indeed productive of the worst consequences. The claim to this privilege, put forward by those who enjoyed it was altogether abortive, and rested on an enjoyment of but a very few years. Mîr Sahêb and Syed Sahêb had disallowed it; and no abatement had been made in the Pêshkash in consideration of the Poligars not being allowed to enjoy the watching fees And the present Government had taken into its own hands the protection of the district and performed the duty so effectively that latterly the greatest security had prevailed in every part, and travellers went everywhere without fear or annoyance. The adoption of the proposed measure would doubtless meet with some opposition on the part of the Poligars, as the Kâvali was one of their most highly cherished privileges. But this inconvenience would be only temporary, and might well be endured.

Certain of the Poligars had assumed to themselves the right of collecting road-customs without the limits of their respective pâleiyams This assumption was unwarranted, and the practice must be at once discontinued. And further the Committee were of opinion that the Poligars ought not to be allowed to collect road-customs within their limits. They assuredly would never obey any rules prescribed for their guidance, and would always abuse the power entrusted to them. Trade and commerce could not but languish, if the Poligars were allowed to harass merchants travelling to and fro.

The boundaries of the different pâleiyams had not been properly defined; and disputes constantly arose between rival claimants of lands and villages. It was therefore very necessary to specify in the new leases the particular limits of each pâleiyam And the Collector would thus be relieved from the annoyance which was continually being caused to him by Poligars laying claim to Circar tracts of land. The Poligar of Virupâkshi had not only set up unfounded claims of this nature . he had actually annexed twenty-two villages, which had been settled by Captain McLeod in 1793 during the adjustment of the boundaries of the ceded districts. This matter must be looked to. Not only were these villages not within the limits of this Chieftain's estate, they were divided from it by an intervening separate pâleiyam. He must therefore be required either to give up these villages and all the sums which he had collected from them, or to pay an increase of Pêshkash proportionate to their gross value.

With regard to the four resumed pâleiyams Palani, Madûr, Shokkampatti, and Sandeiyûr —It was for Government to decide whether the Poligar of Palani had forfeited his rights The Committee thought that he had, and recommended the publishing of a proclamation to that effect, and the confinement of the Poligar in some place so distant from Dindigul that no sinister influence could be exercised by him over the ryots of his lost possessions. Rattiambâdi being dependent on Palani had been placed under management, and the Poligar ordered to pay up his arrears, and to give in his Muchilikâ. The Poligars of Madûr and Shokkampatti had been permitted to reside within the limits of their territories, on condition that they maintained no armed men in their employ; and an allowance had been made for their support But it was questionable, looking to the obstinate and disobedient characters of these Poligars, whether it

would not be better in future to place defaulters in confinement the moment an arrear of tribute accrued against them, and afterwards remove them from within the limits of their estates, if it were found that they attempted by any means to throw impediments in the way of the Company making its collections and ascertaining the real value of the lands The Poligar of Sandeiyûr had withheld payment of his *kists* or instalments of tribute. but had not been guilty of any other kind of misbehaviour; and it would be sufficient therefore to keep his estate under attachment pending the liquidation of his arrears.

The pâleiyam of Erriyôdu had shortly before been declared forfeited for ever, in conformity with the orders of Government. It had latterly been much on the decline and its revenue had fallen off very considerably: but under good management things would probably return to their old level.

The report then goes on to speak of the evils which attended the practises of employing *Dubâshis* or interpreters in dealing with Poligars, and allowing Poligars to send Vakeels to represent them at the Collector's office. These two classes of men intrigued together, and so misrepresented every transaction as to bring about all kinds of frauds and mistakes. And it was moreover not advisable that the Poligars' dignity should be swelled by the Collector having their agents always in attendance The Committee recommended therefore that the employment of these pestilent go-betweens should be discontinued. The Collector might send for the Poligars when it was necessary for him to see them. And when a Poligar desired to communicate with the Collector, he might send him a letter by a messenger. It was essential that the Poligars should learn to trust in and rely on the good faith of the Honorable Company's representatives: and this revolution in their feelings could never be effected so long as Dubâshis and Vakeels were suffered to practise their deceitful arts

There was another class of persons which needed to be most carefully watched and checked, namely the *Pradânis* or native ministers employed by the Poligars. These men used to worm themselves into the confidence of their masters by ministering to their vices and pleasures; and having contrived to get the entire management of the pâleiyams into their own hands, exercised a sway which was tantamount to an absolute despotism. It might bear hardly perhaps on the Poligars to forbid them employing native managers at all. but it

would be a very good thing if Government asserted and exercised the right of summarily dismissing any manager whose management had been proved to have been injurious to the people and inconsistent with the good government of the country.

So too it was incumbent on the Collector to do what he could to check the evil practises of the *Sâucars* or bankers, who lent money to the Poligars at an exorbitant rate of interest and greatly impoverished them. See ante page 16. Much might be done by him communicating directly with the Poligars; and by the instalments of their tribute being so adjusted as to render unnecessary any anticipation of income.

A great loss of revenue had been and still was being occasioned both to Government and to the Poligars by the circulation in the district of many descriptions of coins, and by the calculation of all payments in *Kali Chakrams*, of which denomination no coins were really in existence. The money changers made immense gains by changing Star Pagodas, Porto Novo Pagodas, Pondicherry Rupees, and many other coins, at exorbitant rates of exchange. And besides it was very troublesome to calculate payments of tribute in Kali Chakrams The Committee therefore proposed that in future payments should always be calculated in Kali Fanams, the currency proper to the district, and that tables should be prepared for the purpose of calculating the value of all the commoner coins in relation to this standard. They proposed also that a quantity of *cash* should be coined at once, and thrown into circulation, as great inconvenience was felt in consequence of there being no copper coins in the district.

The Committee then suggested the feasibility of the Company establishing a depôt for country cloths at Dindigul, which was only ninety miles from the sea-port town of Tondi And they recommended in the strongest terms the opening up of a road to the Malabar Coast The distance from the Dindigul district was only thirty or forty miles, and the road might be made easily, and without great expense. The advantages to be expected from connecting the two coasts were considerable. Commerce would be extended, and in a political point of view the Company would gain a vast accession of strength. The report then winds up with a favorable notice of the conduct of the Secretary to the Committee, Mr George Read. His knowledge of the Malabar (Tamil ?) tongue had been most useful.

On the 23rd of September Mr. Harington, the President of the Committee, gave over the charge of the district to Mr. Hurdis And on the 30th he sent off a separate report, containing certain information which had not been furnished in the joint report of the Committee. According to this the only Poligar who had set at defiance the authority of the Commissioners, was he of Erriyôdu; who had run away owing Government an irrecoverable balance of Star Pagodas 3,436 odd, at the time when his pâleiyam was declared forfeited for ever, namely on the 17th of August It was a good property, and would soon indemnify the Company for the loss which they had sustained. Its proper value, when fully cultivated, was from 16 to 18,000 Chakrams · and arrangements had been made to effect village settlements with its principal inhabitants, partly for money partly for grain.

This mode of settlement seemed the best possible to Mr. Harington; and he wished to have it adopted in all the pâleiyams then under management for the current Fasli. He had concluded settlements with the Circar villages of Vattila-gundu, Ganguvârpatti and Chinnampatti, after sequestering the farms of their Renters who had neglected to pay up on demand the balances which they owed: and he had sequestered the farms of all the other Renters in anticipation of the orders of the Board. The customs he had put up to auction, and farmed out to the highest bidders for sums amounting in all to 5,266 Chakrams By this means the Customs Amaldâr would be relieved of a quantity of troublesome business.

Mr. Harington had issued Sanads for the current Fasli to all the Poligars but seven. The issue was conditional on there being no outstanding balances against the recipients: and these seven Poligars had failed to pay up what they owed. Moreover two of them had been behaving exceptionally badly, and allowing robberies to be committed very frequently within the limits of their pâleiyams. An immediate example should be made of them. A day should be fixed before which to pay up their arrears, and on default their estates should be taken away from them for ever This severity would frighten the rest into good behaviour

The Âyakudi pâleiyam had been made over to the rightful heir, one Hobia, and a Sanad granted to him. But the Board's orders had not been carried out with regard to Ammaya-Nâyakkan-ûr, as the heir to it, Kondaya Nâyakkan, had not paid up his balance and had

done nothing to check robberies on the high road to Madura. It would be well if Government resumed his estate, and so showed their displeasure at his refractory behaviour. The Poligars of Madûr and Shokkampatti had come in and talked about discharging the arrears due by them: but their proposals were quite unreasonable and could not be listened to for a moment.

Upon receipt of the report of the Dindigul Committee, and of the remarks passed by the Board of Revenue thereon, Government laid down certain rules for the instruction of the new Collector, Mr Hurdis, in their Minutes of Consultation in the Revenue Department under date 23rd December 1796.

With regard to the resumption of such alienations as had been made after the conquest of the Province, Government were of opinion that this very necessary measure required delicate treatment. The Collector was to confine his enquiries to the period subsequent to the capture of Dindigul; and no resumption of any kind was to be carried out until duly sanctioned by Government.

The banishment of Kumâra Pillei and his son was ordered in the following words, viz:—

"From a full conviction of the danger and inconvenience which "may be apprehended from such characters as Kumâra Pillei and "his son, Appâji Pillei, and in consideration of the corrupt influence "and intrigue, which they appear by the report of the Committee to "have actually put in motion the Board acquiesce in the recommend- "ation for their expulsion from the Province of Dindigul; Resolved, "therefore to direct that the Assistant Collector do require them to "remove themselves, their families and effects within three months "from his notification of this order, which to be made in writing."

With regard to the treatment of Inâms, Government did not concur in the views of the Committee touching the advisability of admitting the validity of only such grants or Sanads as had been granted by Tippu Sultân, Mîr Sahêb, and Syed Sahêb. They decided on the adoption of a far more liberal and unrestricted method of dealing with incumbents, and laid down the following rule —"The "Board are of opinion that every Inamdar, who was in actual legal 'possession at the time, when the province was subjected to the "Company's authority should be left to the free enjoyment of this "Inam, and that such of the present incumbents, as may be ejected

"upon this principle, should be supported for life by Rozenah from "the Collector's Cutcherry: Resolved, therefore, to desire that the "Board of Revenue will carry this resolution into effect."

The farmers of the Circar lands had forfeited their farms by neglecting to pay their kists when due, and this was quite a sufficient reason for evicting them. But it would be more politic to put forward the circumstances of them having neglected to give pattas to their ryots, having made unauthorized alienations of revenue, and having allowed the tanks to go to ruin, as the principal grounds upon which their dispossession of their farms had been ordered: and the Collector would remember this when he proceeded to evict them.

There were not sufficient data available upon which to conclude a ten-year settlement with the Poligars As soon as the leases of the present year fell in, Mr. Hurdis would conclude a settlement for three years.

The pâleiyams should by all means be surveyed, as recommended, and roads should be opened up through their centres: but the Poligars should be made to effect these improvements themselves.

Troops would be sent to and posted at Dindigul in sufficient numbers to maintain Governmental authority; but it appeared hardly necessary to keep an overwhelming force in the province for the mere purpose of overawing fractious Chiefs. The new Collector had experienced no difficulty in carrying out the sequestration of Thêvathânapatti; and it seemed possible that the Poligars might not prove so inveterate in opposition to the Circar as the Committee apprehended. It however might be imprudent to deprive them all at once of their Kâvali fees; especially as it was impossible just then to check disturbances by moving up a large body of regular troops. What the Collector must chiefly depend upon, was a firm and just administration of the province. The evils which had befallen his district were mainly attributable to the loose and irregular system of management adopted by his predecessors. It was for him to set things to rights by tact and energy and firmness.

Government were not prepared to sanction the immediate resumption of all such lands and villages as might appear in the opinion of the Collector to belong to the Circar. Better proof of title was required than the mere opinion of an official. But the Virupâkshi Poligar must be called upon at once to give up the twenty-two

villages which he had annexed to his territories. As however he had not been called upon to do this before, he need not give up all the moneys which he had previously collected from them.

The Palani pâleiyam must be declared forfeited on account of the bad conduct of the late Poligar. But this was an exceptional case. Government were unwilling to lay down any strict rule, to be observed invariably in all cases of misconduct on the part of Poligars These men had been badly managed, and were deserving of some compassion and tenderness. In future it would be the duty of the Collector to lay before Government the particulars of each case, as it arose; and Government would dispose of it equitably on its merits.

The remarks of the Committee with regard to the employment of Dubâshis and Vakeels were very judicious. The employment of the former would become less frequent, now that Assistant Collectors were compelled to learn the vernaculars of their districts, the employment of the latter should be at once discontinued. And the district would be at once furnished with a copper currency.

The pâleiyams of Golappa Nâyakkan and Pûjâri Nâyakkan must not be sequestered, as recommended in Mr Harington's separate report. The latter had atoned for his misconduct; and the former would likely pay up his arrears, if properly warned of the consequences which would follow on his not doing so. He must therefore be allowed a month's grace. And Kondaya Nâyakkan also must be allowed another trial. If he went on in the same courses as hitherto, he must be dispossessed of his estate: but it was to be hoped that his conduct would alter under the auspices and guidance of an abler Collector

CHAPTER II.

Mr. Collector Hurdis.—He keeps the Poligars in order.—Their disaffection.—The disturbances of 1798.—*The field-survey.—The permanent settlement of Dindigul.—It breaks down.—Mr. Hurdis' great report abstracted.*

Mr. Hurdis took charge of the Dindigul district in the month of September 1796, in the circumstances explained in the last chapter

He seems to have contrived to keep the Poligars in something like order for a short while by the exercise of a sound judgment, and by firmness combined with moderation But it was impossible for a Collector at this time, unless he had a large force of troops at his command, to enforce obedience amongst the angry and disaffected chiefs of Dindigul. Some of them had lost their ancestral estates; and were wild with grief and indignation. And the others, doubtless for the first time since the death of the founder of their order, had been called upon by a superior Government to give up all the pomp and circumstance of war for ever and live for the future the life of a wretched Chetti or Vellâlan. They had always looked upon robbery deeds of violence and murder as their special amusements, and they were now compelled to give up their time-honored practices and live tamely and virtuously on the produce of their estates

It was unlikely that peace and order could be long maintained whilst this was the state of feeling throughout the country. And in 1797 a torch was applied to the inflammable spirits whom it was Mr. Hurdis' business to control, in the shape of a revolt in Râmnâd which will be hereafter described. Soon after this event took place the more daring and rebellious of the Poligars of Dindigul began to raise disturbances in every quarter. And the correspondence of 1798 is replete with notices of the misdeeds of various Poligars. He of Maranût had committed murder and other crimes, and the officers of justice were anxiously endeavouring to secure his person. The dispossessed Poligar of Nila-kôttei, Golappa Nâyakkan, joined Râmaya Nâyakkan the dispossessed Poligar of Sâpatûr in an attack upon Nila-kôttei; but was gallantly repulsed by the Mahometan Tahsildar in command of the fort. Another armed party descended upon Palani and the neighbouring country. And in other parts of the district there were other risings and disturbances.

It appears however that there was little or no connection between the various armed leaders and gangs of rioters and plunderers who set the Collector's authority in Dindigul at defiance in 1797 and the following years : and no attack was made upon the Collector's station or camp. Each man pursued with more or less ardour what he conceived to be his own interests, without in the very slightest degree attempting to further those of any of his fellows in misfortune or crime And generally speaking the various acts of rebellion were separated from one another by intervals of time and space, in such a manner that Mr Hurdis was enabled to deal with each as it occurred, and was never placed in a situation of danger Indeed it seems probable that he was at no time prevented from carrying on the public business as usual: although there were occasionally some thousands of rioters moving about from village to village, and committing depredations of all kinds, unchecked

In May 1799 the news of the capture of Seringapatam arrived at Dindigul, and produced the happiest results Those who were disaffected but hesitated to incur the displeasure of the British Government, were in a moment awed into obedience and those who were most deeply implicated in the rebellion, rapidly lost heart and began to relax their efforts

By November the peace of the district had been sufficiently restored to admit of the Collector reporting to the Board in a letter, dated 20th November 1799, that some of the Poligars who had erred from ignorance and folly rather than from wilful wickedness, might very well be pardoned The youthful Poligar of Ideiya-kôttei was much to be pitied. His education had been altogether neglected, and he had fallen into bad hands. His uncle was entirely answerable for the attack upon the fort, alluded to above And the young owner of Erriyôdu had been led astray by the Poligar of Virupâkshi

The Poligars generally seemed disposed to be quiet at the end of the year 1799 . and Mr Hurdis was enabled accordingly to begin the great work of surveying and assessing the greater part of the Dindigul district field by field

From the day on which he became Collector, he had been working unremittingly at the task of establishing a revenue system on a rational and permanent basis; and a large measure of success had attended his efforts Year by year the revenues increased in amount, and the inhabitants of the country became more peaceful and more

prosperous. And although the settlement which he ultimately effected, and which is about to be described, has been considerably modified in its details; whilst many of his laborious calculations have been condemned as being incorrect and faulty in principle: still the general prosperity of the district may undoubtedly be said to date from his accession to power, and the revenue system which now prevails in Dindigul is undoubtedly Mr Hurdis' original system, developed and improved.

When he had succeeded in acquiring a sufficiently thorough and practical knowledge of the local peculiarities of his district, Mr. Hurdis was ordered to carry out the field-survey, and to furnish the Board of Revenue with a detailed report such as would enable them to arrange a Permanent Settlement in accordance with the policy which at that time was being strenuously advocated and urged. Great minuteness and accuracy in details were required, and accordingly he took the greatest pains to ascertain with precision the actual state and future prospects of his district: and after completing his researches and thoroughly surveying the province, he drew up his well-known report, replete with information of all kinds and accompanied by a vast number of carefully prepared figured statements, which are even now constantly referred to and held to be of the very greatest authority

Unfortunately however Mr. Hurdis committed a great error of judgment. He over-estimated the capabilities of the district, and over-assessed the ryots In consequence of this mistake the newly created Zamindârs or land-lords amongst whom the lands of Dindigul were parcelled out were wholly unable to satisfy the demands of Government, based on Mr. Hurdis' calculations: and as we shall hereafter see it very soon became necessary to abandon the Permanent Settlement of Dindigul.

It was found that the estimates of the Collector were radically wrong, as being referential to a standard of productiveness which the district had never been known to reach in former times; and which there was no good ground for supposing it would ever reach in future. They were arbitrary; and had not been based according to the usual plan, on the average amount of collections actually made during a series of years.

The field-survey was carried on slowly with the greatest care and caution, and took about three years to finish. As it proceeded, three-year cowles or leases upon progressive rents were granted at the end of each year to the ryots who held the lands of which the survey had

been completed within that year, and were so conditioned that the rates payable in the last year of the term should be the rates permanently assessed upon those lands. Thus the lands of which the survey was completed in 1800 were let on a lease which expired in 1802-3, and in that year yielded the full survey rates; others were leased in 1801-2, and paid the full assessment in 1803-4; and the remainder paid the full assessment in 1804-5. In this last year therefore the permanent settlement came into full operation.

The permanent settlement having broken down, no attempt was ever made to make a second settlement of a like nature. The lands were variously disposed of, and the assessment fixed by Mr. Hurdis was gradually revised and modified by his successors, until it arrived at its present state

In order to show clearly the nature and extent of these revisions and modifications, it will be necessary to give abstracts of the various reports connected with them in the order in which they were severally made, and the substance of Mr Hurdis' report must be given at some length, as that document is the key to all knowledge obtainable with respect to the revenue system of Dindigul Beginning with this report, and taking the others in order, it will be easy to notice shortly in the intervals between the abstracts such facts as may be necessary to be known in order to understand the full meaning of the reports themselves, and so to present in a condensed but intelligible form the main facts which constitute the history of the revenue settlement of Dindigul

At the time when Mr. Hurdis was engaged in preparing his report, twelve of the pâleiyams had been sequestered for various reasons, and of these twelve three had been declared to have escheated, and three to have been forfeited to Government for ever. The lands of these six escheated and forfeited pâleiyams were at once incorporated into the *Ayan* or ordinary Government lands. and in carving them out as required into *Zamindâris* with a view to their perpetual settlement, it was not necessary for Mr. Hurdis to have regard to their ancient boundaries. It was sufficient for him to join together in groups so many of their villages as seemed to be sufficient for the purpose, and propose to constitute the groups Zamindâris. But the other sequestered pâleiyams might very possibly be returned to their proprietors; and could not be thus treated. Their boundaries must be preserved for the present · and it was necessary to constitute each of them a separate Zamindâri, with a view to it being returned in

that form to its owner, if Government thought fit. Or if it was very large, it might be split up into two or three Zamindâris, provided always that its ancient landmarks were preserved intact.

The fourteen remaining pâleiyams it was not necessary for the Collector to convert into Zamindâris. The Pêshkash payable on each of them had been regularly paid, and their owners had done nothing to entail forfeiture They were therefore permitted to remain as they were.

Having carved out all the lands which he found to be at the disposal of Government into forty separate Zamindâris, Mr. Hurdis had to supply data upon which the Board of Revenue could calculate.—

1st.—The gross amount of revenue which each Zamindâri ought to yield

2ndly.—The proportion of his gross revenue which each Zamindâr ought to pay to Government

These data were accordingly supplied in the report abovementioned in the following manner.

The report opens with a statement to the effect that the whole of the lands at the disposal of Government in the district of Dindigul amounted to 5,95,249 Madras *Kânis*, and that they were divided for convenience' sake into 1, *Nanjey*, and 2, *Punjey*, that is to say into lands capable and lands incapable of constant irrigation, after deducting from the whole area the total amount of those lands called *purambôk*, which would never at any time be brought under cultivation, as for instance the beds of tanks, the beds and banks of channels, the sites of forts, and the like.

Mr. Hurdis then shows the total value of the cultivable lands, as computed after their actual survey, to be 4,31,264 Kali Chakrams: the average yearly value of a kâni of Nanjey being Chrs. 3, Fs 3, As. 12, and that of Punjey Chrs. 0, Fs 7, As. 4 $\frac{1}{6}$.

Next he deducts from this total value the value of the lands lying waste and therefore yielding no revenue, which amounted in all to 3,17,388 kânis and bore a total assessment of 2,14,594 Chakrams And the remainder being 2,16,670 Chakrams, he sets down as the actual annual land revenue of the whole of the surveyed lands.

He then proceeds to show the various rates of assessment which had been imposed upon different classes of lands producing different kinds of produce. These classes of lands were four in number, and found as follows, viz :—

1. Punjey lands were sub-divided into :—

(a.) *Bâg'hâyat* or garden lands unirrigated by Government water.

(b.) *Punjey* or ordinary Punjey lands, suited for the ordinary grain crops which require no artificial irrigation.

2. Nanjey lands were sub-divided into :—

(c.) *Pânmalâ* or betel-vine growing lands.

(d.) *Nanjey* or ordinary irrigated lands fit for the growth of rice.

Mr. Hurdis does not use the term Nanjey Bâg'hâyat. Superior lands on which turmeric, sugar-cane, and the like were produced, he classified as ordinary Nanjey lands; but assessed highly in consideration of the high value of the crops which experience showed could be raised on them.

Each of the four classes of lands was assessed with reference to a well known standard and upon certain fixed principles. Though what the standard and principles were, Mr. Hurdis has not always very clearly explained

BÂG'HÂYAT.—Mr. Hurdis has placed on record what no doubt he conceived to be most satisfactory and explicit information touching the considerations to which regard was had in fixing the assessment on this kind of Punjey. He tells us in one part of the report that it was :—" Rated according to its quality and situation, and according to the opinion and agreement of all concerned." Again he says :—" This rate of assessment is formed, as well from the judgment of the Surveyors, as from the consent of the ryots of the village, who with the proprietor of the land were always present at every valuation, and fully canvassed every rate of Teerva, 'ere the rate itself was made." And :—" if the particular rate on particular fields appear heavy in account, the locality in respect to consumption of produce, or the quality of the land in respect to the quantity of produce, is the general cause" And later on in the report, in attempting to show the exact percentage of produce intended to be allowed to the ryot whatever might be the quality and position of his lands, he writes as follows :—" In rating the lands giving this income, the assessment is at ⅔ds. to the ryots after deducting the generally estimated charges of three Fanams cally per gunta, the prescriptive allowance for manure, hence 66⅔ds. per cent are for the ryot and ⅓d. or 33⅓d per cent. only to the Circar This rate is the same on all lands of this description, and in whatever situation they may be placed." Nothing is said about the *pothu selavu* or charges of cultivation.

It may probably be presumed that they were not allowed for before assigning ⅔ds of the estimated produce of this kind of cultivation to the ryot, as a special allowance was made for manure

PUNJEY.—The report explains that the great differences observable in the average assessments upon Punjey lands in adjoining Zamindâris, and even in adjoining villages, resulted from the fact that certain Zamindâris and villages contained a far greater proportion of valuable and therefore highly rated lands than did others; and that different rates were assessed on different sorts of soils And the proportion of produce intended to be allowed to the ryot is shown in para 94:—" This average generally arises from the assessment being " made at ⅗ths, or 60 per cent to the ryot, and ⅖ths, or 40 per cent. " to the Circar, from the average total produce"

A larger proportion of the crop was left to the cultivator of Bâg'hâyat than to the cultivator of Punjey, because the former was compelled to expend more labor and capital than the latter in rendering his lands productive. But Mr Hurdis does not tell us this And he is silent as to the amount, if any, allowed on account of the expenses of cultivation in assessing Punjey lands: a point which it will be necessary to notice hereafter.

PÂNMALÂ.—The assessment on lands capable of producing betel-vines together with a subsidiary crop of plantains, is said to have been fixed with reference to three things, namely.—

1. The average amount of produce yielded per *gunta* of land.
2. The situation of the lands as respected facility of irrigation.
3. The costliness of the labor and stock required for this kind of cultivation.

It seems that in calculating the rates on variously situated parcels of Pânmalâ lands, no attempt was made to adjust the allowance claimable on account of the necessary charges of cultivation to the fluctuating amounts of those charges; the allowance made was always the same, however expensive or inexpensive the cultivation of a particular spot might be And it was therefore necessary to allow for the cost of extraordinary labor, and also for extraordinary risk generated by precariousness of irrigational supplies, by allotting to the ryot an unusually large percentage of the estimated produce which remained to be divided between Government and the ryot after the ordinary deduction on account of the necessary charges had been made

Thus in the Kalimandai Zamindâri where the Pânmalâ lands were

watered wholly by wells, and where Pânmalâ cultivation was attended by much risk and was very costly, the percentage of divisible produce allotted to the ryot was 80 : whilst in the Vattila-gundu where the lands were abundantly watered from channels fed by perennial streams and with but little cost and labor, the percentage allotted to the ryot was only 66. And in some Zamındâris only 60 per cent. fell to the ryot's share But in assessing these lands so variously circumstanced, the deduction made on account of charges was in each case identically the same, viz., fifty-four Chakrams per gunta

NANJEY.—For the purposes of assessment nanjey was divided into three species, namely :—

1. Nanjey suitable for the production of turmeric, sugar-cane, and other special products not being Pânmalâ
2 Nanjey capable of yielding two crops of rice.
3 Nanjey which yielded but one crop of rice

Nanjey lands of the first class were assessed on the following principles —

(a) The cultivation of turmeric was supposed to be attended with no risk, inasmuch as it was never attempted except on land thoroughly well supplied at all times with water. And the produce was supposed to average about sixty *tulâms* per gunta. of which amount the value in Mr. Hurdis' time was about twenty-four Chakrams. Of this estimated sum thirteen Chakrams was deducted on account of the charges necessarily incurred in cultivation, and the remainder was equally divided between the ryot and the Circar. The rate per gunta was therefore 5 Chakrams 5 Fanams. In the case of lands not quite so rich and profitable the same amount was first deducted for charges, but a rather larger dividend was allowed to the ryot

(b.) If sugar-cane was grown on good lands, the crop usually amounted to about one hundred tulâms of jaggery per gunta, the value of which was about thirty-five Chakrams. Of this amount twenty-five Chakrams was deducted on account of the necessary charges, and the remainder was equally divided. Five Chakrams per gunta therefore was the assessment In the case of rather inferior lands, a similar mode of computation was adopted with proportionate results.

(c) Where plantains were grown as a main crop, the value of the produce amounted, on good land, to...15 Chkms. 6 Fs. 4 Annas.
the charges were 8 6 4
and the remainder........................ 7 0 0 was equally

divided. But if the soil was naturally unproductive, or irrigational supplies deficient, a larger percentage than fifty fell to the ryot's share

Nanjey of the second class capable of yielding two crops of rice was assessed upon a basis afforded by the following calculations. Its ordinary average produce was taken to amount to twenty-five kalams and six markâls of paddy (unhusked rice) per gunta; the first crop giving 17 kalams, and the second 8 kalams 6 markâls. In dealing with this hypothetical amount of produce, the swatantrams were in the first place allowed for at the rate of 12½ per cent and amounted to 3 kalams 2¼ markâls. And the odd markâls having been allowed to the ryot, the remaining twenty-two kalams was divided into two equal portions. As eleven kalams of paddy was worth forty-four annas, that sum was the rate imposed.

This rate was of course assessed on the best lands only. Where lands were less productive the swatantrams were notwithstanding allowed for at the same rate, and the estimated remainder was equally divided: and accordingly the rates assessed on lands of different degrees of fertility were infinitely various. And the least valuable fields were not taxed more highly than the best kind of one crop lands. Mr. Hurdis remarks in para. 75 as follows:—

"The intermediate rates depend wholly on the quality of the lands "and their situation for water, the first sort of land giving one crop "only approaches very near in point of value the last sort of that "which gives two, but its quality as land is very superior, as the "produce of the former arises almost wholly from the water, rather "than the soil."

Nanjey yielding one crop only was assessed upon precisely the same principles as that which yielded two, and its rates varied as considerably.

In addition to the four kinds of Nanjey and Punjey, there was a non-descript kind of land denominated *nanjey taram punjey* or Nanjey which had degenerated into Punjey. It was naturally capable of producing paddy and other crops which require constant irrigation, but was so ill supplied with water that it would not pay a man to attempt to raise such crops upon it. This land was assessed at and dis[illegible]ms per gunta, and it was intended that the ryot [illegible]dârs They are [illegible]ent., and the Circar 40 of the gross produce

[illegible]ly there was a non-descript kin[illegible]

[illegible]x, which was rented out[illegible]

pasturage. As the custom of letting lands for this purpose had sprung up in consequence of the rapacity of former Poligars, at odd times and places, the pilluvari tax was referential to no fixed principles,—and its nature could not therefore be fully described.

The applications of these several modes of assessment to each field under cultivation throughout the forty Zamindâris into which the Government lands of Dindigul were divided, gave the gross survey value of Star Pagodas 1,31,315: which amount would in due time constitute the ultimate *Jamâ* or total land tax of the district, irrespective of rent-free and quit-rent lands and sundry taxes. And Mr Hurdis had no doubt that it would be cheerfully paid and easily collected, inasmuch as in thirteen Zamindâris:—"The increase thus "levied was cheerfully agreed to by the ryots, the assessment had "full respect to the preceding seasons as well as the individual cir-"cumstances, and as made, has hitherto been fully and regularly col-"lected." And there was no reason for supposing that the other Zamindâris, the survey of which had been subsequently completed, would prove less able to satisfy the demand against them.

The report then goes on to speak of the *Inâm* lands, and says of them.—"The Inam list shows the total extent and explains the "cause of the Inams. I have not found Sunnuds for any. All, with "some exceptions, which I shall point out, have been retained by "the incumbents under the prescriptive right of long possession "The statement of the Inams that should remain with their posses-"sors comprehends those solely of a religious nature, and some few "of such, as the prejudices and superstitions of the Natives require "should be given up to them. These are found as "Devodayam, Bramadayam, and some few of the Chellar "(or sundry) Inams, the explanation of which in the general list "shows their use, and which explanation will, with the leave of your "Board, be the cause of their confirmation."

Statement A.

Those proposed by Mr. Hurdis for confirmation and sanction by Government amounted in extent to rather more than three per cent. of the whole cultivable area of the Circar lands; and about half of them were under cultivation and producing a revenue of 16,48
They were mostly Inâms granted for religious purpo
for final assumption by the Circar were of the fol

...s and those added into the Jum
...hending the Sibbundi

" and private, of the village. The remainder of the assumed Inams
" are those given by the Heads of villages, or by Amaldars and Renters
" to Dancing Girls, Poets, Musicians, Heroes and others contributing
" to the pleasure of their immediate employers, and which, never
" having had positive claims on the Circar, have generally been
" assumed and formed part of the extra revenue account, although
" they have been distinguished separately in account, that, under
" reference to the Board, an ultimate decision might be obtained on
" them."

"To these Inams clandestinely bestowed are to be added usurpa-
"tions and alienations of the Poligars for the Caval."

The annexation of the revenues of these Inâm lands would raise the total Jamâ to Star Pagodas 1,41,408, 2 fanams and 46 cash.

Next we have an account of various taxes which belonged to the branch of revenue known as the *Swarnâdâya* or revenue payable in money. Some of them were properly receivable by proprietors of estates, and their descriptions were as follows, viz :—

(*a*.) *Ponikâdu.*—This seems from para. 137 to have been a customary rent payable by the cultivators of small unassessed portions of lands situated on hills, which were worked with *manvettis* or hand-spades, pickaxes, and bill-hooks.

(*b*.) *Tope tax*—A tax derivable from sixteen sorts of trees, assessed with reference to their several productive powers.

(*c*) *Poruppu.*—A certain quit rent derivable from a small portion of the Inâm lands before mentioned, and included in accordance with immemorial usage in the Swarnâdâya.

The total value of these taxes was Star Pagodas 1,453 : and made up the Jamâ to Star Pagodas 1,42,864.

The tope-tax enjoyed by the holders of the Inâm lands amounted to 344 Chakrams, and would go with the Inâms when finally disposed of under the orders of Government

After noticing these taxes, Mr. Hurdis reports on certain others which under the orders respecting the formation of a permanent settlement were to be reserved by Government for its own management and disposal, and were not to be made over to the Zamindârs. They are described in the following order :—

(*a*.) *The shop tax.*—This was assessed with reference to the estimated value of the trade carried on by each individual taxed.

(*b.*) *The house tax.*—This Mr. Hurdis thought was improperly named, and was in reality a kind of shop tax inasmuch as it was a tax levied on the shops of petty traders and artificers, and proportioned to the profits of trade or wages of labour made or earned, or supposed to be made or earned, by each individual

(*c.*) *The loom tax.*—This was levied not on each loom, but on the produce of each loom; and was therefore greater when a whole family worked at one loom than when a single individual worked.

(*d.*) *The oil-mill tax*—This was levied with reference to the amount of oil sold at each mill.

(*e.*) *The iron-furnace tax.*—This was levied on each furnace, respect being had to the amount of labour necessarily expended in bringing to it the ore.

(*f*) *The indigo-maker's tax.*—This was levied on the same principle as (*e*).

(*g*) *The Pallar-vari tax*—This was levied on men of certain castes, and was apparently proportioned to the fees payable exclusively to them during harvest time for reaping and thrashing the crops of various villages.

(*h*) *The honey rent.*—This was a tax levied on those who collected wild honey, and was proportioned to the amount actually collected by each individual.

(*i.*) *The Patna Chetti and Bôgâri tax.*—This was collected through the heads of two factions from the several members thereof, and was originally paid in return for protection and religious supervision. The two factions were those of the "right hand" and "left hand"

(*j*) *The ghee-gutta.*—This was a fee paid for the exclusive right of selling ghee by retail in each village.

(*k*) *The carriage-bullock tax*—This was levied on each owner of carriage bullocks, and was proportioned to the profits derived from their hire; which profits were of course greater or less according to circumstances.

The total produce of these taxes was Star Pagodas 5,048; but as stated above it was not to form part of the Zamindârs' income. And the value of the same taxes in the Inâm villages proposed for sanction amounted to Star Pagodas 39. Mr. Hurdis says of these last.—"These, as assumptions of privilege by the Inamdars, I have "entered with taxes that belong exclusively to the Circar, con- "ceiving under the present orders, that the Inamdars are not to have "the privilege of levying taxes so properly denied to the Zamindars"

The report then goes on to show the causes of the increase exhibited in the accounts accompanying it, under almost every head of revenue. The increase in the cultivated area was enormous, and was owing to the care taken in the survey

Mr. Hurdis says:—"The accounts of Curnams were delivered in at "the Cutcherry as the survey proceeded, and the falsity of them "was proved before the village In what manner these accounts "were made up by the Curnams, or on what measurement, I cannot "find out. but the survey has restored order, and the accounts now "with the Curnams are those made by the survey

"The increase in the cultivated lands in several Zamindaries "appears very large, this arises from the actual increase on survey, "and from the deceit of the Nattamagars and Curnams in concealing "and fabricating accounts, which, though highly culpable in itself, "was the only means they had of combating the extortions of the "venal servants of the Circar

"Hence arose an irregularity of assessment, and a great inequality "of rent Those ryots who were able to interest the Curnams held "their lands for almost a nominal rent, whilst those who were not "so fortunate, although possessing lands equally productive, were "undersold in the markets and ultimately ruined Their lands were "taken into the general cultivation of the village by the Curnam, "but usually entered as waste in the accounts given to the Circar; "and so long as the spoils derived from this conduct were equally "distributed, the act was not noticed On this assumption it will "appear that the general increase, equalling $67\frac{1}{16}$ per cent, does not "press hard on the ryots."

Having shown the existing sources of the revenue, Mr Hurdis proceeds to discuss the possibilities of its future enlargement The total extent of cultivated lands throughout the district was only thirty-four and odd per cent. on the whole cultivable area And it might be hoped therefore that cultivation would in the course of time be considerably extended. There were however great obstacles in the way of such extension. In the first place there was a scarcity of ryots. In the next place a large amount of capital was required, wherewith to bring under cultivation the rough and jungly virgin soil of which the waste tracts for the most part consisted. and this capital was not forthcoming Then the waste tracts were unequally distributed over the district. They were over-abundant in one part, and altogether wanting in another. And in forming the several Zamindâris it was

found to be impossible to detach waste lands from such as appeared to be superabundantly supplied therewith, and add them on to the areas of such as appeared to be insufficiently supplied; because almost all the waste tracts lay quite closely together, and were at the same time altogether cut off by the intervention of extensive blocks of hills and impenetrable jungles from the nearest of those Zamindâris which required additions to be made to them. And some of these Zamindâris, for instance Âttûr and Minnal-kottei, were so highly and completely cultivated throughout that no increase of cultivation could be looked for in them, unless by chance the proprietors of the adjoining ancient pâleiyams, which it so happened contained an abundance of waste lands, should come to think it worth their while to purchase those estates with the view of annexing unused and useless tracts to their areas, in order that those tracts might gradually be brought under cultivation. In such case they might perhaps be rendered more productive. But it was not likely that this would be done. Âttûr was very highly, though not too highly assessed: and there was nothing to compensate an intending purchaser for the risk of bad crops and other failures, which its possession would of course entail. And it was so with Minnal-kôttei also

In these circumstances the only immediate extension of cultivation which could reasonably be looked for, was that which could be brought about by Government continuing to export grain from the valley at its own risk and expense, and to grant advances for cultivation; and by it undertaking to receive for the future payment of a certain portion of its tribute in kind. Some improvement would doubtless result from the adoption of this policy: but otherwise the revenues derivable from the land itself would remain very nearly what they were.

The incorporation of the Inâms proposed to be assumed with the estates of the proprietors might at first sight appear likely to improve their several incomes. But in reality it would prove a source of weakness rather than of strength. For whilst it would be necessary to increase the Pêshkash claimable from each proprietor by the exact amount of the annual income of the Inâm lands made over to him; the waste portions of those lands were so inconsiderable in extent that he could not expect to raise therefrom an income sufficient to cover the risk of failures and bad seasons which would necessarily be incurred by him in respect of the area already under cultivation.

Possibly too the waste portions of the Inâm lands might prove less profitable to him when cultivated than would equal areas of the waste portions of his estate. In fact, whilst the proprietor's pecuniary responsibility and risk would be enhanced, his means of meeting them would remain precisely the same.

The proposed incorporation of the sundry Inâm lands would not materially affect the proprietor's interests: their amount was too trifling.

The incorporation of the Dindigul kâvali lands with certain Zamindâris might at first produce a slight decrease in the Zamindârs' revenues. The then cultivators belonged to the pâleiyams to which the rents of the kâvali lands were attached, and they would naturally return to their respective villages when the lands were transferred to the new proprietors. But their places would without delay or difficulty be filled up by the ryots of the villages in which the kâvali lands were situated: and the inconvenience would be but temporary.

From the extension of Ponikâdu cultivation, and from the increase of the Zamindârs' other Swarnâdâya, but little if anything could be expected. In the Circar Swarnâdâya however a great increase might be produced by careful and skilful management. But Mr. Hurdis deprecated hasty and unwise interference with long established rates and usages; and hoped that old principles would be acted upon with greater energy rather than that new and untried measures should be adopted. And he was of opinion that the improvement of the revenues of his district depended almost entirely upon the gradual extension of agriculture, and must always be co-extensive with the prosperity of its inhabitants. He thus writes:—

"In every act of management I have invariably adhered to the "customs of the natives in cultivation, and made the extension of "agriculture the first object. The very great increase of revenue "shows also the increase of agriculture, and I am so well convinced "of the resources of this province from my own inspection, that I "cannot doubt, but that under a vigilant superintendence, and firm "yet almost imperceptible guidance of the labors of the inhabitants, "(if peace continue), the revenues from the increase of population, "and the habits of industry which may be then expected to be con- "firmed in the ryots, will in the course of ten years be nearly "doubled."

But the extension of agriculture was limited in Dindigul, as elsewhere, by natural causes And therefore its good effects should be supplemented by systematic encouragement of trade and commerce. Money should be caused to circulate with greater freedom through the district And possibly the establishment of a commercial resident at Dindigul might be productive of great results, both to Government and to its subjects The distance from Dindigul to the sea was less than that from Salem to Cuddalore, and many thousands of looms might easily be set working within its limits. And above all the cultivation of spice which had fallen into decay in this province, might be revived, to the great benefit of the Honorable Company who required spice for exportation and of the cultivator who would thereby gain a considerable accession of wealth

Having thus recapitulated all the sources of revenue actually available and discussed the chances of their multiplication in future years, Mr. Hurdis proceeds to make some suggestions with respect to the disposal of the pâleiyams which were then under sequestration, and the former owners of which were enjoying pensions from Government. The restoration of their pâleiyams to their former owners in the new form of Zamindâris seemed to promise some advantages inasmuch as no greater margin of profit needed to be left to these men than to such speculators as might buy the estates if put up to auction; whilst the pensions would be discontinued. But on the other hand, there was but little hope that these dispossessed Poligars would ever give up their dissipated and turbulent habits of life and turn into energetic and peaceable farmers They were not likely to become men of business, being naturally men of pleasure.—"Against their "becoming good ryots are their general habits, viz. indolence, pursuit "of pleasure, and strong attachments to such vices, as gaming and "women, as prevent their informing themselves on anything relat- "ing to the management of their estates. Their predatory habits, "which would scarcely be restrained by any act, and their general "ideas of independence (always asserted when the Circar is too "weak from what cause soever), arising to oppose them These "habits are all affected by opportunity, and the most desperate acts "have been committed as that opportunity has occurred, either "against the State or against their own people to gratify themselves "without the least possible consideration of consequences." And even if Government educated their children, Mr. Hurdis thought that the vices of the parents would undo much good and prove a

source of much danger. He therefore recommended the retention of their estates by Government; the pensions of the Poligars being if necessary increased.

Of the sequestered pâleiyams three had been declared forfeited to Government; and three had escheated for want of legal heirs All these six were to be put up for sale as a matter of course; and Mr. Hurdis therefore makes no remarks on them And in like manner he says nothing about the pâleiyams which were still in possession of their owners He goes on to compare the collections of former years with those which had lately been made by himself, and with those which he expected would be made in permanence

The gross demand under all heads during the period beginning with Fasli 1200 and ending with Fasli 1205 had averaged Star Pagodas 59,180 and 14 fs, 84 c, per annum. But so large an amount had never been collected in years prior to the date of the conquest of the province by the British Government, and had not always been collected in subsequent years. It was impossible to calculate the average amount of the collections actually made in times prior to the year 1790, because no regular adjustment of accounts between the ryots and the then Circar had ever been made: but the amount actually collected year by year by Government had fallen short of the average demand by about 35 Star Pagodas 14 fs., per cent, and averaged to Star Pagodas 43,543 and 39 fs. 24 c.

During the next six years the collections were fully made, and averaged Star Pagodas 86,543 and 27 fs 27 c per annum, or more than ninety-eight per cent. more than those made in the preceding six years. The average of the first twelve years' collections was accordingly Star Pagodas 72,861 and 43 fs, 41 c., or allowing for the balances not actually collected during the first six years, Star Pagodas 65,342 and 33 fs. 25 c

The collections for Fasli 1212, which were made shortly before the report was written, exceeded this average by no less than 87 Star Pagodas, 11¾ fs per cent And those for Fasli 1213 would if realized—and Mr. Hurdis saw no reason to doubt their full realization—exceed the same average by 99 Star Pagodas 14½ fs. per cent.: whilst those for Fasly 1214, by which time all the cowles would have fallen in and the ultimate survey assessment would have come into full force, would produce 101 Star Pagodas 14¼ fs. per cent more than the average collections of the twelve years above noted.

The collections for Fasli 1214, exclusive of Inâm and the Swatantra nâdâya would amount in all to Star Pagodas 1,31,315 and 14 fs., 12 c., or 44 per cent. more than the average amount of the annual collections which had up to that time been made by the British Government.

The total Jamâ which Mr. Hurdis proposed to collect from the forty Zamindâris amounted in all to Star Pagodas 118,118 and 30 fs., 20 c., or rather better than ten per cent. less than the Zamindârs would collect from their ryots, supposing always that things remained in their then condition, and that no extension of cultivation were to take place But Mr. Hurdis did not propose to demand from each individual precisely the same percentage of his estimated collections: he recommended that the rents of some of them should be paid at amounts which fell short of their collections by more than ten per cent., and that the rents of others should fall short of their collections by less than ten per cent The difference in amount between each Zamindâr's collections and the rent payable by him to Government was calculated by subtracting from the (anticipated) gross amount of his collections, to be made according to the rates of the survey assessment of Fasli 1214, the average amount of the collections made during the currency of the term of three years for which his Zamindâri had been leased on the cowle or progressive rent system after the completion of its survey and previous to the time when the full rate of the survey assessment was to come into force. These cowle leases had been granted on more favourable terms to the ryots of some Zamindâris than to those of others, according as their circumstances showed less ability to commence paying rapidly rising rents for their lands And hence the great disparity in the proposed rents as respected the immediate percentage of profit proposed to be allowed to the Zamindârs, which amounted in some instances to more than fourteen and in others to no more than five.

Mr. Hurdis' report does not in any way explain upon what principle he came to believe that this gross inequality was capable of being defended: he treats it as a natural incident of assessment which needed not even a passing remark.

With regard to the rates of assessment imposed upon the lands after survey, he observes that they were more favourable than those imposed upon lands in the adjoining district of Salem And it may be perhaps presumed that he wished it to be inferred from this fact, that the ryots could well afford to pay the fixed *tirva* or tax to the

Zamindârs, and the latter the proposed rent to the Circar. He was of opinion however that any small profit which might accrue from the management of the sanctioned Inâm lands should be let go to the Zamindârs as a help to them in meeting their engagements. The profit could not be large: but the gradual cultivation of waste portions might in time bring in some little additional income.

Whether the Government agreed or declined to make this concession, it was impossible to charge the Zamindârs with the annual value of the Inâm lands already under cultivation. They would have no funds out of which to meet the extra charge, as the whole of the collections made upon the lands would go into the pockets of the Inâmdars; and the annual value of the lands amounted to the very large sum of Star Pagodas 10,101, 15 fs. and 57 c, a very considerable percentage on the total annual value of the province.

But although the Zamindârs could not be charged for the Inâms they should nevertheless be entrusted with the management of them. They could manage them far better than could the Circar servant, and moreover:—" His," that is, the Zamindâr's " vigilence may reduce " the expense, and that reduction may indemnify him on the present " assessment of the estates, until the extended cultivation makes it " profitable; and under this impression I respectfully submit that " the estates be held, as the ultimate Jumma, viz, for 1214 declares " them, or as they progressively fall by cowle from 1212 to that " period, and that the Sibbundy, &c, be given up as they are in indem- " nification to the purchaser."

The Zamindârs could have no right to the enjoyment of that portion of the public revenue which was derived from the *Shrôtriyam* lands. These were lands held under a tenure which originally was somewhat similar to the tenure under which Inâm lands were held: but its nature had in the course of time been gradually changed, until at the time of the survey lands of this description were treated precisely like other Ayan lands. The report speaks of them thus:— "These very few in number in this province were originally given " free of rent to the shrotryal, or most learned Bramins, for their " maintenance· but the term shrotryum, formerly applied to villages " so held, it now generally used to express villages given in favorable " rent, that the superior caste may collect the full rent, but pay only " proportion thereof to the Circar, keeping the remainder for itself."

"The first innovation on these right is said to have been made " under Burkee Vencut Row, who imposed a small tribute, and from

" whose time tribute is said gradually to have increased, until " survey attached the present rents to the villages.

" These rents are on the Shotriemdar a tribute equal to ¾ths of " settlement, the remaining ¼th. is his own property, and the ryots of " these villages under the Shotriemdar are settled with in every res- " pect as the ryots of the Circar villages.

" The Sibbundy attached to these villages, as they are not included " in any Zemindary, are according to the custom that has obtained, " and Davaydayum and Brammadayum, &c. Inams have been left as " custom had authorized."

And Mr. Hurdis did not consider it to be advisable to give up to the Zamindârs certain hill villages, which had never really formed part of any Poligar's possessions, had never been regularly taxed before the British Government brought them under subjection, and which had from time to time been strong places of refuge for rebellious chiefs and all kinds of miscreants. From motives of policy they ought to be kept under Circar management They had already begun to yield an increasing revenue, and in proper hands might be made far more productive A cardamum monopoly had sprung up in them for the benefit of Government, and ginger and dammer were both abundantly produced within their limits.

In conclusion Mr Hurdis' report shows that " the taluq of Nuttum, " which for want of legal heirs has escheated to the Circar, does not " belong to Dindigul proper. It was severely harassed by the rebels " in 1801, and independent of the necessity of suffering it to recover, " its settlement to be regular, must be made as in the Manapara " Polliam, which on finishing the survey will easily give a very con- " siderable advance of revenue."

CHAPTER III.

Mr. Collector Parish is appointed to Dindigul.—His report abstracted.—Its unsatisfactory nature.—The Board's order.—The report to Government—The decline of the revenues of the district.—Mr. Hodgson is sent to inspect and report—His elaborate report abstracted.—Observation on mâniam lands.—The despatch to England abstracted.—The final order from England about the perpetual settlement

In the last Chapter an attempt was made to give an intelligible abstract of Mr Hurdis' great report. It is impossible to state positively that his meaning has been perfectly reproduced from beginning to end but all that could be done by careful study and repeated perusals of both the report itself and the very voluminous figured statements which accompany it, has been done, and it is to be hoped that the abstract is in the main correct We shall see presently the view which the Board of Revenue took of Mr Hurdis' settlement, and also what was subsequently done upon it by the local Government and by the home authorities.

In December 1803 Mr Hurdis left his district in the charge of Mr Parish, having been promoted to a post of higher emolument And on the 8th June 1804, Mr Parish sent in his first administration report.

It appears from this document that when he took charge of the district, the cowles granted by the late Collector had only one year more to run in the Pergunnahs of Palani and Periakulam, and in respect of the divisions of Vêdasandûr and Nattam Government had been released from their engagements at the close of the preceding year Considering Mr Hurdis' arrangements with the ryots of the two former divisions to be eminently well calculated to suit the then circumstances of the district, he had taken it upon himself to confirm them without waiting for special sanction from the Board In the two latter divisions he had made a new settlement, which was based upon the same principles as that of his predecessor but produced a

Jamâ higher by the sum of Chs. 3,424-4-30; and this in spite of partial failure of the periodical rains.

In settling with the ryots of Palani and Periakulam he had follo ed Mr Hurdis' plan of stipulating for a part of the rent in ki for:—"Where the produce of the land chiefly consists in paddy, i "becomes a matter of indispensable regard for the prosperity of "the ryots, to assist them in the disposal of their grain; with a view "of securing them against undue exactions from speculating mer "chants, who by advancing money to answer the regular demands "of the Circar receive grain in return, much below its estimated value "It is also to be remembered, that by this arrangement the market "is at the disposal of Government, no combination can be formed "to undervalue the grain, and a gain rather than a loss will arise i "the sale of it; for my Jummabundy I have estimated its averag "price no higher than S P. 15, Fs 34, C 19 per Madras Garce" And he had insured the ryots against the risk of undue exactions by giving each of them a *patta* under his own signature, specifying

1st.—The amount of rent payable by him,

2ndly—The proportions of money and grain respectively which he had to pay;

3rdly.—The price at which the grain was received in payment of rent.

Next we are informed that "the Peskush of the Dindigul Poligars "amounting to S P. 37,237, Fs. 31, C. 56 having been adjusted by the late Collector Mr. Hurdis, upon actual survey in Fusly 1212, "has been collected accordingly, agreeable to the accompanying "Demand Collection and Balance Account" And there was a total increase of nearly 7½ per cent. on the gross revenues of Dindigul as compared with those of the preceding Fasly.

In closing his report Mr Parish points out that his staff of clerks was wholly inadequate and must necessarily be increased, at all events until the final settlement of the Dindigul assessment had been accomplished. He says.—

"To your Board who are acquainted with the duties of a Collector "it appears unnecessary to remark, that five Goomastahs (the number "at present allowed) are incompetent to superintend and arrange the "voluminous accounts which require to be adjusted, during the "settlement of a village rent; and that any endeavour to accomplish

this object through their means, would have been followed by incalculable delay and injury to the revenue.

"To the execution of the duties required from my Goomastahs in the present year, I have to add the detailed arrangement of the Manapara Survey accounts, and the complicated forms attending the new custom regulations.

"The augmentation in the present settlement of Madura and "Dindigul, the increased revenue derived to the Government since "the introduction of the new custom regulations, and the successful "result of the Manapara Survey, are circumstances which form the "best comment, that none of the important interests confided to my "superintendence have been neglected. In this confidence I beg "leave to submit to you the accompanying statement of extra "Goomastahs employed in my Cutcherry to the 30th April, amount-"ing to 79 Star Pagodas per month, and to solicit, that the sanction "of your Board may be conveyed to me for an increase of the "Establishment from that date, of 50 Pagodas monthly, until the "revenues of Dindigul have been permanently arranged. You may "rest satisfied that I should not have recommended any augmenta-"tion, which could with prudence be avoided, and that an economical "appropriation of the public money has been with me as anxious a "care, as the strict realization of it"

The *Jamâbandi* statement appended to the report shows that the Pêshkash due by the Dindigul Poligars for Fasli 1213 was

	S. P.	Fs.	C.
... .	37,237	31	56
The land revenue rented.............	1,50,673	17	65
The Toddy and Arrack rents	603	19	7
Total ..	.188,514	0	0

The *Kist bandi* statement shows that no instalments were payable during the months of July, August, September, October and November, under any head of revenue. The first instalment of the Fasli fell due in December; and from that month to June inclusive instalments were payable monthly. The first and second instalments of Pêshkash were equal in amount, each being S. P. 5,455 odd The two next were each 7,273 odd The next was the same as the first two. Those of May and June were respectively, S P 3,636 odd,

and 2,687 odd The largest instalments were therefore payable in February and March. But the variations in the monthly amounts payable by the ryots did not at all correspond with the variations in the payments of the Poligars. The ryots had to pay 17,000 and odd Star Pagodas in December, 23,000 and odd in January, and only 15,000 and odd in February in which month the Poligars paid their largest instalment. But in March these kists jumped to 39,000 and odd. In April they fell back to 17,000 and odd. In May they were 18,000, and in June 19,000. No reason is given for this anomaly; and it is difficult to understand why the Poligars had not to pay most money in those months in which presumably it was most easy for them to collect large sums from their ryots. The value of the paddy receivable in lieu of money was only S. P. 8,900 and odd: and in the absence of specific explanations it would be somewhat hazardous to endorse the opinion expressed by Mr. Parish, with regard to the advisability of taking grain in lieu of money from the ryots

The Sayer or land customs amounted to the respectable sum of S. P. 12,272, fs. 30, c. 41.

Such in substance is Mr. Parish's report and looking to the very incomplete state in which his predecessor's settlement had been left, one cannot but feel surprise at Mr. Parish sending up to the Board of Revenue so bald and unsatisfactory a statement of the proceedings in 1803-4

On the 9th November 1804 the Board of Revenue ordered the Collector of Dindigul to dispose of the estates which had been formed out of the Khâs or Government lands and forfeited pâleiyams of Dindigul, and also to furnish them with such information as would enable them to settle the fourteen pâleiyams which remained in the possession of their owners The order proceeds to state —

" The Board desire, that the six assumed Pollams, which His Lord-
" ship in Council has authorized to be restored may be transferred to
" the authority of the several Zemindars, as soon as they shall have
" signed the required Kabuliats, blank copies of which are enclosed.
" And until the Sunnuds under the signature of the Governor in
" Council are transmitted, you will grant each Zemindar one under
" your signature You will give the Zemindars credit in account for
" collections up to the period of transfer, debit them for all charges
" and pay to them whatever balance may appear in their favor
" You will also write off the balance outstanding against the Zemin-
" dars of Madûr and Shocomputty agreeably to the resolution of His

" Lordship in Council and furnish these Zemindars with a discharge " from these balances. It is to be understood, and must be made a " special condition of sale, that the purchasers of estates be consi- " dered as proprietors from the commencement of the current Fusly, " and accordingly be held responsible for the revenue, and for the " recovery of the advances for cultivation, which may have been " made by you. The Board being desirous of completing the intro- " duction of a permanent assessment of the land-tax of the Pollams " of the southern districts, direct me to desire that you will proceed " to consolidate the information obtained respecting the Manapara " and Madura Pollams and the remaining fourteen Pollams of Dindi- " gul on which Mr. Hurdis has not reported, and submit for their " consideration the Jumma which you would propose being fixed on " each with the necessary statements of the information collected " by you."

Together with this order the Collector received a copy of a report furnished by the Board to the Governor in Council, in which they gave their opinion founded on Mr Hurdis' report as to what ought to be done in settling Dindigul.

The Board gave in this a short abstract of Mr. Hurdis' report, and cleared up certain doubts felt by that gentleman. With regard to the mâniams they observed.—

" With respect to that portion of the resumed Enams which was " appropriated to the support of the village Sibbundy, the Collector " has remarked, that he was induced to propose their resumption " merely in compliance with the orders of the Board referred to above; " for that, in his opinion, they ought to be continued as at present. He " observing that, as the Sibbundy in question must be supported by the " Zemindars, the addition of the allowances at present enjoyed by " them, would absorb the whole of the immediate profits allowed to " the proprietors, whose profits would arise only from the increase of " cultivation, and would check the sale of the estates.

" The orders of the Board of Revenue referred to by Mr. Hurdis " do not direct, that the service lands should be resumed, but that " they should be annexed to the Sircar lands, and in like manner " with those of the latter description be at the disposal of the proprie- " tor for the payment of the village Sibbundy; by this interpretation " of the 15th para of the general instructions we have been guided " in the reports, which have been submitted to your Lordship's con-

" sideration, it being the lands of Cauzies and *Government* **Revenue** " Officers, Curnums excepted, which are to be added to the Jumma, " and those persons to be provided for by Government. The exemp- " tion of the Curnums' lands which form part of the village service " land confirms the foregoing interpretation as being correct, we have " not therefore included the value of the resumed Enams in the " amount to be paid by the proprietors of the estates The whole " extent of Enam land cultivated is but 4 per cent on the total Sircar " lands or Star Pagodas $6\frac{3}{16}$ per cent. on their value."

The Board approved generally of Mr. Hurdis' suggestions with regard to the appropriation of the Swarnâdâya: a portion of it they thought should be included in the assessment of the estates, and a portion should be abolished.

They then proceeded to discuss the principle upon which the Collector had calculated the rents, proposed by him to be demanded from the purchasers of the forty estates He had suggested that in each case the difference between the average collections of the three years during which the estate had been settled upon cowles and the collections of Fasly 1214, when the ultimate survey rates came into operation throughout all the estates, should be let go to the proprietor as a fund out of which to pay all charges and make his profit. This calculation would give the Zamindârs on an average rather better than ten per cent. on the value of their estates. But whereas the proprietor of one estate would obtain more than 14 per cent., that of another would not get so much as 6 per cent. And the question to be considered was, would the allowances made upon this principle suffice? The Board thought not, and proposed that they should be more or less augmented in the case of each Zamindâri, in proportion as it contained little or much waste land.—

" In estates where the quantity of uncultivated falls considerably " below 100 per cent. on the cultivated land, we have allowed 18 per " cent. deduction from the ultimate survey assessment of Fusly 1214 " as the immediate profit of the proprietors, decreasing their percent- " age in proportion to the cultivable waste, to the extent above stated, " so that the lowest immediate profit from the estates will be 15 per " cent, and the average of the whole district 16 $\frac{14\frac{1}{4}}{16}$ per cent, or Star " Pagodas 1,09,189: but although the permanent Jumma here propos- " ed be below the ultimate value of the district, as fixed by the sur- " vey, yet it is considerably above the average either of the six years

"following the cession, the six first of the management of the present Collector, or the general average for the time the district has been in our possession."

Next as to the disposal of the sequestered estates Of the twenty-six pâleiyams "formerly comprized within the province fourteen "remain in the possession of the Poligars, and as no permanent assessment has been proposed for them by Mr Hurdis, it is our intention "at an early period to require his successor Mr Parish, to report on "the subject Three have been declared forfeited to the Sircar on "account of the rebellion of the Poligars, viz, Pylney, Yerryodoo "and Verupatchi, three have escheated to the Sircar by want of "heirs, Rettiambady, Madoor and Deodanapatty; and six Yerracotta, "Sundioor, Pulliapa Naignoor, Nellacotta, Madoor, and Shocumputty "having been assumed for arrears of revenue, remain under the "management of the Collector. The twelve last are included in the "extent of land already stated and constitute part of the forty "Zemindaries on which we have already reported.

"The balances due from Yerracotta, Sundioor, Pulliapa Naignoor, "and Nellacotta have been all discharged since they have been under "sequestration. But there still remains a demand against Madoor "and Shocumputty, the amount of which at the time of assumption "in 1796, and the balance still due in July last were as follows:—

	Original demand.	Amounts unliquidated.
"On Madoor	5,983 30 63	419 20 0
"On Shocumputty	3,670 7 23	2,287 15 43

"a balance still remaining due, notwithstanding the Pollams have "been under the management of the Sircar for nearly eight years, "during which period the fixed Peshcush was debited as the current "revenue, and the surplus credited to former years. It seems reasonable to conclude, that these Pallams must have been too highly "assessed."

The Collector had no fault to find with any of the proprietors of these last six estates with the exception of him of Nila-kôttei, and the balances due by them had all been received with the exception of the proprietors of Madûr and Shokkampatti. The Board were of opinion therefore that Ideiya-kôttei, Sandeiyûr and Palliyappa-Nâyakkan-ûr should at once be restored to their owners. These owners had a right to them, having paid what they owed; and Government

would gain by the discontinuance of the pensions which they were enjoying. The Poligar of Nila-kôttei had not the same claims on the consideration of Government, and might be treated differently. As the Collector had suggested, only one of his estates, namely Minnal-kôttei, should be restored to him.

In the event however of His Excellency restoring these pâleiyams to the Poligars, it would be proper to allow them the usual rate of Poligars' profit, namely one-third of the total value; and not merely the profit awarded to ordinary Zamindârs created under the new Regulations. This would entail an apparent loss to Government of Star Pagodas 2,497 fs. 22 c. 14. But the actual loss would not be so much; for if Mr Hurdis' suggestions were adopted and the pâleiyams taken from the Poligars for ever, it would become necessary to increase their pensions.

The Board quite agreed with Mr Hurdis in thinking that the hill villages must be kept under Circar management They were places of refuge for banditti, and must be kept in order. The same arrangement had been made in Salem, and its hill villages were settled through the headmen of each.

The report concludes with a compliment to Mr. Hurdis, and an expression of satisfaction at the able manner in which he had always performed his revenue duties.

In 1805 and the three following years the state of Dindigul grew alarmingly bad. All the capitalists became bankrupt : and all the owners of estates fell into arrears. And at last it became necessary to depute Mr. Hodgson, a member of the Board of Revenue, to visit and inspect the province and if possible ascertain the causes which had led to its rapid decline. Mr. Hodgson arrived in the summer of 1808, and after making a tour through the district and collecting all the information then available, wrote a very elaborate and exhaustive report, of which the following is an abstract fortified by numerous quotations

After glancing at the political history of Dindigul, the report gives the following sketch of its village system :—

"The whole lands of a province in India whether cultivated, "arable, waste, jungle or hills, have been from time immemorial "apportioned to a particular village, so that all lands are within the "known boundary of some village. The total area of all the villages "of a province forms the whole landed surface of that particular

"province The villages of Dindigul are distinguished by the "terms "Circar village" and "Poliput," the former denoting that no "other intermediate agency existed for the receipt of the Circar's "share of the produce or revenue, than the immediate officers of the "Circar; the latter denoting an alienation of the revenues of entire "villages, and the transfer of their revenue jurisdiction to individuals, "styled Poligars, either for feudatory or kavel services, on a tribute "called "peshcash," this tribute being less than the Circar share of "the produce in proportion to the service to be rendered by the "feudatory Poligars or the Kavelgar Independent of the Pollams "the Poligars frequently held kavely maniams in the Circar villages. "These Poligars had at the time of the transfer of the villages no "property or occupancy in the land, and seldom assumed any; the "worst cultivated villages and the most jungly or frontier situations "were frequently assigned to Poligars for kavely service. They. "sometimes had a Kummatum of their own either to increase their "resources, or for the purpose of rearing a superior kind of grain for "domestic use. They sometimes had the power to compel the "inhabitants of the Circar villages to cultivate their maniams in "preference to the Circar lands This happened when the Govern-"ment was weak, and the Poligar's power strong. The Peons, whom "they were under their tenure obliged to maintain, either for "purposes of external war or internal police, had land assigned to "them for a proportion of their pay; an assignment of land, when "the desolate state of most of the Poliams is considered, the Poligar "could easily make without ejecting any of the original cultivators "If ejectment by force was ever practiced, it was always considered "an act of injustice. It follows, then, that the transfer of villages "to form a Poliam was no more than the assignment of a certain "portion of the Government revenue of those villages to an indivi-"dual for particular purposes, in preference to giving monthly pay "The practice of assigning the revenue of land for the payment of "service was universal in India It was practiced as well for the "maintenance of fighting men; for the endowment of religious "establishments, in provision of the expense of the kitchen; as for the "payment of the betel-bag carrier; as well in reward of Civil and "Military services, as for the support of concubines. In the villages "of Dindigul the same internal policy is found as in other provinces, "a certain portion of the inhabitants holding the title of Natamgar, "Gours, or Mahajanums are in the enjoyment of a portion of the

"land rent-free, and are the hereditary occupiers of the remainder, certain principal officers such as the Curnum (or register accountant of the revenue affairs of the village) ironsmith, carpenter, barber, washerman, village watcher, pot-maker, dancing girls, neergunty, or distributor of water, &c. Sometimes all and more than those enumerated are found in each village, sometimes only a portion of them. They have the Circar produce of a portion of the land assigned them for their livelihood, but no claim to cultivate the land. From the occupation in life of many of the incumbents it may be imagined they seldom had the wish. A portion of the produce is given to them, in addition, both from the grain in ear, and from the heaps when thrashed. It is after these deductions, variously denominated, but existing in each province, that the produce of paddy land is divided with the Circar, or the cultivator is allowed to remove harvest from dry grain lands."

These deductions from the gathered crop were termed generally swatantrams. In old times and under native governments they had amounted to $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent on the gross produce, so that $93\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. was left for division between the Circar and the ryot. In later times (1794) they had amounted to 40 per cent., and in such times whilst only 30 per cent. went to Government the ryot obtained in all 70 per cent. This excess had been corrected, and swatantrams were allowed for at the beginning of the century at the rate of about twelve per cent.

Mr. Hodgson remarks with regard to the percentage of 40, "I am inclined to think this must have been an error, or if not it was evidently a grant" It seems probable however with all due deference to Mr. Hodgson that the error existed solely in his own imagination; and arose from his being misinformed as to the difference between the true meaning of the word swatantram, and the meaning in which in the course of time it came to be understood. The true meaning would seem to be privilege or fee: and swatantrams were doubtlessly allowed originally by the village community as a means of support to those persons whose customary services added to its comfort, safety and pleasure. In early times, when money payments were rarely made and paddy was the usual vehicle of remuneration, the allowance was naturally made at the time of harvest. and as it in all probability amounted to but a small percentage on the gross produce, the Collectors on behalf of the Circar were no doubt easily

induced to permit it to be made previous to the division of the crop. The making of the allowance before dividing the crop once having become customary, the allowance would have a tendency to increase in amount under successive changes of Government, and during the troublous times of the last century may well have swollen to most undue proportions. In the same way, any allowance made before division for the expenses incurred in raising the crop would be suffered by venal Collectors of the land-tax to become larger and larger· and at last this allowance and the swatantrams together reached the alarming proportion of 40 per cent. on the gross produce And as the two allowances were made at the same time, they came in the course of time to be called by one and the same name, namely that of swatantrams. When however the province came under British rule, it became impossible that this gross abuse could be maintained: and the allowance for charges of cultivation was gradually reduced to reasonable dimensions, whilst that for village servants and others was almost wholly abolished. And thus when Mr. Hodgson reported on Dindigul, the allowances made before division had been pared down until they amounted to only 12½ per cent

My reasons for thinking that this was the case are the following. Mr Hodgson tells us that in former times the crop was divided after allowing 6¼ per cent. for swatantrams; and leaves it to be inferred that no allowance, or rather I should say no allowance before division, was made for charges of cultivation But Mr Hurdis as we have seen allowed for these charges before dividing the crop, and speaks of the allowance for *pothu selavu* as a matter of course; and it would seem to be unreasonable to suppose that in previous times either no deduction was made on this account before division, or a deduction was made of so trifling an amount as to be covered together with the swatantrams proper by the 6¼ per cent. In the next place the amount of deduction mentioned by Mr. Hodgson as being made on account of swatantrams is almost the identical amount which Mr. Hurdis allowed for swatantrams in the case of ordinary Nanjey lands—see ante page 37—and which apparently he allowed principally on account of the necessary expenses of cultivation. He allowed 12½ per cent: and there seems to be good ground for supposing that the necessary charges of cultivation were mainly provided for in this allowance, both because they were allowed for before division in the cases of Nanjey of the first class and Pânmalâ Nanjey, and because (as we shall see hereafter) Mr. Hurdis about the same time

allowed 12½ per cent under the head of swatantrams in assessing the Nanjey lands of the Madura country, and has stated expressly that this allowance was made on account of *rassums* or fees as well as on account of swatantrams From this it would seem to be clear that when speaking of Nanjey, Mr. Hurdis used the term swatantrams in the sense of sundry allowances of which that for pothu selavu was the principal. Then again the Board of Revenue in disposing of the Inâm lands of the district resumed the greater part of them, and whilst leaving Inâm lands in the enjoyment of the principal and most responsible of the village officials, made no provision in the shape of landed endowments for the maintenance of dancing girls, poets, and other unnecessary servants of the village and it may probably be inferred from these circumstances that no very considerable portion of the 12½ per cent. was set aside for swatantrams in the original and restricted sense of the word, and that they were therefore with a few unimportant exceptions finally discontinued before Mr. Hodgson came to Dindigul. For these reasons I think that Mr Hodgson must have misunderstood the meaning of the term swatantrams; and that the allowance of 12½ made at the survey under that head, was made almost wholly on account of the necessary charges of cultivation

Mr. Hodgson then goes on to speak of the custom of dividing the paddy crop between the Circar and the ryot as follows:—" In Din-" digul the produce of paddy was always before our acquisition of " the province divided (after deducting the allowances in kind above " referred to) between the cultivator and the Circar in equal portions " and received by the Circar in kind I have found the practice of " dividing the produce of paddy land to have been general in all the " districts I have visited prior to the introduction of the system of " ryotwar rent or a fixed field rent in money. This practice con-" tinued in Dindigul till the establishment of the survey and intro-" duction of field rents in Fusly 1210 or A D. 1800 The Circar of " Hyder and Tippoo generally took the whole Circar share from the " paddy land in kind, and seldom made it over for a money payment " to the villagers Under the Company's Government, since the " conquest in 1792 to the establishment of field rents in 1799-1800, " the villagers were generally contracted with to take the Circar " share or a portion thereof for money, and the rest was received " into store. At one time the district was rented by divisions com-

"posed of several villages to one man. When this mode of realizing "the Circar share was adopted, the villagers were at liberty to take "their share in kind, or to contract with the renter to take the whole "produce paying him a value agreed on for the Circar share. This "system is favourable to the cultivator when redress from exaction "is obtainable, because it leaves him without risk or responsibility."

With regard to the mode of collecting rents on dry-grain lands the report goes on to speak as follows.—"The share of the Circar of "the produce of dry grain land in Dindigul was before our acquisi- "tion of the province received always in money, at so much for a "given quantity of land of a given quality. The rates of assessment, "the quality of the land, and the extent of the land measure, differed "in each village, or, if not in all, in a very large proportion of them "The nominal extent of the land was generally exceeded by the "actual extent, and although the denomination of rod used to mea- "sure the land might be the same in each village, the number of the "inches to the foot, or feet to the rod, and size of the foot, differed "in many. It was by this intricacy, and by these indulgences, that "the arbitrary imposts of despotic rulers were evaded or rendered "less oppressive An order might be issued to increase the assess- "ment and the revenue Officer might obey to outward appearance: "but if he was sensible, the increase would not be collected or he "was bribed to betray his trust and be allowed a favourable rate of "measurement This once granted become mamool, and would "always be claimed as a right It is not I imagine possible other- "wise to account for the increase in Dindigul of the assessment on "certain dry grain lands, called Ghitty, during Syed Saib's manage- "ment, from 6$\frac{3}{6}\frac{2}{4}$ cully fanams per cooly to 16½ cully fanams, being "at once more than one hundred per cent. The mode of col- "lecting the revenue from dry grain land thus described continued "till the introduction of the survey And, where the villages were "rented to the villagers, it was productive of no inconvenience, they "knew what each ought to pay, and settled the portion of rent "among themselves. Where the villages were consolidated and "several given to a renter in farm, he might experience difficulty in "ascertaining his rights, and in collecting his rents from this intricacy "of assessment, but the Circar suffered none. The survey and "assessment established an uniform land measure, and an uniform "rent, varying with the variations in the soil to the extent of a given

"number of sorts. This was no great change on the dry grain land "on former custom; it was still collecting the tax in ready money, "in lieu of taking a share of the produce of those lands. This change, "provided the new rates of rent, and uniform land measure, bore the "same proportion to each other, that the old rates of rent bore to the "old land measure, might not be unjust, or might even leave a larger "share to the ryot. If they did not bear the same proportion, there "must have been either an over-assessment or an under-assessment, "an increase, or decrease, on the former rates of assessment. In most "cases it was intended, the ryot should on an average be more "favorably assessed under the survey, than he had been prior to its "adoption."

Mr. Hodgson then expresses his dissent from the policy of substituting a money assessment on paddy lands in place of the time-honored custom of dividing the paddy crop between the Circar and the ryot —"But the introduction of the survey field rents on Nunjah "or paddy land was a positive innovation on ancient custom. It "changed the nature of the land tax from what was in kind to one in "money. It changed what had existed for ages, it separated the interests of a corporation united for ages, and if it did not leave under "all seasons and all circumstances the same proportion to the cultivator he enjoyed before, viz, half the produce, it would be an "over-assessment, or if it gave him more an under-assessment. But "still it was an innovation in the mode of payment, and introduced "a responsibility hitherto unknown."

And he proceeds to show that there was 1st, the danger of demanding too much from the ryot, in which case agriculture would be depressed; 2dly, the danger of demanding too little, and thereby impoverishing the Circar. Between these dangers it would be very difficult to steer safely. Moreover the objection that a division of crop was, like tithes, a discouragement to agriculture, must not have the same weight in India as in Europe; for the circumstances of the one country were different from those of the other. The question then to be considered was, how small a portion of the produce Government could afford to take in money? If it could take only a sixth, then of course the ryot would flourish and land would become exceedingly valuable as it had in Canara. But Mr. Hodgson had his doubts as to the ability of Government making any great present sacrifice of income, and he deprecated the adoption of the new commutation system in wet-land districts as premature. It

might be tried first in dry land districts, and if it proved successful, be extended afterwards throughout all districts under the Company's management. But the custom of dividing the produce of paddy lands had prevailed generally in all the districts with which Mr. Hodgson was acquainted; and although he was unable to state the reasons which had originally led to the adoption of this practice, he was unwilling that it should be disturbed.

With regard to the assessment on betel-gardens, and on plantain, tobacco, onion, chilli, turmeric, and ginger gardens, Mr. Hodgson observes that under Native Governments a certain assessment was fixed for a certain unit of measurement of land, of whatever quality and however circumstanced: but in different parts of the district this unit of measurement varied in its actual dimensions, though known everywhere by one name. Accordingly the assessment was unequally imposed. No allowance was made for inferiority of soil and deficiency of water; and the same actual extent of surface would be variously taxed in various places, according as it happened to exceed or fall short of the local unit of measurement. This irregularity had been corrected by the survey establishing a uniform standard of measurement and classifying lands according to their actual powers of production.

The report then classes Dindigul with Coimbatore, Salem, and the Ceded Districts, amongst dry-grain districts possessing but limited means of irrigation and unsuited for the growing of paddy. Irrigation was rendered generally impracticable by the nature of the country :—"The paddy land receives its principal and almost sole "supply of water from the Shooruliar which takes its rise in the "western mountains, which separate the province on the south from "territories of the Râja of Travançore. This river receives its waters "from the rains of the S. W. monsoon, and comes down generally "about the months of June and July. It is joined in its course by "the Vigiaur and other small tributary streams, and thus united "runs in almost a direct line through the Taluqs of Kumbum, "Oothamapaliem, and Periacolum. The paddy villages, or more "properly the Nunjah villages of the province, are all situated in the "banks of the Shooruliar; and the lands of these villages are watered "either by channels leading directly from the river to the field, or "by means of tanks, which are filled by channels from the river. "The water is diverted into these channels of supply by dams of "stone-work thrown across the stream."

But schemes had been talked of by means of which the waters of the Dindigul river were to be greatly augmented in volume, and its sphere of operation and usefulness considerably enlarged. Mr. Hodgson tells us in vague and general terms what these schemes were; and it seems that one of them, namely the Periyâr, was one which has been lately revived.

Mr. Hodgson believed that the lands of Dindigul were the property of the ryots who tilled them: and not the property of Government. He says:—" In Dindigul, as in all the provinces south of Madras, a " property in the land is vested on the resident inhabitants of each " village," and he quotes from a statement made by Mr. Hurdis in 1800, as follows:—" So long ago as the 31st March 1800 Mr. Hurdis " stated, that the Natamagars of south Coimbatore considered, that " they already held a proprietary right in the soil, and would be " little disposed to purchase that (the) right of Government, and " remarked, that " The resolution of Government to dispose of the " " proprietary right in the Circar lands by sale, according to the " " manner and amount specified in para. 58, I conceive to be generally " " very impracticable, from the poverty of the description of people " " they expect will become the purchasers, as well as from the objec- " " tion those very people would have to purchase a proprietary right " " in what prescription had already made their own.

" " The Natamagars certainly consider the farm they cultivate as " " their own property, and no Government, save the Mussulman, " " appears to have considered the soil its own, or itself at liberty " " to deprive the inferior subject at its will. In forming the present " " benevolent system, this solitary precedent (surely) will not operate " " as an example to act upon; but where no written document is " " found, what has been known *as usage*, will be established as law. " " This would confirm the prescriptive right of many industrious " " natives to the lands they have long occupied, and be the certain " " means of making them comprehend, whence their advantages were " " derived." "

Mr. Hodgson was of opinion that the same view might be taken of the rights of the " Natamagars and Gours of Dindigul, or Puttookut ryots as they were termed prior to the survey," just as well as of those of the resident ryots of south Coimbatore.

Mr Hodgson then proceeds to prove that the " proprietary right" conferred on Zamindârs by the Regulations did not in any way

interfere and was in no way inconsistent with the certain indefeasible property in the soil which vested in the ryot who cultivated it. The two rights were co-existent, but independent the one of the other. The cultivators of the soil had the solid right from time immemorial of paying a defined rent, and no more, for the land they cultivated:—
" And no Zemindar, proprietor, or whatever name be given to these " persons, was entitled by the law, custom, or usage, to make his " demand for rent according to his convenience." The right of Zamindârs was in reality nothing more " than the right to collect " from the cultivators that rent, which custom has established as the " right of Government and the benefit arising from this right is con- " fined, first to an extension of the amount, not of the rate, of the " customary rent, by an increase of cultivation; 2ndly, to a profit in " dealings in grain, where the rent may be rendered in kind, 3rdly, " to a change from an inferior to a superior kind of culture arising " out of a mutual understanding of their interest between the cul- " tivator and proprietor"

And in most parts of India there might be seen a class of persons, intermediate between Government and the actual tillers of the soil, which lived on the profits of the land without performing any manual labor. They were small capitalists, and employed their capital in farming their hereditary lands The mere fact that such a class existed, showed clearly that Government could not with any degree of justice claim for itself the actual proprietary right in the soil. And Zamindârs of course had no larger rights than those of the Government. The argument is thus stated .—" Much has been said " of the boasted proprietary right of the owners of private estates " in Canara and Malabar, and elaborate disquisitions of the superior " and inferior rights of the Jenamkar, Chully-Gurney and Mool- " Gurney of Canara have been entered into to prove that we should " do an act of injustice in selling the proprietary right in the lands " of Canara as we have done elsewhere. When this is argued, pro- " prietary right is understood as an unlimited right, and the analogy " between our *Kaniyatchgars*, *Oolkoodies*, *Ool Pyakoodies*, and " *Pyakoodies*, with *Jenamkar*, *Mool-Gurney*, and *Chully-Gurney* is " disputed. When I assert that in no part of our territories in India are the lands cultivated by hired laborers, paid by the Government, or by its slaves, I do not fear contradiction. When I assert, that by far the largest portion of the territory of India is cultivated " either by slaves or hired laborers, I am as little afraid of the position

"being denied me. If, then, these slaves and hired laborers who 'drive the plough are not in the pay of the Government, by whom "are they paid? They are paid by a description of persons whose 'denomination varies with the variation in the local languages, and "whom we know under the general term of the cultivator or ryot. "In parts of India besides Canara I assert, with as little fear of con-"tradiction, that where a Brahmin has the property in the land, "which the laws of his religion do not allow of his cultivating with "his own hand, three description of persons subsist on the produce of 'land:—

"1*st.*—The Brahmin.

"2*nd.*—The Shudra who undertakes to cultivate the Brahmin's "property and to pay him for it a rent in kind.

"3*rd.*—The slave or hired laborer who assists the Shudra. "Again, the Government in India nowhere finds the seeds, the "implements of husbandry, or cattle for the plough. The Govern-"ment has never been in the practice of granting leases for the land "Leases for rent and leases for land are, in India, distinct subjects. "The collection of the rent of a village, of a number of villages, of "a Taluq, or of a Province, has usually been granted on lease: but we "nowhere find that the cultivators, each and all, ever held leases "for their particular fields. In most instances the land is not even "the separate property of each individual, but the joint property of "the society of the village, and held in shares, the occupation of the "lands being changed by the casting of lots at stated periods, but "always in the fixed shares. It must then, I think, be admitted, that "the Circar or Government, or the representatives of Government "the Zemindars, never could have been the absolute proprietors of "the soil."

The right was more or less valuable to the ryot according as arable land in his neighbourhood was scarce or abundant; and according as it was lightly or heavily assessed. In Canara it was both scarce and lightly assessed, and was therefore extremely valuable. In Coimbatore, in the Ceded Districts, in Salem, and in dry grain districts generally, the reverse of this was the case. Not a fifth part of the cultivable area was under cultivation, and the ryots actually thought they conferred a favor on Government in taking up lands for cultivation. For not only had the old rates of assessment imposed by Hindû Rajas been maintained, but in addition we had collected them

with a strictnes never before known Consequently Nanjey lands and lands furnished with wells alone had a marketable value, and were sold and otherwise transferred by their owners. And in the case of lands furnished with wells, the marketable value depended upon the quantity of water yielded by the wells not upon the extent of the lands to which the wells belonged. For only such portions as could be watered, bore any value: the remainder was absolutely valueless.

Upon this reasoning Mr. Hodgson arrived at the following sweeping conclusions:—

1*st.*—"That the cultivators have a right every where, without "the exception of a single district or province, to pay a fixed tax "for the land they occupy.

2*nd.*—"That they have the right universally to occupy this "land, so long as they pay the standard rent.

3*rd.*—"That they have the right (the standard rent being the "only rent of Government) to sell and transfer by deed, gift, or "otherwise, the land they occupy, subject always to the condition of "paying the standard rent.

4*th*—"That they exercise the right stated in the third position, "wherever the standard rent has not been increased so as to absorb "all the profit on cultivation, or arable land is sufficiently scarce to "be of value in the acquisition."

At the time when Colonel Munro reported on Canara, that district had fallen altogether from its former flourishing state. Its lands had become valueless and unsaleable like those of other districts. And why? Not so much because the country had been ravaged by Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultân and many of its inhabitants had been carried off to other countries, as because its assessment had been immensely augmented. So long as the assessment on their lands remained moderate, ryots would always pay it; land would be valuable; the country would flourish. The ryot did not care to whom he paid his tax. He cared only about its amount. The disturbances in Malabar, where as in Canara lands were valuable, were brought about not by the dissatisfaction of the inhabitants but by the intrigues of dispossessed Râjas, who were anxious by all means to get back their estates. And as in Canara and Malabar, so in all other districts the right of the ryot was clearly defined by custom.

And it was the plain duty of Government to preserve it in its integrity; and by imposing a light assessment, constantly add to its value.

Having disposed of this question, Mr Hodgson next notices the rates of assessment prevailing in the district as reported upon by Mr. Hurdis to the Board of Revenue, and by the latter to Government. He was of opinion that they were moderate :—"These principles of "assessment profess to take no more as the share of Government from "the cultivation of the soil than is taken in other provinces: neither "do the rates of teerwa appear to be higher than the rates in the "adjoining provinces. The shares allowed to the cultivâtor on the "productions of garden land, of paddy land and of dry grain land "are very favorable, and the only question is whether they are "sufficient to enable the cultivator to pay in money in all seasons. "This again will depend on the price at which the produce is valued, "which, if low, would afford the means And the commutation "accordingly appears to be moderate"

The ultimate survey value of all the cultivated lands of the province was Star Pagodas 1,31,315, fs. 14 and c. 12, and Mr. Hodgson says of it:—"This survey value must first be compared "with the state of the provinces, prior to the introduction of the "survey, and the amount of revenue realized from it at former periods, "before the capacity or incapacity of the country to yield this rent "can be decided on. From the comparison it will be necessary to "reject the first five years of the Company's authority as exhibiting a "revenue far below the since ascertained value of the country."

From this amount Mr. Hurdis had proposed that a sum equal to rather better than ten per cent should be deducted in favor of the Zamindârs, and that the permanent Jamâ should be Star Pagodas 1,18,118, fs. 30 and c. 20 This reduction the Board of Revenue had thought to be too small, seeing that it was much less than had been made in favor of Zemindârs in other districts. and accordingly they had raised it to over sixteen per cent. on the gross value of the province, and fixed the Jamâ at Star Pagodas 1,09,189.

But most of the men who bought thirty-one of the forty Zamindâris in Fasli 1214, and of the Poligars to whom eight of the remaining Zamindâris were restored, and the Collector himself who collected on the remaining estate which was left unsold, were unable to make full collections according to the survey rates, during Faslis 12, 14, 15 and 16. And at the end of that period the total balance which had

accrued against twenty-six estates then under attachment was Star Pagodas 39,909 fs. 44 c. 56.

Mr. Hodgson then proceeds to show how this state of things had come about. The permanent settlement had been formed on wrong principles, and not in accordance with " The principles on which the " permanent settlement should be formed, detailed in the instruc- " tions of the 19th October 1799, which after having been submitted " to Government were circulated to all the Collectors. The Special " Commission and the Board of Revenue have till the settlement of " Dindigul conformed in practice with those principles; and in all " instances the permanent settlement has been formed by deducting " a certain percentage varying according to circumstances from the " actual collections for a period of years. The only partial exceptions " are in the case of the Jagheer, where accounts of the supposed value " of the country, viz, the teerwa accounts of Fusly 1202, 1203 and " 1204 and those of Fusly 1205, 1206, 1207, were partially admitted, " and in Salem, where a survey rate of assessment had obtained for " a series of years But in Salem the ultimate survey valuation of " the utmost quantity of land known to be cultivated was not taken " as the date of assessment. the Jumma of the two preceding years " and the average of nine years' collections were the data on which " the cultivation was made. So in the Kristnagery division, of the " Baramahal. These two portions of the country, formerly under the " management of Lieutenant Colonel Read, and known formerly by " the name of " Ceded Districts," are the only districts of which the " revenue is settled in permanency, where ryotwar or individual " rents had been in practice These districts and the Jagheer are, " also, the only parts of the country permanently settled, where, from " the frequency of the sales, or the results of our management of the " estates of minors, there might be reason to apprehend, that the per- " manent settlement may have been somewhat over-rated. In set- " tling permanently the revenues of Salem, the Baramahal, and Din- " digul, too much attention was perhaps paid to the extent of waste " land in each estate, as an eventual source of wealth to the proprie- " tor. And the deduction was in consequence made less in these " estates, than in other, where there was no waste land or only a " small proportion."

In the Zillas of Guntoor, Masulipatam, Rajahmundry, Vizagapatam and Ganjam, many estates had been sold and hardly a failure had

occurred. But then in all of them :—" The revenue detail had never " extended lower than village rents, no settlement had ever been " made with each individual cultivator of the soil, nor had any " accounts been taken of the actual extent of each individual's cultiv- " ation. It must be obvious, therefore, that where the rents were " large, and comprizing in one farm several villages, the renters' pro- " fit and expenses did not appear in account, that where the rents " were by villages, the profits of the village collectively, and the ex- " pence of collection from each individual composing the community " of the villages, did not appear in account. Large rents were more " common than village rents. Under a Ryotwar rent, not only each " man's assessment on each of his fields appeared in the public accounts, " but, under the terms of the rent, land cultivated, or productive, was " sometimes paid for either by the holder of the land or by the vil- " lage conjointly, to which he belonged. Under this system, there- " fore, every item of revenue receipt may be said to have brought " into the public accounts In the districts of Salem, for example " the deductions were, as before observed, made from what may be " called the actual resources, being the settled Jumma of the two " Fuslies preceding the permanent rent. Because, under a survey " assessment, the Jumma as settled is always collected. The deduc- " tion was about thirteen per cent. on the average Jumma of those " two years to which three per cent. was added for charges of collec- " tion, being the amount of Monigars' pay brought to the account. " So that the estates of Salem may be said to have been assessed at " sixteen per cent. on the average of two years. For although refer- " ence was had to the general average of nine years, in which the two " years above referred to were included, yet the deduction on this " general average amounted to a very inconsiderable sum, being less " than seven per cent or less than ten including Monigars' pay."

As might have been expected therefore, many estates in Salem had been brought to the hammer. But however faulty might have been the principles on which the permanent settlement had been fixed in Salem, the Dindigul system was far worse. For here, instead of taking the average collections of a number of years as the basis upon which to calculate the Jamâ, the Board of Revenue had merely made a deduction of sixteen per cent. from the proposed Jamâ of Fasli 1214; which had not yet been collected, and which was higher than any Jamâ that had ever been collected in previous years by the British Government.

After showing the collections which were actually made by Mr. Hurdis from the first year of his administration to the last, Mr. Hodgson remarks:—" After this exposition it must be admitted, " that the deduction from the resources or collections as stated in " the public accounts ought to have been more in the one case, than " in the other. That, in the case of a previous Ryotwar collection " sixteen deducted from the hundred which appeared in the account, " would only give a benefit of 16; but that 16 deducted from every " 100 under the collections, which appeared in accounts from large " rents or village rents, would give a benefit exceeding 16, in all the " sum which had been the renters' profits and charges, and which " might amount to 10 to 15 or 20 per cent. more." And further on he says:—" From a review of all these documents I have no hesita-" tion in declaring my conviction, that the amount of rent fixed on " the estates of Dindigul was too high, because the deduction, small " in amount, viz. about 16 per cent. was not made on an average " produce, but from an estimated rent higher than the country had " ever yielded since it came into the possession of the Company: " while, in all other districts, with more or less variation the deduc-" tions in favor of proprietors had been made from the average " revenue of several years. It is not at this period possible to say, " how this error was committed. It must have been an oversight, " because the Board never could have intended to depart so widely " from the principles of the permanent settlement, or their practice " in all former settlements."

Notwithstanding these errors however the actual collections made in the Province of Dindigul during Faslies 1214, 1215 and 1216, had not fallen much below the amount of collections during the three years antecedent to the permanent settlement, when the revenues of Dindigul were at their highest Mr. Hodgson compares the collections as thus:—

Actual gross collections from the purchasers of the estates, and from estates under attachment.

		S. P.	F.	C.
In Fasli	1214......	82,247	25	14
"	1215......	86,621	34	75
"	1216......	83,489	17	38
	Total...	2,52,358	27	47
	Average...	84,119	24	15

		S. P.	F.	C.
Actual gross collections, in Fasli	1211......	89,832	12	66
„	1212......	99,246	19	72
„	1213....	1,05,152	13	77
	Total...	2,94,231	1	53
	Average...	98,077	0	44

And he goes on to say:—" From this it results that the average of " the latter periods is less than the first by 14 $\frac{\frac{35}{8}}{16}$ per cent. Against " this it may be argued, that the seasons during the latter period " were extremely adverse; that it was a period of mixed manage- " ment, partly by speculating purchasers and partly under the " Collector, who had to remedy the confusion introduced by these " adventurers; that no advances for Taccavy were made; that no " means were taken by binding down the cultivators in the " early part of the year, to carry on an extensive cultivation; that, " under the establishment of the Courts of Justice, and the want of " Commissioners to sell distrained property, the cultivators were left " to carry on their cultivation according to their will and pleasure, " and to pay their rent under much the same discretion and, finally, " that the cultivators had the power, and exercised it, of engaging " land on more favorable terms in the Pollams. While, on the con- " trary, in the former period the seasons were more favorable, the " exertions of the Collector unceasing, the advances for cultivation " considerable, and the controlling power of the Collector in full " force. The part of this may be true to the full extent. " Because experience has shown, that a change from the rigid col- " lection of the annual rent under a Jummabundy, formed by " Collectors on the total survey rents of all the fields cultivated, to " that of leaving a Mootadar to make his own Jummabundy, armed " only with the authority granted by the Regulation, that authority " tardily enforced and clogged with numerous forms, must be great. " But still, the operation of individual interest is sufficient to keep " up the revenue to its ordinary standard, unless other causes tend " to depress it: and it is probable, that, under other circumstances " than an extreme bad year and still worse management, the latter " arising from a combination of circumstances, the gross revenue of " Dindigul would not have fallen much short of the amount of the " third year of the triennial lease.

But even if Government might possibly have escaped without serious loss, the unfortunate Zamindârs could not. They had had every thing against them, a succession of bad seasons; the release of the ryots from Collectorial authority, and after the first year from all their engagements; and their own ignorance of the new revenue Regulations and procedure. And over and above all this, the Jamâ had been so calculated as to leave them but a small margin of profit in the best seasons and under the most favorable circumstances. It was not so much because the survey rates of assessment were too high that the Zamindârs had failed in their engagements. These rates seemed fair and just as compared with the rates prevailing in in other districts: and after the failure of the Zamindârs the Collector had made his settlements according to them, and without any difficulty. It was true indeed that the Zamindârs had found it expedient to lower the rates, and it was certain that many ryots had abandoned their lands and emigrated to the neighbouring pâleiyams. But too much weight was not to be allowed to these perhaps fortuitous circumstances, seeing that Mr. Hurdis and afterwards Mr. Parish had both of them contrived to make their collections according to the survey rates The principal reason of the failure was, the denial of a fair margin of profit to those individuals who made themselves responsible to the Honorable Company for the revenues of the district. Had a succession of good seasons followed upon the permanent settlement; had the Zamindârs been armed with sufficient authority to protect their own interests; or had they known how to properly use what authority they actually possessed; and lastly had no untoward accidents of any description happened; in such case there might possibly have been no failure. But no provision had been made for the occurrence of unfavourable circumstances; and the Zamindârs were paralysed by the first blows of ill-fortune.

But although the Zamindârs had suffered heavily, the ryots had not. And the revenue resources of the province were in nowise affected. The seasons having been bad, many of the ryots had refused to enter into agreements to cultivate. And the ignorance of the Zamindârs had prevented them from enforcing payment under the provisions of the Regulations, in the cases of those who had agreed but failed to meet their engagements. The report goes on to say :—" The consequences of the error committed in assessing per-

"manently the revenues of the province of Dindigul have therefore "been confined to the loss entailed on those persons who speculated "in the purchase of the estates.

"1st.—To the extent of the premiums collected, being 9,950 "Star Pagodas.

"2ndly.—To the amount those purchasers may have paid, in "addition to the purchase money, over and above the collections they "were able to make from their estates, which sum is, I understand, "nearly as much as the premiums, and another proof that the "resources of the country did not suffer"

Next came the question, the perpetual settlement having failed what mode of settlement was to take its place? The Board having left it to Mr Hodgson's discretion to sanction or not as he might think proper the introduction of a village rent system, he decided in its favor, and for the following reasons, viz:—" 1st, Because a "village settlement had been, previous to the survey customary in "Dindigul. 2ndly, Because a village rent would leave the cultivators "to settle among themselves the amount of rent, each was to pay for "his field; and thus gave them an opportunity of relieving them-"selves from the inconvenience of an over or under-assessment on "particular lands, if any such had occurred in the survey; 3rdly, "Because, from the want of Commissioners the difficulty of pro-"curing the number of forms laid down for attachment, and for sales "of distrained property, the detail of a ryotwar rent or the collection "of rent from each individual, became almost impracticable, or, if "practicable, subject to much vexation; whereas in Dindigul, the "cultivators had experienced that summary process as heretofore "could not be adopted towards them 4thly, Because the principles "on which the regulations are founded, the process and the forms "laid down, have no reference to such a detail, while it seemed by no "means an advisable plan to place a Collector and his Officers in the "same situation, as a Zemindar or proprietor without having the "same interests."

And what was to be done with the unfortunate persons who had purchased over-assessed estates, whether in the first instance or when they were put up for sale a second time on account of the failure of the first purchasers? Ought they to be released from confinement? And ought they have their purchase money restored to

them? If it were admitted, the report says:—"that the estates were "over-assessed, it is but justice to the individuals that they should "be released from confinement. Against this it may be urged, that "the purchasers of these estates, although adventurers, were all "inhabitants of Dindigul, and might therefore have known, or have "gained the knowledge of, the value of the estates. If the purchase "money be restored to one person, it must in justice be to all, and to "those Poligars, who have contrived to pay the permanent Jumma on "the estates they purchased, to add to their Polliams, as well as the "adventurers in confinement" Mr. Hodgson recommended that the defaulters should be repaid their purchase money in full The faith of Government had been in a manner pledged that the Jamâ permanently assessed on the estates was moderate. and Government ought not to permit its errors of judgment to bring ruin on those whom it had unintentionally misled.

Lastly Mr. Hodgson recommended that Mr Hurdis, being well acquainted with the character and resources of the ryots, should be directed to draw up a report on which the Board might fix in perpetuity the rents of the unassessed pâleiyams of Dindigul, and of those of Mânapâra. suggesting at the same time that possibly the Pêshkash which was then paid by them was excessive in amount.

Such in substance is Mr. Hodgson's elaborate report. In taking leave of it I may perhaps be permitted to observe that his remarks at page 58 ante, touching the position or rights of Karnams and other village officials in respect of mâniam lands, would seem to deserve peculiar weight at the present time; when the Revenue and Judicial Officers of the Madura district hold so different views with respect to the nature and amount of the property in mâniam lands which is vested in the village officials; and when it is so difficult in many instances to decide with reference to the provisions of Regulation VI of 1831, whether a dispute arising between a Mâniamdâr and the actual cultivator of his mâniam lands, ought to be settled in a revenue office or in a Court of Justice. Those who hold that the Board of Revenue has no *locus standi* when it asserts that mâniam lands are under its care and control, that the Collector cannot interfere in behalf of his village officials to any greater extent than will suffice to confer on proper persons the right and title to enjoy the portions of Government revenue specially appropriated to their support; that the appropriation to a particular office of the annual tîrvei claimable on

a particular field could not affect in the smallest degree the nature of the tenure by which an existing occupant held that field, or divest a tittle of his right as occupant thereof, and that where a portion of waste land was appropriated to the support of an official, the prescriptive rights of occupancy which accrued from the cultivation thereof vested in the Mâniamdâr, if he was the cultivator, as a private individual and ordinary ryot and not in his capacity of Mâniamdâr; those who hold such views will regard with much satisfaction the deliberate opinion of so weighty an authority as Mr. Hodgson. And as it appears from a later portion of this report that in most parts of Dindigul all but the best lands were at the beginning of this century absolutely valueless, they will probably regard that fact as important, inasmuch as it goes to show that the British Government in making waste lands mâniam, could not have intended to confer thereby an additional benefit on the Mâniamdâr, but must have intended to remunerate him for his services without at the same time diminishing to the extent of the tîrvei let go to him, the total amount of revenue then flowing into the treasury.

On the 24th October 1808 the local Government wrote a revenue despatch to England, the main subject of which was the failure of the perpetual settlement in Dindigul. It was based principally upon the report furnished by Mr. Hodgson which we have just noticed; and the then Government appears to have accepted his views almost in their entirety.

With regard to the assessment imposed after survey Government observed :—" The introduction of a field rent on survey, applied to " the Punjah or dry lands, was, in fact, a continuation of the system " to which the inhabitants had been accustomed : but by establishing " an uniformity of land measure it corrected the abuses which had " crept into the administration of the revenue from the causes before " described, it equalized the assessment and must have augmented " the payments of some of the inhabitants, while those of others were " reduced, but it was intended to have generally a more favorable " operation than the former modes of collection. But the introduction " of the survey field-rents on Nunjah or paddy lands as stated by " Mr Hodgson, was a positive innovation on ancient custom, intro- " ducing a responsibility hitherto unknown. It does not appear that " the survey rates of assessment on any of the descriptions of land

"were excessive, although the purchasers of the estates were induced, "in many instances, to lower them; for while a combination of causes "may be assigned for this measure, the fact that Mr. Hurdis made "his collections according to these rates before the estates were sold, "and that his successor, Mr. Parish, collected the revenue from the "cultivators by the same rule after the sequestration of the estates, "neither of those gentlemen having experienced any difficulty in "realizing the demand, stands as a proof that the survey rates were "adjusted with accuracy, in regard to the quality and extent of the "land while under cultivation. It is also satisfactory to know, that "these rates have served as a protection to the ryots from oppresive "exaction, and that although disappointment has been experienced "in the failure of the intended permanent settlement, the resources "of the cultivators have not been impaired."

But in determining the account of the permanent demand, the results of the preliminary settlement upon cowle had been almost exclusively relied on, in consequence of Mr Hurdis having caused the revenue to advance so suddenly and so rapidly that all comparison between the collections of one year and those of another either in his time or before had been rendered quite impracticable. "In the instance of Dindigul, it appears that the proposed permanent "assessment partook too much of the nature of an estimate founded "on the ultimate survey valuation of the lands, and on the engage-"ments entered into with the inhabitants for triennial leases; engage-"ments which had only been partially discharged at the time when "the estates were disposed of at a fixed rent, and in which the "inhabitants ultimately failed. The expectations of the inhabitants "and those of the Collector were too sanguine, and were liable to be "defeated by an adverse season."

The consequence of this was:—"It is impossible to resist the con-"viction that the principles of the permanent settlement were entirely "misapplied in the instance of Dindigul, and that a revision of the "assessment has become indispensably necessary It is to be observed. "that a series of adverse seasons succeeded the permanent settlement "of Dindigul, and no doubt contributed, in a great degree, to its "failure; but it cannot be denied, that the allowance made in favor "of the Zemindars was too small, and that although their payments "might have been more considerable in better seasons, the expecta-"tion that they could have continued to discharge the demand of

"Government from the produce of their estates was absolutely "hopeless."

With regard to the defaulters, Government had ordered their release from confinement conditional on them relinquishing all claims to their estates, but had not complied with Mr. Hodgson's request that the losses the purchasers of estates had sustained might be made good to them. For the accounts on which the Jamâ was founded were open to their inspection, and they had every means of acquiring information before they purchased. And in like manner it had not seemed advisable to make any remission in favor of the Poligars who had recovered their estates, without first consulting the Board of Revenue, and ascertaining whether there might not be "reasons connected with the local advantages of those estates, and "with the means of the Poligars to draw forth their resources at "present dormant, which may render it inexpedient"

The permanent settlement having failed, recourse was had on Mr. Hodgson's recommendation, to the system of village rents for a period of three years. Mr. Parish had concluded this settlement, and the actual results had been as follows.—

	First year, or Fasli 1217			Second year, or Fasli 1218			Third year, or Fasli 1219.		
	S Pgs	F	C	S Pgs	F.	C.	S. Pgs.	F	C
Twenty-nine estates rented	63,318	9	19	78,020	36	35	81,504	30	65
Six ditto, in possession of the Zamindârs at the permanent rent..........	17,844	31	70	17,844	31	70	17,844	31	70
Total...	81,162	41	9	95,865	26	25	99,349	20	55
Permanent Jamâ	90,985	30	73	90,985	30	73	90,985	30	73
In the thirty-five estates, difference.....................	9,822	31	64	4,879	37	32	8,363	31	62

	S Pgs.	F	C.
The total rent for the period of the lease would be...	2,76,378	4	9
The total amount of permanent rent for the same period, would have been...	2,72,957	8	59
The excess in favor of the village rents consequently was...	3,420	37	30

But this excess was, as observed by the Board of Revenue, exclusive of the charges of collection necessarily incurred under a village rent, while the amount of the permanent rent was net revenue.

The total revenue derivable from Dindigul in Fasli 1217 was as follows:—

	S Pgs.	F.	C.	S. Pgs.	F.	C.
Permanent Jamâ of six estates unattached, bought by Poligars	17,844	31	70			
Amount of village rents of twenty-nine estates	63,318	9	19			
Pêshkash of the pâleiyams ...	53,565	34	67			
Total land rent......	1,34,728	33	76			
Add:—Hill rent	6,139	16	45			
Farms and licenses...	1,195	19	6			
Frontier duty estimated... ...	2,241	15	74			
Total of Dindigul......				1,44,305	1	41

On the 18th December 1811 a despatch was sent from England in answer to the despatch of the local Government, commenting on the Dindigul settlement and other matters. The failure was regarded with mixed feelings of regret and alarm. Speaking of the error committed in allowing the proprietors too small a margin of profit, the Home Government remarked:—" This radical error, aided in its " operation by the calamity of adverse seasons, the ignorance of specu- " lative adventurers, and the competition of cultivators excited by the " restoration of several Pollams to the Poligars, was unhappily pro- " ductive of ruin to many of the proprietors, occasioned a loss of " revenue to Government, and may have an injurious influence upon " our future revenue administration."

The blame of all this was to be borne principally by the Board of Revenue. Mr Hurdis was no doubt at fault to some extent, seeing that it was his advice that had been acted upon in forming the permanent settlement:—" But in all cases of this sort we must consider " the Board of Revenue as especially responsible, and, in the present " instance, we are constrained to remark, that we do not observe that " distinctness of perception and accuracy of investigation generally " so conspicuous in their researches, and which have on many occa- " sions attracted our approbation."

The Home Government agreed altogether with Mr. Hodgson in thinking that the individuals who had suffered so considerably by

their dealings with Government, should be restored to their former position. It was undoubtedly true that they had depended upon the good faith and practical knowledge of the Officers who administered the revenues of the country: and although it might be said, and more particularly of the second purchasers, that they had speculated somewhat rashly and carelessly and so contributed to their own ruin, still it was highly necessary that the good name of the British Government should not in any way be impaired

The recommendations of the Board of Revenue seemed somewhat harsh and impolitic :—" There are other considerations, however, " which forbid us to sanction the decision you have come to. The pro- " prietors of twenty-nine out of thirty-five estates have become bank- " rupts. Some of these estates having been repeatedly attached and " sold, it is not improbable that from forty to fifty families have been " involved in ruin. The unfortunate speculators have suffered two " or three years' imprisonment, and though now released, are doom- " ed to indigence for the remainder of their lives ; and the fact being " acknowledged by you, that more was paid for the land than the " land was worth, however reluctant we may be to add to the sacri- " fices already brought upon our revenue by an improvident arrange- " ment, we think it would be unbecoming the dignity, and discredit- " able to the character of our Government, as well as repugnant to " every humane feeling, not to restore to the former owners of the " distrained estates the original purchase money. The sum to be " restored will, according to Mr. Hodgson's statement, be 9,950 Pago- " das, which being deducted from 14,557 Pagodas, the total loss sus- " tained by the proprietors for premiums, and money paid to the Col- " lector over and above the collections, will still leave them sufferers " to the amount of Star Pagodas 4,607."

As for those Poligars who had purchased six of the estates in order to add to their pâleiyams, they had been properly dealt with. Mr. Hodgson's recommendation to the effect that a remission ought certainly to be made to them was very proper, supposing always that the estates were not exceptionally profitable owing to causes of an exceptional nature. The Board must see to this; and if they found nothing remarkable in the circumstances of the six estates, they must place these Poligars in the same position as other purchasers. The mere fact of them having continued to pay their Jamâ with regularity would not justify any departure from the path marked out.

Government then proceeds to say:—"After the failure of the "intended permanent settlement, the reasons stated by Mr. Hodgson, "in the one hundred and ninth paragraph of his report, have satisfied "us of the propriety of reverting to a village settlement on lease "for three years of the forfeited lands of Dindigul, which was the "customary practice in that province previous to the survey. And "considering the depressed state of cultivation from successive "unfavorable seasons, the revolutions of proprietary rights, and the "recent changes in the system of management, we agree with the "Board of Revenue in thinking the terms of the settlement as favor-"able upon the whole, and as creditable to the zeal and judgment of "Mr Parish, the Collector The total village rent for the three "years when compared with what would have been the total amount "of the permanent rent for the same period, exhibits an excess, in "favor of the village settlement, to the amount of three thousand "four hundred and twenty Pagodas, but this excess will be more "than counterbalanced by the additional expense attending a more "detailed system of management."

Later on in the despatch come a few important observations with regard to the expediency of effecting a permanent settlement in Dindigul and elsewhere, and of preparing the way for such a settlement by the introduction of triennial leases:—"We shall, therefore, at this "time content ourselves with stating, that as far as we have yet been "able to form a judgment on the subject, we are disposed generally "to approve of the village leases which you have granted, and of "your having limited them to a period of three years as admitting "of an earlier correction of errors. We observe that these leases are "intended as preparatory to the conclusion of permanent settlements "We desire it, however, to be understood by you that we are by no "means anxious for the early adoption of that system in any part of "our territories, to which it has not been hitherto extended We "have always entertained a full persuasion, and have uniformly "pressed it upon your minds, that before any settlements be formed "that are intended for permanency, it is highly necessary that the "most correct knowledge which it is practicable to obtain should be "acquired, respecting the actual state and resources of the lands, "their capacities of improvements and of the tenures and rights of "individuals. Strong and decisive as your opinion has invariably "been on this point, it has received no small confirmation from the

" experience which, we are sorry to say, has been recently afforded " us, of the frequent failure of assessments formed on the principle to " which we allude, in our possessions subject to your immediate " authority, and we hereby think it proper to restrict you from con- " cluding any settlement of a district in perpetuity, without having " previously received our specific sanction for that purpose: nor " shall we grant that sanction, unless we are put in possession of " every information necessary to direct our judgment in a matter of " such essential concern"

CHAPTER IV.

Peter Pândya.—He revises the assessment.—His report abstructed.—The Munâsib Kammi —Mr. Collector Viveash's report on the defects of the assessment abstracted.—His scheme was not adopted.—The Kannivâdi case.—The Board's report abstracted.—The report on the Vân-payir.—The tobacco tax.—Mr. Collector Levinge's report on the pâleiyams abstracted —The proceedings of the Board of Revenue thereon.—End of the Revenue history of Dindigul.

WE have gone through the principal reports and letters which have reference to the abortive perpetual settlement of Dindigul, and to the results of Mr Hurdis' strenuous and successful efforts to reduce the country to order and obedience and give shape to its chaotic system of revenue; and but little more remains to be done for the Revenue history of Dindigul.

Nothing of any importance occurred from 1811 to 1823, in which year the Collector of Dindigul was Mr Rous Peter, a gentleman who made himself so popular amongst the natives of the district by his kindness and charity and parental regard for the interests of all with whom he came in contact, by his sumptuous and liberal mode of life, and by his skill and courage as a hunter of elephants, that he received the lofty title of Pândya and is still well remembered in Madura as Peter Pândya

On the 22nd January 1823 Mr Peter reported to the Board of Revenue on the state of the Dindigul revenues, and proposed to revise the assessment. In his opinion the rates of assessment were as a rule far higher than the ryots could afford to pay for their holdings. The classification of the lands was imperfect, and greatly needed to be revised and methodized; but it was still more urgently required that the rates themselves should be lowered. For example Mr Hurdis had calculated that the best two-crop lands would yield

eleven kalams of paddy per gunta, and on this calculation, had fixed the tîrvei thereon at no less than 10 Chs., $1\frac{1}{16}$ f. per kâni; and had made it payable in all cases, whether lands were cultivated and actually yielded a second crop or were left fallow. In Vattila-gundu the rate was still higher, and amounted to 11 Chs., 4 fs., 13½ as. Widely different rates prevailed in Madura :—

" In Madura the highest teervah when two crops are gathered is 9 " Chs per cawny, and this rate is only in a few villages in the " vicinity of the fort of Madura, where the Dowle price is 6 cully " fanams per cawny, and even this has been represented as being too " high. If such be the case where a market is so near at hand to " dispose of the produce, how must it be with those villages that " have not that advantage ?"

Speaking of what he had previously done to modify the severity of Mr Hurdis' rates of assessment, he says that the immediate object contemplated was to afford relief to the people who were in too distressed a state to pay the public demand; and that in spite of bad seasons this object was partially attained. The reductions made :— " were upon the unquestionable fact that these lands could not " produce the quantity of grain calculated by Mr Hurdis in his " assessment, which was never formed upon the actual produce and " quality of the soil, but upon a mere estimate of its value. The " consequences to be expected have followed, the worst sort of soil " has been rated as the best, and the best as the worst, and most of " these too highly assessed to ensure a revenue with permanency. " To remedy these defects has been my anxious object, for as long as " such inconsistencies and deficiencies exist, so long will there be " room for complaint

" The simple operation of reducing the teervahs on lands which " were too highly assessed could not be expected to give satisfaction " to all people, for it is clear, as already observed, that in many " villages, lands of the same description of soil bore high and low " rates of assessment by Mr. Hurdis' survey. It has undoubtedly " given some relief, but defects must even exist as long as the lands " remain improperly classed, and the produce unascertained."

As the lands of Dindigul had been carelessly and irregularly classified, only a partial and insufficient measure of relief would be afforded by a general reduction of the tîrvei. In some cases very excessive rates would not be reduced within proper limits, and at

the same time in other cases rates moderate enough considering the nature of the soil, would be rendered far too low. And the effect of the revised land-tax pressing often more heavily on one man than on another would be much jealousy and dissatisfaction. A new and thorough classification must be made; and all lands of a like description and similarly circumstanced must be systematically and equally assessed with uniform rates according to the mode now submitted for the consideration of the Board

Mr Peter had tried his proposed plan of assessment in Tâdikambu, and notwithstanding a succession of bad seasons good results had followed in the shape of extended cultivation. He observes:—"When at "the village a few months ago, the inhabitants showed me a consider- "able extent of Punjah land which they promised to bring under "Nunjah cultivation, as they said the assessment was moderate, and "gave them a profit proportionate to their labors Indeed, they "showed the greatest readiness and anxiety to extend their cultiva- "tion, which was far from being the case formerly"

And in forwarding his *Tîrvei Dittam* he says, it will, he trusts:— "satisfactorily explain the grounds on which my assessment has "been calculated. It was natural that I should not place implicit "confidence in the Curnums' accounts, but on a general consideration "of the lands which had been examined by the Circar servants and by "enquiries from different inhabitants of the usual produce of lands, "and finally by a comparison with teervahs of Madura, I had no "hesitation in recommending the proposed assessment, and as I con- "sider it fair and moderate, there can be no doubt of its being "easily realized."

He then proceeds to comment on the principles upon which Mr Hurdis had assessed Nanjey lands; and after remarking that his estimates were "by no means applicable to the district," proposes to re-classify all Nanjey lands and assess them with various rates of assessment fixed with reference to the arrangements of Mr. Hurdis.

He then runs through the rates for Punjey fields, and shows upon what calculations of amounts of produce they were imposed. As these calculations do not appear in Mr. Hurdis' report, but were discovered in some memoranda in Mr. Peter's possession, it will be useful to exhibit them here. They are set out as follows, viz:—

	Amount.		Value.	
	Kalams	Markâls.	Chakrams	Fanams.
1st *sort of land,* whole produce of grain..	9	4½		
Ryot's share being three-fifths...	5	7½		
Circar share, valued at four fanams per kalam	3	9	1	5
2nd *sort,* produce...	8	9		
Ryot's share	5	3		
Circar share...	3	6	1	4
3rd *sort,* produce	8½	0		
Ryot's share	4	10½		
Circar share...	3	3	1	3
4th *sort,* produce..	7	6		
Ryot's share	4	6		
Circar share...	3	0	1	2
5th *sort,* produce	6	10½		
Ryot's share..	4	1½		
Circar share	2	9	1	1
6th *sort,* produce...	6	3		
Ryot's share	3	9		
Circar share...	2	6	1	0
7th *sort,* produce	5	7½		
Ryot's share...	3	4½		
Circar share	2	3	0	9
8th *sort,* produce..	5	0		
Ryot's share	3	0		
Circar share...	2	0	0	8
9th *sort,* produce	4	4½		
Ryot's share...	2	7½		
Circar share	1	9	0	7
10th *sort,* produce	3	9		
Ryot's share	2	3		
Circar share ..	1	6	0	6
11th *sort,* produce	3	4½		
Ryot's share ..	1	10½		
Circar share	1	3	0	5
12th *sort,* produce...	2	6		
Ryot's share	1	6		
Circar share...	1	0	0	4
13th *sort,* produce	1	10½		
Ryot's share	1	1½		
Circar share	0	9	0	3
14th *sort,* produce...	1	3		
Ryot's share	0	9		
Circar share...	0	6	0	2

Mr. Peter does not expressly declare these calculations to be errone-

ous; and does not distinctly explain why it was necessary to revise Mr. Hurdis' Punjey rates. But it appears that Mr. Hurdis had not allowed for the pothu selavu or common charges of cultivation in assessing Punjey lands, although such an allowance was customary before his time. He had thought it sufficient to allot three-fifths of the value of the estimated produce to the ryot, and two to the Circar. And in some cases the ryot did not get his allotted share. Mr. Peter wished to follow the old custom of first allowing for the pothu selavu, and then dividing the remainder of the produce equally The effect of this apportionment was to give the ryot in some instances nearly, in others more than three-fifths.

Nanjey lands, Mr Peter thought, should not be assessed with a vast number of slightly varying rates, but according to their allocation in a general division of all soils into three classes of the first, second, and third quality respectively

Betel gardens he proposed to assess with three several rates, viz, 120, 100, and 80 kali fanams per kâni, whereas they had been variously assessed by Mr Hurdis, for instance at from 75 to 25 fanams per kuli in Tâdikambu He remarks with regard to them as follows:—

" Lands which come under the head of 1st, 2d and 3d rates by " classification have been found variously assessed by the survey, " the average teervah therefore of these lands has been inserted " in column 1; the average reduced teervah on the same lands in " column 2; and the actual proposed teervah for betel, plantain, " sugarcane and turmeric in column 3. Betel gardens paying by " survey 75 and 62½ fanams per Koolly have come under the 1st " rate, 63 fanams 2d rate, and 50 fanams the 3d rate."

Chilli, Brinjal, and other Nanjey gardens ought to bear half the tîrvei assessed on Nanjey lands, according to the qualities of soil; and tobacco Nanjey gardens the full tîrvei.

Nanjey lands had been very variously classified by Mr. Hurdis: and high and low rates of assessments had been fixed on the same descriptions of soil in every village of the district. The report says:— " It will be observed that under the 1st sort of Padoogay, which has " now been assessed at 4 chs, 2 fs per cawny, there are three " different assessments varying from 35 to 25 fanams per koolly; " that under the 2d sort Padoogay, assessed at 3 Chs. 8 fs. 8 as. " per cawny, there are four gradations varying from 25 to 3 fanams " per koolly As this observation holds good in every village, it may

"be inferred that the simple reduction of teervah could not be satis-
"factory to the inhabitants at large; for though reducing the teer-
"vah generally would afford some relief to those lands highly
"assessed, yet they would only benefit in an equal proportion with
"those which were not so, and they would not derive that advan-
"tage which a regular classification and assessment would entitle
"them to. For instance reducing the assessment on lands paying 25
"fanams to 20 fanams, and 20 fanams to 15 fanams per koolly,
"would undoubtedly afford relief, but making a reduction on lands
"of the same description of soil which were equally productive,
"and which paid 15 fanams and less would be useless, yet under a
"general reduction such must ensue. To put all lands of the same
"quality on an equality as in Madura must surely be desirable and
"it will prevent all complaints and dissatisfaction."

Mr. Peter then shows the primary results to be expected from the adoption of the proposed assessment. There would be a falling off of revenue in some parts of the country.—"but the melancholy causes "which have led to such a difference have been too often noticed to "be repeated here." In Ayam-palli the revenue of many villages would equal, and even exceed in amount that drawn from them prior to the reductions made in Fusly 1228. The ryots had extended their cultivation as far as circumstances permitted, and things looked well. But in the Ten-karei division, there would be a loss of twenty-two per cent, owing to the circumstance that in some of the villages which constituted it the assessment had been enormously high, the rates varying from 45 to 8 fanams per gunta on Nanjey lands, and from 12 to 2 on Punjey, whilst in other villages they ranged as low as from 35 to 4 fanams on the former, and from ten to one on the latter In Utthama-pâleiyam the reductions would cause a loss of only two per cent In Vattila-gundu where the revised assessment had been tried, the results were very remarkable This village was one of the most highly assessed of all, and great reductions had been made in it, but nevertheless the inhabitants assured Mr. Peter that further reductions must be made or they could not extend their cultivation. Mr. Peter had observed the impoverished appearance of the village, and felt convinced of the truth of the representation made to him, and therefore thought it advisable to make trial of his *taram* assessment He tried it, and the consequence was an increase of Rupees 653-15-4 in the year's settlement

In calculating the tîrvei with reference to the produce of the land, the highest and lowest prices of grain in each year of periods of eight and ten years were ascertained, and their average struck for a standard; and it appeared on comparison, that the calculated produce of a kâni in the Dindigul district differed from that of a kâni in Madura.

Lastly Mr. Peter notices the reductions which were made by Mr. Hurdis. Some were made at the time of the survey, and were known as the *Hulus* reductions When the survey rates had been fixed and an enormous increase of revenue brought to account, numerous applications were made for reductions, and many were granted under the head of *Maafi*, apparently not with reference to any fixed scale " but according to pleasure." After these deductions under the head of Maafi had been made, the balance of the Jamâ was taken as the triennial rent: but many of the ryots declared their inability to pay it, and the amount in which it exceeded the Jamâ of the year before the survey was then distributed over the three years according to the terms of the cowles. See post page 92.

The report closes with brief explanations of the various figured statements which accompanied it.

The promulgation of Mr. Peter's scheme did not lead to much discussion at Madras. Its adoption was permitted to the extent of allowing in the rates of assessment a considerable reduction throughout the province, which is known in the accounts by the name of the *Munâsib Kammi.* But even this was thought to be insufficient, as we shall presently see

On the 24th October 1831 the Collector, Mr Viveash, submitted for the consideration of the Board of Revenue a fresh scheme for the revision of the Dindigul assessment. This was never sanctioned by the higher authorities, and indeed no correspondence appears to have taken place with regard to its expediency. It will be unnecessary therefore to exhibit the plan in detail: but it will be useful to notice some of Mr. Viveash's views with regard to the reasons of the failure of Mr. Hurdis' original assessment, and with regard to the inadequacy of the Hulus Maafi and Munâsib Kammi reductions to remedy its defects. And we may at the same time take a glance at a few of Mr. Viveash's more important remedial suggestions.

Before discussing Mr. Hurdis' assessment, Mr. Viveash remarks:— " It will be necessary to premise, that under the native Governments,

" and during the Company's Government, previously to the survey,
" the Poonji lands were assessed according to the crop at from 6 to
" 16½ cully fanams per kooly for grain in ear, denominated ghetty
" teerwah, and from three to four fanams per kooly in grain in pod,
" viz., the pulse kinds termed kanna teerwah. The kooly was the
" square of a rope of twenty-five fathoms with the addition of the
" length of a pace, a walking-stick, and a leap, making together about
" 22½ feet. The Ulcudi cultivators were assessed at full teerwah, the
" Villay Varsy cultivators, viz., Brahmins, Vellalas, Moodelies, Musel-
" men and the Yairwadies at half teerwah, and the Poodookoodies at
" half teerwah for three years.

" The garden cultivation was assessed at from 35 to 12½ c. fs. per
" kooly according to its produce.

" The Nunjey was divided in kind, or rented on a dowle valuation."

At the time of Mr. Hurdis' survey the measurements were made with a chain of 160 feet, and with sufficient accuracy, as the surveyors were assisted by the Accountants and Nâttânmeikârans of each village. But the assessment imposed was altogether too high.—

" The assessment was conducted by assessors termed Hooloos-
" navees who took the survey accounts, and after inspecting each
" field, set down as their judgment dictated its estimated produce
" per kooly, Nunjah, Poonjah, or garden, and classed each field accor-
" dingly; the assessors then carried these accounts to the Hooloos
" cutcherry, where after allowing a remission for charges on the whole
" produce (poodoo selavo), the remainder was divided, and the Sircar
" share converted to money at an assumed price."

The causes of the assessment being so much higher after survey than before, were three in number, viz. :—

1*st.*—A great increase in the cultivated area comprised in each ryot's holding was brought about by the new and correct mode of measuring, and this increase was not noticed in estimating the produce of each field. That is to say, the assessors committed the following very gross blunder. They first calculated the produce of a given parcel of land from the accounts of former years, and ascertained the amount of produce which it yielded per kuli according to the old scale of measurement; and then upon the calculations so formed proceeded to assess it at so much per kuli according to the new scale of measurement. Mr. Viveash was told by village accountants who had been present at the survey that this had been done. And he had

no doubt they spoke the truth, as the accounts showed that an increase of measurement was generally accompanied by a correspond-ing increase of assessment; whereas if the variations in measurement had been duly allowed for in assessing, there must have been something in the accounts to show it.

2dly—The inhabitants stated that the Punjey tîrvei was fixed at too high a rate through taking the values of the "Ghetty teerwah" or more valuable kinds of produce as the basis of the classification. Land would not yield for a succession of years full crops of kinds of grain such as *Chôlam*, *Râgi* and the like. And therefore the values of inferior kinds of crops such as horse-gram, which must in some years be raised on the very best lands, should also have been taken into consideration.

3rdly.—The half and low rates of assessment on lands held by Brâhmans and men of other favoured castes were very properly discontinued, and full rates assessed.

The tîrvei was raised by these causes to so much higher a rate than that at which the ryots were used to pay, that as soon as it was fixed they refused one and all to enter into engagements to cultivate: and Mr. Hurdis was obliged to make then and there a very considerable reduction, which was known by the name Hulus Maaf. This reduction was supposed to be calculated and allowed upon the following principles, as appeared from a statement which was prepared by Mr. Hurdis for the use of a member of the Board of Revenue. Sixteen annas (sixteenths) was taken to represent a full crop, yielded in a thoroughly favorable season: and it was ascertained from the accounts that thirteen annas was the average crop yielded during the Faslis from 1,200 to 1,209 inclusive. And the remission allowed was nominally a deduction from this average crop of three annas. It was in reality however a deduction of six annas from the estimated full crop; and in effect the ryots were permitted to retain for their sole benefit the whole of the difference between the value of ten-sixteenth crops and the value of such superior crops as good seasons and industry might enable them to raise

But this rate of remission was not generally granted; and Mr. Viveash found that the rate varied in amount in different villages, and in many was not allowed at all. The Maaf remission was allowed in some cases at so much per fanam of tîrvei; in others at so much per gunta or kuli of land; and sometimes a lump sum was remitted on an entire field. In short, Mr. Viveash was of opinion that the remi

sion resembled the discretionary remission of an annual Jamâbandi settlement. He then makes the following observation:—

"A great injury arising from this irregularity of the Maaf remis-"sion was the multiplicity of rates which resulted. Thus your Board "will observe in the village of A——— 12 rates of the original "Poonjah hooloos teerwah were multiplied by the Maaf to 300 rates, "the difference between some of which does not exceed $\frac{1}{16}$ of a cully "fanam or $\frac{10}{16}$ of a pice. This variety of rates has led to so much "confusion that both kurnums and ryots are often doubtful of the "rates of teerwah fixed to their lands, and it is difficult to ascertain "in framing the Jamâbandi settlements whether the kurnums give "in the correct assessed rates of the cultivated lands: and the teerwahs "become nugatory as a protection to the ryots, against unfair demands "from them by the village officers."

Even after this modification of the Hulus tîrvei had been made, the ryots found the rates assessed upon their lands to be too high, and refused to cultivate. Accordingly Mr. Hurdis was obliged to make a fresh concession, and to postpone for a time the introduction of his new rates. He granted cowles for three years, during the first two of which the rates were more favorable to the cultivator than the ultimate survey rates; and arranged them on the following principle:—"The amount realized in the year preceding the survey was "taken as the basis, and the excess of the survey assessment above "that amount was divided into three parts, one of which was added "each successive year till the full assessment was imposed."

Mr. Viveash then points out the radical error of which his predecessor had been guilty:—

"I cannot discover that any process of the kind noted in the 6th "para. of the letter of the Principal Collector of the Ceded districts, "dated 26th July 1807, was observed, to prevent inequality in the "Dindigul assessment through partiality, or want of judgment of the "assessors; or with the view to limit the demand of Government to "a sum, which the district could easily yield. The villages appear "to have been separately settled, and the assessments were not sub-"jected as in the Ceded districts, to correction by the conflicting "interests of the ryots.

"A fair assessment of a district is best obtained by comparing the "collections under the native Princes, under the Company's Govern-"ment from its commencement, the estimates of the assessors, and

" the opinions of the most intelligent natives, and after a due con-
" sideration of the whole, adopting such a sum as would be thought a
" fair assessment of the district in its present state, or what the inhabi-
" tants in similar circumstances under a native Government would
" have regarded as somewhat below the usual standard.

" This principle was not observed. Mr. Hurdis was guided by the
" high collections of very distant periods under the native Govern-
" ments. The Collectors under the Company's Government from
" Fusly 1200 were not considered, neither was the existing state of
" the district.

" On reference to Statement No. 4 which has been prepared from
" documents in the dufters, your Board will observe this in several
" villages of the Tadikoomboo Taluq, thus for instance the Cusbah
" Tadikoomboo. The collections by Venkata Rau under the Kurtar
" of Mysore in Fusly 1152 is represented to have been 8,000 Chs.;
" under Meer Sahib in 1183 Chs. 4,637-0-5; an average of six years
" under Syed, Sahib Chs. 4,508-0-12, the average of the three adminis-
" trations, Chs. 5,715-14¼. Mr. Hurdis' teerwah in Fusly 1212, Chs.
" 4,999-3-11, which is higher than had ever been realized since the
" Mysore administration.

" Bheema Rau prepared a document exhibiting the revenues for
" 18 years from Fusly 1194, the average of which is Chs 3,296-9-8¾;
" this would have formed a much better basis for the settlement"

In revising the Hulus assessment Mr. Viveash had thought it advisable at first to annul the Hulus Maaf remission altogether, and taking the assessment as it stood, to make a general reduction at one uniform rate. But he found this course impracticable The inequalities of the original assessment were so great and the principal inhabitants were so averse to a general remission, that he was compelled to abandon the idea. He therefore decided on carrying out the revision under the rules laid down by the principal Collector for the Ceded districts; feeling convinced that the effects of undue influence and partiality would be obviated by publicity, and that consultation with all the principal ryots would prevent the interests of individuals of particular villages being improperly favored. And he proceeded in the following manner:—

" The Nattamgars, Kurnums, and Ryots of each Zemindary or
" Moottah were assembled at the Hoozoor Kutcherry, together with
" experienced ryots of neighbouring districts to act as Punchayets on

"the occasion of disputes, and they were desired, with reference to "the Hooloos accounts, the tarum accounts, prepared in Mr. Peter's "time, the collections under the Munasib remission authorized by "your Board, the estimates of the neighbouring districts of Madura, "Mellore, Marangapoory, Darapooram, and their own experience of "the produce of the lands, to revise the classification of the lands "cultivated in Fusly 1236. I separated the cultivated from the "waste to prevent the possibility of shifting the average to the waste; "and I selected Fusly 1236 because the calculation was then exten-"sive, and the crops generally full. The ryots were cautioned against "raising the classification of lands the value of which had been raised "by improvement. This however, was scarcely necessary, as there "are very few lands, the assessment of which was too low. It occa-"sionally happened that a difference arose regarding the value of "lands in certain villages; on these occasions I sent a party to the "spot to examine.

"After the rates of Mr. Hurdis had thus been revised, I considered "with reference to the collections of Fusly 1236, the average collec-"tions of former years, and the opinions of the experienced Natam-"gars, whether any and if any what addition should be made to the "total revenue of each taluq resulting from the revised rates of the "ryots in Cutcherry, and the addition was then made to the villages, "and the fields of each village by the Natamgars, Kurnums, and "Ryots, who, aware that what one gained another would lose, took "special care that the additional revenue was fairly imposed. The "accounts were then brought to me, the revised rates read over, the "ryots were questioned, if any of the villages or lands had been "favored, and, on their expressing themselves and signing a docu-"ment to the contrary, they were dismissed. The revision of a "Zemindary, or district, where no references to the villages were "necessary, usually occupied a month. I can assert that great pains "were taken to render the revision correct, all the inhabitants here "are well satisfied, and on comparing the collections of former years "I do not think your Board will consider that the interests of the "Circar have been in any way sacrificed. After the Circar demand "on the cultivated lands of Fusly 1236 had been fixed, the rates of "the waste lands were revised with reference to the revised rates of "the cultivated lands. In some instances, the Hooloos rates have "been raised, generally where from error in the Hooloos registry "Nunjah lands have been entered with the Punjah teerwah. To

"explain in a few words the principles of the revision, the basis of the "revised assessment is the Hooloos assessment of Mr. Hurdis revised "and corrected by the instrumentality of the ryots themselves; "whilst loss of revenue was prevented by fixing the total bereez of "the district, with reference to average collections and checks were "provided against inequality in the assessment by leaving the ryots "themselves to distribute the total reduction."

As stated above, no action appears to have been taken on Mr. Viveash's very interesting report: and the next report to be considered is the following, dated the 5th November 1849, made by the Board of Revenue to Government on the subject of a heavy claim for compensation, which had been brought by the Kannivâdi Poligar. In arguing against its admission, the Board showed in a very clear manner the difference between permanently settled and unsettled pâleiyams: and the report merits close attention.

The nature of the claim was the following:—The estate had been attached in Fasli 1227 for arrears of Pêshkash, and kept under Amâni management for a great many years. During this period the Collector had been under the necessity of applying the principles of the Munâsib Kammi to the lands under cultivation, as the survey rates were found to be far higher than the ryots could pay; and the collections had fallen short in a considerable sum of what they should have been, according to Mr. Hurdis' rates. In the course of time the arrears due to Government were paid off; and in Fasli 1252 the Zamindâr was reinstated. His son who succeeded him subsequently claimed to have repaid to him all the monies which had been let go to his ryots, together with interest at the rate of twelve per cent, and also a retrospective remission of Pêshkash proportionate to the decrease in his resources which had been occasioned by the lowering of the survey rates. He alleged that the remissions had been made without any authority from him, and in direct violation of the compact entered into by Government on the one part and his ancestor on the other part at the time of the perpetual settlement. And he argued that if his Pêshkash had been properly calculated by Mr. Hurdis, respect being had to the amount which he could collect from his ryots under the original rates of assessment, it could not continue to be fair and just when he was no longer able to collect according to those rates. And he met the objection that notwithstanding the change in the rates of assessment of his estate, his actual collections fell but little short of what they were intended to be under the old

rates, and that therefore he had nothing to complain of, by the assertion that his revenues were brought up too near their proper level solely by an increase of cultivation, of which increase he ought to have the full benefit under the terms of his agreement with Government. If his estate became more productive, he should benefit thereby, and he alone.

The Collector's original opinion appeared to have been not altogether unfavorable to the admission of the claim as being good in strict law, if not in equity But the Board's opinion was entirely opposed to it. They repudiated the idea that any such compact as that put forward by the Zamindâr, had in fact subsisted as between him and Government. He possessed no *Sanad-i-milkeut-Istimrâr* or deed showing a permanent grant, and his estate had never been permanently settled. The estate had been attached for arrears of revenue ; and whilst it continued to be under attachment, had been ably and carefully managed by the Officers of Government The remissions made were, as the Zamindâr well knew and had admitted, absolutely necessary , and the making of them had proved very beneficial to the Zamindâr's interests. In point of fact, it was solely owing to the lowering of the assessment that the increase of cultivation and general improvement of the Zamindâri had been brought about. Moreover the late Zamindâr had acquiesced in what had been done by accepting and without remonstrance his ten per cent. allowance out of the actual receipts ; and again by discharging the balance due by him, without objection, before the restoration of the estate. He had been relieved for a time from the payment of an oppressive Pêshkash , had been supported whilst his affairs were being set straight ; and finally had had his estate restored to him in a flourishing condition. His treatment had really been such as no reasonable man could complain of If, as he alleged, his estate were one permanently settled, it might undoubtedly have been sold for arrears, and so lost to him for ever. In equity therefore his claim could not be supported The only question was, could it stand in law ? The Board thought not, as the estate was not permanently settled, and no agreement was in existence by the terms of which Government was precluded from lowering or raising the rates of the assessment at pleasure.

The Board adduced the following facts and arguments in support of this position :—In the first place, Mr. Hurdis had proposed a permanent settlement for only twelve of the twenty-six pâleiyams of Dindigul, and had not proposed a permanent settlement for the

remaining fourteen of which Kannivâdi was one. After sketching rapidly the arrangements which had been effected in these twelve pâleiyams, the Board proceed to say:—" The above remarks apply to " that part of the Dindigul province in which the permanent assess- " ment was carried out. Of the 26 Pollams of Dindigul 14 (Kunni- " vady being one) remained after the cession of the country in the " hands of the Poligars. These Pollams were surveyed by Mr. " Hurdis in Fusly 1212, and the Peshcush, which before seems to " have fluctuated, was settled with the proprietors for Fusly 1213 at " 70% on the survey out-turn of the previous year. Similar arrange- " ments were made by Mr. Hurdis and his successor, Mr. Parish, in " respect to the 10 Pollams of Madura, and 6 Pollams of Manapara. " The public demand upon these Pollams has since remained unalter- " ed, at the time when it was imposed, it was probably intended to " extend to these Pollams the permanent settlement, which had been " made in the 6 Pollams of Dindigul, mentioned in para. 16; but " the intention was abandoned. These Pollams have consequently " always been treated by the Government authorities as temporarily " settled Pollams, and are still borne under that designation in the " accounts of the district."

At a subsequent period the Board of Revenue had called upon Mr. Parish, Mr. Hurdis' successor, to afford them such information as would enable them to settle permanently the remaining pâleiyams, but that Officer had for some reason failed to comply with their requisition. In his report upon the settlement of Dindigul for Fasli 1213 he had merely stated that he had collected the Poligars' Pêshkash as adjusted by Mr. Hurdis for that Fasli.

In the year 1815 the Board had made some proposals to Government with regard to the disposal of certain estates; and in their proceedings under date the 3rd August there occurred the following passage:—" The Right Honorable the Governor in Council will have " perceived, from the former part of this address, that although the " Government demand has been fixed in perpetuity upon a part only " of these lands, the amount of the settlement for each of the four " Faslies under notice has been the same on all, viz:—

" Settled temporarily.

	S. P.	F.	C.
" 10 Pollams of Madura	7,968	31	74
" 14 do. of Dindigul	37,237	13	56
" 6 do. of Manapara	27,726	32	15

"Settled in perpetuity.

	S. P.	F.	C.
" Ramnad..	94,733	0	0
" Shevagungah...	75,000	0	0
" 6 Pollams of Dindigul...... ....;.....	16,327	30	11
" 6 Estates of do	17,844	25	70

" From the Collector's reports on the settlement of the revenues " for Fuslies 1211, 12 and 13, it appears that previously to the latter " year, the survey commenced by Mr Hurdis in the district of Dindi- " gul was extended by that gentleman and Mr. Parish, his successor, " to the 10 Pollams of Madura, the 14 Pollams of Dindigul, and the " 6 Pollams of Manapara, and that the same mode of assessment was " followed with respect to those of the Sircar, except that in these " Pollams the rates of teerwah were in some instances rather lower " than in the Sircar villages. It further appears that, in lieu of the " inadequate and irregular peshcush formerly collected from the Poli- " gars of these districts, a settlement was then formed with them " for Fusly 1213 regulated by the survey on the principle of taking " the survey valuation of the collections from Nunjah, Punjah and " Swaranadayem at 100 per cent., and of this granting 30 per cent. " to the Poligars, the remaining 70 per cent. being the revenue pay- " able to Government.

" On these grounds the settlement for Fusly 1213 was fixed as follows :—

	S. P.	F.	C.
" 10 Pollams of Madura....	7,969	4	74
" 14 „ of Dindigul.......................	37,237	31	56
" 6 „ of Manapara.....................	27,726	35	15

" And with the exception of a difference of a few fanams, for which " we cannot satisfactorily account, this has continued ever since to be " the annual demand against these lands. At the period when this " arrangement originally took place, it was fully intended to extend " to these Pollams the permanent settlement on the Zemindary tenure : " but whether in consequence of the Collector having neglected to " submit the previous report necessary for this purpose, or in conse- " quence of the discussions which subsequently arose respecting the " inexpediency of extending that system, it does not appear that this " intention has ever been carried into effect. The result has been " that although the demand on the Pollams in question has since " continued invariably the same, it has not been considered regular

"and legal on the occurrence of arrears to enforce the Regulations "of 1802. The public demand upon these lands not having been "fixed in perpetuity, no one will buy the lands because the assessment "on them is liable to alteration at the option of the Government, and it "would manifestly be unjust to hold the Poligars responsible in their "property and persons for an assessment which on due investigation "may be found greater than the resources of the country will justify.

"Until we receive the orders of Government in reply to this "address, it is our intention to desire the Collector on the occurrence "of an arrear in any of these Pollams to assume the lands, and retain "them under Amani management, allowing the Poligars a Malikana "of ten per cent. on the net collections, but as it appears desirable "that some definitive arrangement should be adopted with regard to "the future management of these lands, we request to be favored "with the orders of the Government respecting them.

"The Governor in Council may perhaps be disposed to extend the "principles, which were adopted in settling permanently the revenue "Pollams of Poonganoor, to all other Pollams, of which the Jumma is "not yet fixed.

"Besides the Pollams abovementioned there are several others in "Coimbatore, in Balaghat, and in Nellore, in a similar predicament, "and the decision of the Government on the particular case now sub- "mitted will therefore involve the general question respecting the "whole of these lands"

In instructing the then Collector as to his future action in the case of arrears accruing, the Board of Revenue had distinctly ordered him to treat all unsettled pâleiyams in the manner pointed out in the extract above quoted. And the views of the Board met with the approval of the then Government, who were pleased to observe that:—" The recommendation of the Board that those Pollums and "others under similar circumstances in Coimbatore, Balaghat, and "Nellore, should be settled in perpetuity on the same terms recently "granted in favor of the Poonganoor Poligar, will be submitted to "the favorable consideration of the Honorable the Court of Directors"

In his Report under date the 22nd March 1816, Mr. Peter had forwarded certain statements concerning the temporarily settled pâleiyams, and had remarked with regard to Kannivâdi that the

Zamindâr had promised to pay off the balance against him in Faslis 1226 and 1227. And upon this the Collector had recommended that in the event of there being no balance against the Zamindâr at the end of the current year, the regular Sanad-i-milkeut-Istimrâr should be granted to him. And he wished the same plan to be adopted in the case of all the other unsettled pâleiyams. But on the 11th April 1816 the Board wrote to the Collector to the effect that it seemed inexpedient to adopt his suggestions; and that he must in accordance with previous instructions retain the pâleiyams against which there were balances under Amâni management and make allowances at the rate of ten per cent. to the ejected Poligars. And the Collector was to explain to the ejected Poligars that it was merely a temporary arrangement, made in order to ascertain the real value of the pâleiyams previous to their final settlement, "*on which subject the orders of the*" "*Company will be obtained, and hereafter communicated to them*"

On the 1st January 1821 Government had sanctioned the writing off to profit and loss the sum of Rupees 2,31,806-11-1, being arrears due by certain pâleiyams of which Kannivâdi was one, and the making of an allowance of ten per cent. on the average collections of a certain series of years to the Poligars. But by some mistake the cause of which was unknown, the allowance had been from the first calculated with reference to the net annual proceeds of each estate, and still continued to be so calculated.

A desultory correspondence was afterwards carried on between the local and Home Governments, with regard to the expediency of permanently settling the pâleiyams. And eventually directions were issued to carry out their settlement in perpetuity. But these instructions were not carried into effect and no change of management took place. However in 1840 the Zamindâr of Kannivâdi came forward and tendered payment of his arrears, on condition of his Zamindâri being restored to him ; and this offer drew attention to the condition of the attached pâleiyams of Madura and Dindigul, and it was considered that:—"as the allowance granted to the "Poligars in 1821 was conferred upon them *during such time as* "*their lands remained in the possession of Government*, and as "those parties had not resigned their estates by any formal document, "such applications as those made by the Kannavadi Poligar could "not be refused. To obviate similar demands on the part of other "Poligars, it was however determined to call upon all those, whose "Pollams were then under attachment, either to pay their arrears or

"to surrender their estates on condition of continuing to receive the "Malikana, which they had hitherto enjoyed. In those cases where "neither of these alternatives was accepted, the Pollams were to be "sold by public auction for the balances outstanding against them. "On this arrangement being carried out, the Poligars of 9 out of the "17 Poliams then under zuft gave up their estates. Two Pollams "were redeemed on payment of the balances due upon them; one "was sold for arrears; one was restored to the proprietor by order of "the Court of Directors, with remission of all previous arrears, but at "the same Peshcush. In the remaining four Pollams, a claim to a "reduction of Peshcush has been preferred, and the question is still "under consideration. It should be remarked that in directing the "sale of the attached unsettled Pollams (which in one instance took "effect) for arrears of revenue in default of their redemption or sur-"render by their proprietors, both the Board and Government "departed from the views held in 1815, that estates so circumstanced "were not liable to sale under the Regulations of 1802. It may also "be regarded as doubtful, from what has been represented in the "previous paras, whether, as respects this class of estates, the fact of "their never having been surrendered by any formal deed, and of the "Malikana having been granted for such time as the lands remained "in the possession of Government, did confer upon their proprietors "the power to redeem them on payment of the balances as a *matter* "*of legal right,* and whether, *in point of law,* it would not have been "competent to the Government to refuse such offers, and to take "such measures for the management of the estates as to them might "seem advisable. Similar offers had, however, been admitted in some "few previous instances."

These attached pâleiyams had therefore never been permanently settled And it was open to Government to deal with them as it pleased As a matter of expediency, it would be necessary perhaps to make no alterations in the rates of Pêshkash and other terms upon which they had been held for a long series of years. But the owners of them could not, under any circumstances, claim the rights conferred by a Sanad-i-milkeut-Istimrâr. And the position of the Kannivâdi Zamindâr differed in no way from that of his fellows. He was indeed better off than they, inasmuch as a very flourishing estate had been returned to him. He had therefore no legal right to the compensation asked for: and he certainly had none in equity.

The claim was therefore disallowed. We now come to a later report.

On the 2nd March 1854 Mr Collector Parker submitted for the consideration of the Board of Revenue a plan for the abolition of an exceptional tax levied on certain special kinds of produce, under the head of *Vân-payir.* These kinds were betel-vines, plantains, turmeric, chillies and brinjals; and where they were grown on Nanjey lands the above tax was always levied on them

The betel-vine was cultivated exclusively in Nanjey lands, and remained in the ground two years or rather more:—" The seed of " the Agatee shrub, up which it twines, is sown in July and the " betel four months afterwards, in November. The vine commences " to produce in March and continues to do so for two years longer, if " not injured by insects" And it was a kind of produce which required irrigation during the whole period during which it was above the ground.

Plantains were planted from July to February. They began to produce fruit after ten months, and continued to yield for about a twelvemonth. During this time the ryot might raise another crop on the ground if he chose, and no extra cess would be levied from him.

The turmeric crop continued about eight months in the ground, during the whole of which time it required water. And generally speaking no subsidiary crop could be raised with it If however such a crop were raised, nothing would be charged for it.

Chillies and Brinjals were kept in the ground about six months They required less water than paddy and were cultivated in rather high lying land which could not be used to raise two crops of paddy.

It does not appear when this term Vân-payir was first introduced into the accounts. It was not used by Mr. Hurdis. He calls betel-vine cultivation pânmalâ See ante p 35

With regard to plantains:—See ante p. 36.

With regard to turmeric:—See ante p. 36.

With regard to chillies and brinjals:—See ante p. 37 for the assessment on one-crop Nanjey. Mr. Hurdis' report is silent with regard to the special tax on chillies and brinjals

These five kinds of crops were taxed in Dindigul as follows:—

"

Taluq.	Produce.	No of rates.	Moonasib. Highest rate per goontla. Chs.	Fs.	Lowest rate per goontla. Chs.	Fs.
Taudicomboo........	Nunjah...		3	0	0	3
	Betel	1	5	0	5	0
	Plantain...	1	3	0	3	0
Iyempully............	Nunjah...		3	0	0	2
	Betel...	3	0	0	3	0
	Plantain	1	3	0	3	0
	Turmeric...	1	4	0	4	0
	Brinjals, &c.	2	1	0	0	6
Tenkurray..........	Nunjah...		3	$3\frac{5\frac{1}{4}}{16}$	0	3
	Betel...	5	6	3	3	0
	Plantain...	10	3	5	1	4
	Turmeric.	3	4	0	2	8
	Chillies	11	2	5	0	$5\frac{9}{16}$
Nellacottah.	Nunjah		2	7	0	2
	Betel	1	5	0	5	0
	Plantain	1	3	0	3	0
	Turmeric..	1	3	0	3	0
	Chillies	1	1	0	1	0

"

For these rates the Collector proposed to substitute the ordinary rates on paddy-lands. He observes:—"As the Nunjah teerwah is "consolidated on both crops, the change I would recommend is "simplified. I would discontinue all distinction between the Van- "pyre produce and paddy, as is done in regard to Sugar-cane. The "circumstance that the tax on brinjals would in some cases be "thereby somewhat raised does not, I think, constitute a valid "objection. As regards low-taxed Nunjah lands, which suit these "descriptions of produce best, the rate of tax will be less."

His arguments in favor of the proposed change were these:— "The chief arguments I have to adduce in favor of the proposed "change is its accordance with the great principle now generally "admitted of taxing the land, and not the description of produce, "and leaving the farmer free and unobstructed in the cultivation of "whatever crops he deems best suited to the market, the quality of "his land and his own interest. In the next place I deem the

"alteration desirable, in order to remove the check caused by "the higher tax to the cultivation of articles very necessary to "correct the insipidity of the staple food of the natives, viz., rice. "I should suppose that even in a medical point of view, plain "rice cannot be so good as when mixed with fruit and condiments, "and certainly it cannot be so agreeable. The tendency of the "price of rice to fall, in consequence of the improvements to irriga- "tion now in progress affords another argument against its exclusive "cultivation; and I see no reason to doubt that the cultivation "of the five products would greatly increase, if put on the same "footing with rice. Lastly I strongly advocate the abolition of the "distinctive teerwah in order to get rid of a troublesome inter- "ference with the ryot, and a waste of the public time in the "Taluq and Huzur Cutcherry by the examination and reports "called for by the present distinct tax."

The Collector wished to get rid altogether of the Vân-payir tax on Nanjey lands, and also of the special tîrvei imposed on Punjey bâg'hâyat, when cultivated with the products classed as Vân-payir. He disapproved of this for the same reasons as of the ordinary Vân-payir tax; and he wished to have none but the ordinary Punjey bâg'hâyat rates charged on Punjey bâg'hâyat lands, whatever crops might be raised on them.

The Board, in their proceedings of the 4th May 1854 approved of these suggestions, and directed that in future they should be acted upon; with the proviso that, if Government water were used in raising Vân-payir crops on Punjey bâg'hâyat lands, it should be charged for under the head of "Teerwa jasty."

Shortly afterwards (on the 2nd June) Mr. Parker recommended that in accordance with the principle above enunciated, the extra tax levied on tobacco in the Tâdikambu, Nila-kôtei and Ten-karei divisions should be discontinued, and the ordinary garden tax levied instead. And on the 31st July the Board sanctioned his proposals.

We have now arrived at the last important report connected with the revenue history of Dindigul.

On the 30th June 1862 Mr. Levinge reported to the Board on the state of the unsettled pâleiyams, and proposed that the Pêshkash of some of them should be raised. He observed that the mode in which these estates were dealt with had been fully described in the Board's proceedings, No. 495, dated the 5th November 1849. He distrusted

the accounts furnished to him by the different Poligars, and was of opinion that it would be necessary to keep some of the estates under Circar management for two or three years, before making any permanent arrangement with regard to their settlement.

KANNIVADI was a very fine estate, and contained a large area of waste lands in the plains and on the lower Palanis but the proprietor was hopelessly in debt, and it was doubtful whether the granting of a Sanad to him would do him any good Mr. Levinge observes.—" If a Sunnud is given to the Zemindar even for the present amount of his Peshkush, the result would be, I believe, that " the creditors would come down on the estate for the recovery " of their claims, and the Zemindary would be sold in different portions in the Civil Courts Now the Zemindar is unable to raise " more money, as the defect of his title is only now fully understood. " If it is made good by the grant of a permanent deed, he will only " launch into greater extravagance and become further involved; " but the mismanagement of his affairs by the Zemindar cannot be " allowed to bar the Government from its just claims on the estate. " Although there is much waste in the Zemindary, still much of that " is owing to the unhealthiness of the Zemindary, and to its being " subject to be ravaged year after year by bad fevers, which either " carry off the inhabitants or leave them debilitated for life. Such " is the dread of the climate that the Renters, whose object it is to " increase the cultivation by every means in their power, find it " almost impossible to get settlers from other places to take up lands " in the Zemindary. The Zemindar in his " lease* has admitted his revenue for the highest year was Rupees 67,000, and if on granting him a Sunnud, his Peshkush is fixed with reference to the above, " and if calculated at the old rate of 70 per cent to Government, the " increase to be demanded from him would be Rupees 8,760 which " his estate could bear with ease, if his waste lands which are cultivable were brought under cultivation."

"* Vide Board's Proceedings dated 28th " April 1862, No. 2,669

AMMAYA-NAYAKKAN-UR was also a fine estate, with plenty of waste; which could be brought under cultivation if the Zamindâr would only grant his ryots favorable terms At present it was suffering from the effects of bad management As it was however the Zamindâr acknowledged that he had drawn as much as Rupees 41,504 out of it; and if the new Pêshkash were fixed with reference to that amount, there would be an increase to Government of Rupees 15,082-12-9 per annum.

BODI-NAYAKKAN-UR.—Of this estate the Collector says:—"This "estate was settled far below its present value. The Zemindary is "situated at the head of one of the principal rivers in the district, "which receives throughout the year an unfailing supply of water, "being affected by both monsoons; across this river the Zemindar "has a few years ago constructed a well-built and effective anicut, "and has thereby greatly extended his wet cultivation, at the same "time cutting off the water from the Government villages below the "anicut."

The Zamindâr had given in false returns, and the Board should either fix his Pêshkash according to the returns made by the Collector's subordinates at Rupees 40,815 per annum, and call upon the Zamindâr to agree to pay so much, or they should put the estate under Circar management until its resources should have been fully ascertained.

G'HANTAPPA-NAYAKKAN-UR was a very extensive Zamindâri, but a very large proportion of it was waste. Although the highest collections made in it exceeded those of Mr Hurdis' time by Rupees 10,816, still there were enormous tracts of waste jungle and hill country in the limits of the Zamindâri which were very feverish and unhealthy and infested by wild animals:—"The statistics of this Zemindary, "taken from the Fysal accounts, and cultivation accounts of Fysaly "1269 are as follows:—

	Kanies.	Rupees.
"Ayacut deducting Maniems....	86,232	"
"Deduct Perumboke...	19,377	"
	66,855	1,06,368
"Waste...	51,166	74,691
"Cultivation...	15,689	31,677
"Deduct—Vide column II, in Statement No. 2, ...		3,292
		28,385
"Hill rent and jungle produce, &c		1,595
Total......		29,980

Much of the waste land was covered with magnificent timber, and would be valuable for coffee lands. But the Zamindâr was quite unequal to the management of his possessions. He could not keep his ryots in good humour, and could not collect his rents. He was always suing and being sued. The Courts had pronounced several conflicting and contradictory decrees regarding his rights in respect

of rent The Zamindâr was willing to have the estate put under Circar management in order that it might be properly surveyed and assessed; and the Collector recommended that this should be done But he was averse to making over the Zamindâri to its owner on a permanently fixed pêshkash after only one or two years of Circar management. Within so short a time it would be simply impossible for the estate to become even moderately developed From the greater portion of it the Zamindâr derived no income whatever; as it was absolutely without inhabitants in consequence, it was said, of the feverishness of the country and the number of wild beasts which infested it But the Collector did not believe it was more feverish than the Nattam country, and he thought that cultivation would extend, if properly encouraged He recommended therefore that this deserted portion should be cut off from the Zamindâri and annexed to the Ayan lands of the district, and that the Pêshkash should then be calculated on the Zemindâr's highest amount of collections, viz, Rupees 29,980. Under any circumstances, nothing should be done till the estate had been properly surveyed.

TEVARAM was a small estate, but it contained a good proportion of waste. Its highest yield was Rupees 8,205, and if the Pêshkash were fixed with reference thereto, there would be an annual increase of Rupees 4,642½.

In conclusion the Collector remarks:—" In fixing the Peshcash to " be paid by all the Poligars, I beg to recommend that a percentage " be set aside for a Local Fund for improving the roads in the differ" ent estates, otherwise I see no prospect of any such improvements " being undertaken by any of the Zamindars, the whole expense of " which is now thrown on the Government"

In laying this report together with others from other districts before Government in their proceedings under date 14th January 1863, the Board remarked that before issuing permanent Sanads to all holders of pâleiyams throughout the country, the principal point to be considered was the equity or expediency of enhancing their Pêshkash; and that for the purpose of deciding upon this point it was necessary to consider:—

1st. The origin and past history of the Poligars.

2dly. Their actual position as regarded permanency of tenure; and the extent to which their position was affected by the want of such Sanads as had been granted to Zamindârs in accordance with the scope of the permanent settlement

3dly. The probable effect of the issue of Sanads to them

The Board observed :—" The Poligars were originally, as the " term denotes, military chieftains, bearing a strong affinity to the " ancient Zemindars of the Northern Circars. Some of them had " been originally leaders of bands of free-booters, who had usurped " or been entrusted with the charge of the Police of the country. " Others derived their descent from the ancient Rajahs, or from offi- " cers of rank under the Hindû Government, and had obtained Inams " either for the support of their rank, or as the reward of past ser- " vices, to which was often attached the duty of maintaining a " certain force to aid the Government when required Others again were " originally Renters of districts, or Revenue Officers, who in time of " public disturbance usurped possession of lands In the territories " now included in the Madras Presidency, they were found principally " in the Ceded districts and in Mysore, in Chittore and Salem, in " Madura and Tinnevelly."

The Board then sketched out the history of the pâleiyams by giving extracts from their letter of the 5th November 1849, which has already been dealt with at p 95 ante And they then proceeded to show the principle upon which the Pêshkash was fixed in different parts of the country. In Dindigul 66 per cent. of the survey valuation had been retained by Government as its due, and the report goes on to say —" It will be observed that " the demand, even when not limited by the issue of a permanent " Sunnud has in every instance remained without enhancement for a " period nowhere less than 50 years; and that generally the " relative proportion of the shares of Government and of the Poligar " in the revenue of the year in which the demand as now existing " was fixed, is at least as favorable to Government, as was the perma- " nent settlement in the Zemindaries, while the claims of the Poligars " to consideration are certainly stronger than those of any of the " modern Zemindars or Moottadars, and quite as strong as those " of the ancient Zemindars. It will be observed that in some instances " although permanent Sunnuds have not beeen issued. the Govern- " ment have pledged themselves to accept the present rate of " Peshcush in perpetuity, and that where no such distinct pledge has " been given, still in most cases the rate of Peshcush is fully as high " as could be demanded under a settlement designed to be permanent, " while in but few instances is the present condition of the estates " such as would enable them to bear an increase without immediate

" prospect of ruin. The existing position of the Poliems prevents the " sale of the lands under decrees of Courts, or their alienations by the " Poligar, while it leaves to Government the nomination of the suc- " cessor on the occasion of a lapse by death."

And the Board finally came to the conclusion that in the Madura and Coimbatore pâleiyams :—" The existing settlement was avowedly " made with the intention of being permanent, and that in most of " these cases, the Peshcush is at present as high in proportion to the " actual value of the estates, as it could now be fixed with any " expectation of the arrangement being a permanent one, undeveloped " resources being no sufficient reason for enhancement in such cases, " while in the few excepted cases, the present improved condition of " the estates is mainly due to the careful management of the proprie- " tors, whom it would be in the highest degree impolitic to discour- " age, by additional taxation, in this course of life" And —" That " although the grant of a Sunnud of permanent settlement to the " Poligars is politically and socially a highly desirable measure, it " will be by no means one of unmixed advantage to the Poligars, but " will bring with it liabilities and responsibilities from which they " are at present exempt."

Their recommendation therefore was :—" That existing Poligars " be confirmed in their tenures on the present terms as regards " Peshcush, and that Sunnuds of permanent settlement be granted to " all who are willing to accept them, and to execute a corresponding " Kabuliat, a limited time being fixed within which their decision " must be made. The form of Sunnud used in the Zemindary " settlements of 1802, may be used in the cases of larger estates. " In the petty Poliems it would be unsuitable and a more simple " form should be used."

We have now come to the end of the Revenue history of Dindigul; and it is to be hoped that no event of any importance has been passed over through inadvertence. Much more might doubtless have been written : but it was necessary to be as brief as possible, since so many subjects remained for disposal.

CHAPTER V.

Madura under the Company's Renter.—Renters' manners and customs.—Madura restored to the Nabob.—The first Collector at Madura.—His position.—The Renter deprived of his farm.—The boundary dispute.—The Kallans again.—Madura ceded to the British.—Mr. Collector Hurdis' instructions to his Assistant.—The Sibbandi.—The Madura pâleiyams.—The Abkâri.—Mr. Hurdis' first report abstracted.—His second report abstracted.—The order of the Board thereon.—The survey.—Mr. Collector Parish's report abstracted.—The growth of the revenue.

THE Revenue history of the Madura country proper is quite distinct from that of Dindigul, as has been before remarked: indeed during the first few years of its administration by Collectors the principal division was but little more closely connected with the sub-division than with Trichinopoly or Tinnevelly. And as it is distinct from, so the revenue history of Madura is far inferior to that of Dindigul in point of interest, and far less extensive.

In 1785 the Madura country had become one of the Honorable Company's Southern Territories, and produced, as we have seen in Part III., a revenue of Rs 3,40,000. It was managed by a native Renter, who was armed with practically unlimited power, and used it as may be supposed in a not over-scrupulous manner. The following description of the mode in which southern Renters ordinarily administered their farms is probably a trifle overlaid with color, but comes from the pen of a very experienced Officer, Colonel Fullarton, and is well worthy of consideration. He tells us that the Renter's object;—" too frequently is, to ransack and embezzle, that " he may go off at last enriched with the spoils of his province. " The fact is, that in every part of India where the Renters are " established, not only the ryot and the husbandman, but the manu- " facturer, the artificer, and every other Indian inhabitant, is wholly " at the mercy of those ministers of public exaction.

" The established practice throughout this part of the Peninsula

" has for ages been, to allow the farmer one-half of the produce of " his crop for the maintenance of his family, and the re-cultivation " of the land; while the other is appropriated to the Circar. In the " richest soils, under the cowle of Hyder, producing three annual " crops, it is hardly known that less than forty per cent. of the crop " produced has been allotted to the husbandman. Yet Renters on " the coast have not scrupled to imprison reputable farmers, and to " inflict on them extreme severities of punishment, for refusing to " accept of sixteen in the hundred, as the proportion out of which " they were to maintain a family, to furnish stock and implements " of husbandry, cattle, seed, and all expenses incidental to the culti- " vation of their lands. But should the unfortunate ryot be forced " to submit to such conditions, he has still a long list of cruel impo- " sitions to endure. He must labor week after week at the repair " of water-courses, tanks, and embankments of rivers. His cattle, " sheep, and every other portion of his property is at the disposal of " the Renter, and his life might pay the forfeit of refusal Should " he presume to reap his harvest when ripe, without a mandate from " the Renter, whose peons, conicopolies, and retainers attend on the " occasion; nothing short of bodily torture and a confiscation of the " little that is left him, could expiate the offence. Would he sell any " part of his scanty portion, he cannot be permitted while the Circar " has any to dispose of; would he convey anything to a distant " market, he is stopped at every village by the collectors of Sunkum " or Gabella, who exact a duty for every article exported, imported, " or disposed of. So unsupportable is this evil, that between Nega- " patam and Palghautcherry, not more than three hundred miles, " there are about thirty places of collection, or, in other words, a tax " is levied every ten miles upon the produce of the country, thus " manufacture and commerce are exposed to disasters hardly less " severe than those which have occasioned the decline of cultivation."

" But these form only a small proportion of the powers with which " the Renter is invested He may sink or raise the exchange of " specie at his own discretion, he may prevent the sale of grain, or " sell it at the most exorbitant rates; thus, at any time he may, and " frequently does, occasion general famine. Besides maintaining a " useless rabble, whom he employs under the appellation of peons, at " the public expense, he may require any military force he finds " necessary for the business of oppression, and few inferior officers " would have weight enough to justify their refusal of such aid.

" Should any one, however, dispute those powers, should the military " officers refuse to prostitute military service to the distress of " wretched individuals, or should the Civil Superintendent remon- " strate against such abuse, nothing could be more pleasing to the " Renter; he derives, from thence, innumerable arguments for non- " performance of engagements, and for a long list of defalcations. " But there are still some other not less extraordinary constituents " in the complex endowments of a Renter. He unites, in his own " person, all the branches of judicial or civil authority, and if he " happens to be a Bramin, he may also be termed the representative " of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. I will not enlarge on the conse- " quences of thus huddling into the person of one wretched " mercenary all those powers that ought to constitute the dignity " and lustre of supreme executive authority."

In 1790 Mr. McLeod, assumed charge of the revenues of the country with the title of "Collector at Madura." His business as such appears to have consisted solely in receiving rent from the Renter and watching the Company's pecuniary interests: but the correspondence of this period affords so little precise information of any kind that I have been unable to ascertain what his powers and position actually were.

It appears however that in or shortly before 1790 the revenues of the Madura country were restored to the Nabob Wallajah, and that the collections were made in his name And whereas Mr McLeod was remunerated for his services by a commission of one and a half per cent. on the actual collections of Dindigul, in addition to his fixed salary of two hundred and fifty Pagodas per mensem, he was not allowed any commission on the collections made by him in the Madura country

At the beginning of 1791 the Board of Assumed Revenue directed the Collector to show the accounts of the district at stated times to Venkata Raû Gôvinda, the Nabob's *mutsadi* or supervisor; but ordered him at the same time to prevent the mutsadi or any other servant of the Nabob interfering in the slightest degree in the management of affairs.

The Renter, Muttu Irulappa Pillei, appears to have been guilty of tyrannical and extortionate conduct, and to have provoked the Kallans to commit all kinds of outrages in the early part of 1791; and the Collector proposed depriving him of his farm And later in the same year the Collector reported to the Board that the tranquil-

lity of the country depended wholly upon a sufficiency of troops being stationed at Mêlûr and Âneiyûr to keep the Kallans in order. The Kallans of the latter nâdu were in the habit of making predatory incursions into both the Dindigul and Madura provinces; and there were no troops to overawe them. At Mêlûr there were two companies of Sepoys.

In June 1791 the Madura Renter was deprived of his farm; and this event was followed by a considerable amount of correspondence touching his conduct and pecuniary liabilities. It was determined at the same time that the country should thenceforth be farmed out in a number of small farms, and not to a single individual. Large farms were always badly managed, and Government would have no more of them.

In the beginning of 1792 there was a boundary dispute between the Tondiman of Puthu-kôttei and the Chinna Murdu of Sivagangei. Both parties referred their dispute to the Collector, and as serious disturbances were apprehended the Collector despatched a company of Sepoys to preserve order. The circumstance is noteworthy as showing how completely the power of these countries had been frittered away by constant internal disturbances and civil wars: and how completely their rulers were overawed by the British power. Fifty years earlier a boundary dispute between the Puthukôttei chief and the Poligar of Sivagangei would have led to a war in which from 10 to 20,000 men would have been engaged.

In June 1794 Mr. McLeod appears to have ceased to be Collector at Madura, and to have continued in charge of Dindigul alone until he resigned in October. And it would seem as though Madura was for some time left without a Collector.

A letter from the Collector of Dindigul dated 24th October 1795 complains of the outrages committed by Kallans, and states that the wrong-doers all belonged to the Madura country, and the Nabob's Fouzdar in charge of that country ought therefore to keep them in order. The road from Dindigul to Kambam had been rendered utterly impassable, and it was necessary to station some troops in the valley.

On the 31st July 1801, by the terms of a treaty made by the Honorable Company with the Nabob Wallajah, the Madura country, which was then under the management of the Nabob's Amaldâr, was formally ceded to the former; and Mr. Hurdis the Collector of

Dindigul was appointed Collector of the Madura province And a proclamation to this effect was published through the country.

On the same day Mr. Hurdis wrote a letter to his Assistant, Mr. Garrow, directing him to take charge of his district temporarily; and giving him certain instructions which throw some light on the state of the country at that time. It is stated that the districts were in a tolerably quiet state. But no Cutcherry should be sent to Mêlûr for some little time, until the inhabitants should have fully realized the completeness of Colonel Agnew's success in quelling the rebellion in the Sivagangei country. The Gouds, by which term I believe Mr. Hurdis meant the heads of villages, must be watched. The Kallans would be looked after by Nattam Khân, a native commandant. Establishments must be formed and distributed throughout the country, except in Mêlûr. The Tahsildars of the Nabob should be continued in office for a time, and if they behaved well be confirmed in their appointments. The Nabob's servants would hand over to Mr. Garrow all the accounts. And lastly the chief Kallans of Mêlûr should be summoned to head-quarters, in order to effect a settlement with them for their lands

A letter from the Chief Secretary to Government written to Mr. Hurdis at the same time informed him that there was no reason to expect any opposition to the transfer, but that the troops quartered in the south would be at his disposal; and that he was to use his own discretion in maintaining for a time or disbanding the regular troops and *Sibbandi* or force of armed policemen, which had been employed by the late Government in the Madura country.

On the 1st of August the Collector was informed by the Board of Revenue that he must appoint his own Sibbandi, and at once report on the sources and extent of the revenues. He might make advances for cultivation to the extent of 29,000 and odd Pagodas.

On the 8th of August the Commanding Officer suggested to Mr. Hurdis the propriety of retaining in his pay the existing Sibbandi, as it consisted of an undisciplined rabble, and the country was in an unsettled state; and moreover an alarming epidemic fever was raging.

On the 10th Mr. Lushington wrote from Tinnevelly in answer to Mr. Garrow's application for the transfer to his jurisdiction of the Madura pâleiyams, to the effect that they must be retained under his (Mr. Lushington's) management for the present, as he had not

been authorised by Government to hand them over to the Collector of Madura.

On the 12th and 18th orders were sent to the Collector to ascertain the amount of the *Sayer* or transit duties on grain; and to report on the state of the revenues derived from the sale of salt and saltpetre; and to introduce a new system of management of the *Abkâri* or revenue derived from the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. The Government monopoly of the right to manufacture and sell spirituous liquors had been abolished from the 1st of July, and licenses to do either or both of these things were thenceforth to be granted to all who might apply for them.

The district was formally handed over to Mr Hurdis in September; and he began forthwith to effect a revenue settlement.

It appears from his first report of the district of Madura that he did not attempt to introduce any radical changes in the system of administration of the revenues which he found in existence. He writes as follows :—

"According to the usage of the former Cutcherry, I have preserved "the heads of account distinct, and under each given the abstract "value of the lands severally appropriated. The whole is exclusive "of Inams, save what is under the head "Hufta Davastanum," and "what is under the head "Jivedum," both of which in course will "be treated of separately. In making the settlement, the mamool "rate of assessment has been in every report attended to, as well as "the custom heretofore obtaining in fixing it."

The report then states that in the Nanjey villages of Madura there were two modes, according to which the Government land-tax had been customarily collected. One was termed the *Âttu-kâl-pâshanam*, and was applied in the case of lands watered by means of channels taken off from a river. The other was termed the *Mânâvari-pat*, and was applied in the case of lands watered from rain-fed tanks. In many of the Nanjey villages the tax had been collected in money; but in all other villages these two ancient modes obtained, and a description of them was therefore necessary.

In Âttu-kâl-pâshanam villages the tax was payable in kind, and was collected in the following manner. At the time of harvest the crops were heaped together for division; and the rassums and swatantrams were first provided for, by measuring off a certain portion of the grain and distributing it in the proportions due to

each recipient The total amount allowed as rassums was carefully regulated by the ascertained custom of each village. And the swatantrams, including the rassums and every proper charge "that custom with the knowledge of the Cirkar could authorize," amounted altogether to twelve and a half per cent. on the gross produce. They had amounted at one time to as much as nearly twenty per cent : but Mr. Hurdis had instituted searching enquiries, and fixed the allowance at the rate above shown. After deducting for the swatantrams, the remainder of the crop was equally divided between the Circar and the ryot.

Where a money rent had been substituted for payment in kind in villages falling under this head, the tax due on each chey of land was calculated with reference to the above principle of division, but the value of the Circar share at the current jamâbandi rate of price per kalam was paid to the Cirkar instead of the grain itself.

Mr. Hurdis then observes:—"When the circar thus makes its "settlement with the ryots, the crop is always thus divided, or thus "rented. But if (as in some places it happens) from the choice of "the ryots any intervening person between the ryots and Sircar "conclude the bargain, that person receives from the ryots a price "for his responsibility called "swamybogum," amounting to from "7 to 50 per cent., this as belonging solely to the ryot arises solely "from his share. Hence it will appear that on division of the crop "with the ryot, including the amount of shodandrums with the "ryot's shares, the ryot will possess 9 anas, and the Circar 7 anas, or "(to note the matter more distinctly) the ryot's share is 58¼ per "cent, the Sirkar's 43¾, a rent too high for the ryot either to "amass money, or extend his cultivation from the employment "of his profit."

This observation is noticeable, inasmuch as it shows that Mr. Hurdis was evidently unconscious of the great fact that in 1800 there were in the Madura country numerous parcels of Nanjey of which the cultivation was sufficiently remunerative to admit of them being let by their occupants to tenants for a portion of the crop. Mr. Hurdis was altogether wrong in supposing that the *Sâmi-b'hôgam* belonged to and formed a part of the share of the cultivating ryot : it was then, as it is now and always has been, the rent due to the occupant who held the land by prescriptive right, subject always to a tax payable to the Government for the time being. This tax of course fluctuated in amount according as the agents of Government were more or less

oppressive: and as we have seen in Chapter VII of Part III, the holder of land paying tax was often no more than a laborer in behalf of the Circar. But when Mr. Hurdis took charge of the district, his position was clearly much better than this, and if his holding was productive he could afford to let it to another, and live idly on a reserved rent. In such case the crop was divided as follows.—

Let $100x$ represent the gross out-turn.

Then $12\frac{1}{2}x$, was the allowance for swatantrams, &c. and—

The balance, $87\frac{1}{2}x$, was equally divided,

One half, or $43\frac{3}{4}x$, going to the Circar,

And the other half, or $43\frac{3}{4}x$, remaining to be divided between the tenant and the ryot or occupant. In some cases, according to Mr Hurdis the occupant's or ryot's Sâmi-b'hôgam amounted to seven per cent. of it, in some cases to fifty.

It is also observable that Mr. Hurdis contradicts himself, when he says in one place that the land yielded support to the ryot and Sâmi-b'hôgam to an "intervening person between the ryots and Sircar;" and in another place that the rent payable to Government "was too high for the ryot either to amass money, or extend his cultivation from the employment of his profit." It was impossible that land could be too highly taxed if the cultivator lived upon its produce after the "intervening person" had taken as much as fifty per cent. of the ryot's share for his own exclusive benefit. There can be no doubt that Mr. Hurdis' mind was in a confused state with regard to the meaning of the terms rent, profit, and the like; and that in point of fact he did not understand what he was talking about when he suggested the propriety of reducing the very moderate assessment of $43\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. on the actual produce of Âttu-kâl-pâshanam lands.

We must now return to the report. It tells us that in Mânâvari-pat lands the ryot enjoyed a smaller proportion of the produce of his husbandry; inasmuch as no deductions were made in his favor on account of swatantrams. The gross crop was equally divided between him and Government. Nevertheless his cultivation was really more profitable to him, because less labor needed to be expended on lands of this description; and less manure was required as they produced but one crop per annum. We are informed that:—"Under this "description of lands, such as have been settled for a money rent have "been done on the calculation of the dowl price per kullam and per "chey, and the amount so arising has been fixed as the rent payable "to the Sircar."

The precise idea intended to be conveyed by this statement, I have been unable to discover. But it seems probable that all Mr. Hurdis meant was that at the time of Jamâbandi, he declared a certain price per kalam to be the current price of paddy in a particular tract, and having caused to be measured the out-turn of each Nanjey field situated therein, and ascertained the number of kalams to which it amountted, multiplied the number of kalams which each chey of land was supposed to have yielded by the number of fanams which a kalam was supposed to be worth, and declared half of the product arrived at in each case to be the assessment fixed on the chey for that particular year. There is no reason to suppose that he entered into any calculations referential to average amounts of produce raised in particular series of years, or took into consideration the amounts yielded in previous years. All that was done apparently, was to ascertain the amount which fell to the share of Government in 1800, and to take the supposed value of that amount instead of the amount itself.

Punjey lands fell under one or other of two classes They were either such as paid a tîrvei or money rent of so much per given measure of extent Or they were comprised in villages, "which paid a fixed rent without reference to their contents;" that is to say I presume, of which the rent remained always the same, whatever might be the acreage actually brought under cultivation and whatever kinds of crops might be raised in any particular year. The former class of lands Mr. Hurdis had settled according to the mâmûl or established rates, as exhibited in the Karnams' accounts. But the price of grain had been rendered so variable by the machinations of Renters and monopolists that it was quite impossible to say what was the actual percentage of profit left to the cultivator.

In the *Kattu-kuttagei* or fixed rent villages the greatest abuses had been practised. Instead of the ryots enjoying as they ought all the advantages of permanency and tranquillity, they had been placed by the Mahometan Government at the mercy of rapacious Renters and adventurers. The value of each village had been purposely represented to be but a fractional part of what it really was; and the rents payable by the managers fixed at absurdly low figures. Thus in the kasbâ or principal village of Mâdakulam near Madura, which contained according to the Karnam's accounts 16½ *taurs* of Punjey and $99\frac{5}{16}$ of Nanjey, the kattu-kuttagei had been fixed at three Chakrams and two fanams for the whole: and the manager had been enabled

to make in one way and another as his *mâmûl nazzar*, as much as 332 Chs., 1 f. per annum. Mr. Hurdis had therefore raised the rents to their proper height, feeling sure that by so doing he would deprive the managers of undue profits but would not at all injure the immediate holders of the lands.

The report does not explain who these managers were; nor why the Renters purposely misrepresented the value of the villages. It seems probable however that the managers were a species of Inâmdârs, who lived on assignments of the taxes payable in gross by certain villages, subject to the payment of a small acknowledgment in the shape of money. And in all probability the Renter misrepresented the amounts customarily payable by the managers, rather than the value of the villages themselves His object would be to reduce to the lowest possible figure the amounts with which the managers were debited in the accounts, and share with them the fruits of the deception. For example, if the Renter was allowed ten per cent. on the amount of his collections, and a manager was accustomed to pay Rs. 1,000 per annum as an acknowledgment, the Renter would only make Rs 100 by collecting this sum and carrying it to account: but he might easily come to an arrangement with the manager to set him down as a debtor to the extent of only Rs. 500, and receive Rs. 750 from him. By so doing he would make Rs 300 instead of 100; and the mouth of the manager having been shut, discovery of the fraud would be almost impossible under a lax and inobservant Government. In short the Renter did pretty much the same as the unjust steward in the parable.

The report next goes on to speak of the *Hafta Dêvast'hâna* or Seven Churches villages. Those :—" included in the Jummabundy " were assumed by Usuf Cawn from the churches of Madura. These " lands were, before his time, allotted to the Perterum of the Idols, " the ceremonies of their religion, and the repairing and beautifying " their churches." Having assumed all these villages, Mohammad Yûsuf Khân attempted to provide for the *paditaram* (perterum) or ordinary expenses by the exaction of a tribute from the lands appropriated to the support of the *Sibbandis* or establishments of the various Pagodas. This tribute was gradually increased, until it reached the sum of nearly 6,000 Chakrams per annum, the amount which he appropriated to the paditaram in the second year of his management, and which was allowed ever afterwards. But the assumption met with great opposition from the very first; and the

Church had never given up her claims to the lands. Mr Hurdis observes:—"That the claim does exist, and with reason, appears "from the sunnuds of the late Wallajah, who grants the church the "6,000 Chakrams from the Sirkar, and directs that the Sibbandy "pay their usual tribute, which then was Chs. 3,220, Fs. 4, As. 14, "and the Mamool Nuzzur from the church of 800 C. Chs. These "orders however have been disobeyed and neglected, and the "insufficiency of means for Paditaram and for the Sibbandy have "caused many of their ceremonies to be laid aside, and some of the "lesser Sibbendy to relinquish their attendance and duty." It was of great importance to Government Mr. Hurdis thought that this claim should be properly disposed of:—"In the consideration of this "subject in order to restore to the Hindoos, what may be competent "to the use of the Pagodas, I am much at a loss. That the villages "under the head Hufta Devastanum did belong to the Pagodas, and "that they were enjoyed by the Pagodas, is unquestionable. That, "in consequence of the mutinous spirit of the south, these lands "were seized by the then Government for assistance, and never "restored, is also true. This has established an imperfect right to "these lands in the late Government, which perhaps may appear "more strong by the sort of commutation made by Usuf Cawn for "these villages in the payment of 12,000 Chakrams the first year "after the usurpation of them, and the sum of 6,000 Chakrams "regularly afterwards.

"This latter amount Wallajah confirmed to the church thirty-five "years since. But the conduct of his servants has progressively "lessened it, in the exaction made on the Sibbundy villages to com-"pensate this amount paid from the paditaram villages; by this "process eventually intending to secure the assumption, without "charge to the Renter of the districts."

It was absolutely necessary Mr. Hurdis thought to provide for the daily service in the Pagodas: and there were two allotments of money, either of which might be made for the purpose in conformity with the practice of preceding possessors of the country. These were 1st, the grant of 12,000 Chakrams per annum made by Mohammad Yûsuf Khân in Fasli 1167; 2ndly, the grant of 6,000 made by the Nabob Wallajah in 1175 The lesser grant however seemed to be quite insufficient: and the Collector therefore proposed that the sum of 12,000 Chakrams per annum should subject to certain restrictions be granted to the church for ever, each Pagoda to receive

its due share; and that the whole of the revenues arising from the Dêvast'hâna lands should be permanently annexed to the Circar. This proposed sum would amply suffice if properly expended for the performance of all necessary services and ceremonies. And on the other hand there would not be any superfluous funds at the disposal of the Church out of which Brâhmans could pay for indulgence in their habitual vices.

The lands which had been possessed by Peons under the head Jîvitham, Mr. Hurdis had resumed and added to the Jamâ; considering the further employment of the said Peons to be unnecessary.

Of another sort of lands he thus writes:—

"The Poroopoo villages paying a fixed tribute, are noted in the "Devalwar statement, and as the tenure of each is mentioned in the "remarks, it will depend on the consideration of your Board, whether "the Sunnuds shall be considered perpetual to the family, so long as "the stipulated rent be paid, or whether any, and what alteration "shall be made in them."

The report then compares the gross revenue of the Fasli under notice with that of the preceding Fasli. In 1210 the revenue under all heads had amounted to Chs. 1,16,119, fs. 9, as $6\frac{1}{2}$: whilst that of 1211 was about $18\frac{3}{4}$ per cent more. The increase would have been still more considerable if there had not been a fall in the price of grain

In the next place the report states that Mr. Hurdis felt great difficulty in coming to any conclusion with respect to the final disposal of the Church mâniams or rent-free lands. The lands appropriated to the Sibbandi of the Hafta Dêvast'hânas were paying to the Circar a *poruppu* or quit-rent amounting to Chs 5,506, fs. 7, as 12, imposed originally as stated above by Mohammad Yûsuf Khân This sum ought not to be held to be part of the Jamâ, because it was always paid back to the Hafta Dêvast'hânas as soon as collected, in order to provide for the paditaram expenses, the burden of which fell on the Circar when it first assumed all the lands of the Hafta Dêvast'hânas Mr. Hurdis thought it advisable therefore to omit this item in his Jamâbandi statements. And if I have not mistaken his meaning, he would seem to have suggested that the Sibbandi poruppu ought not to be collected at all; but that the 12,000 Chakrams which he proposed to appropriate to the paditaram expenses, should be paid entirely out of the revenues

accruing from the assumed Hafta Dêvast'hâna lands It seems difficult however to believe that the Collector really intended to advise the Board to at once double the paditaram allowance and remit the tribute which had previously almost sufficed to meet that charge. and it would seem to be more probable that he meant merely, that it was useless to bring the poruppu to account under the existing system, not that the collection of it should be thereafter for ever discontinued. The poruppu had been gradually increased, and those who paid it had become gradually accustomed to its exaction: and the Collector might well continue to collect it, and to superintend its expenditure for the benefit of the Pagodas. See post page 139.

The lands set aside for the support of *Chattrams* or rest-houses for wayfarers had been grossly misappropriated. Mr. Hurdis says of them :—

" The establishment of Choultries, which next comes under consi-
" deration, and which was made with the view of accommodation to
" travellers, has since the time of Usuf Cawn been appropriated by
" the present incumbents, as their own private property The rapa-
" city of the former managers had winked at this assumption, so long
" as it was profitable to them. but the discovery of their aggression,
" instead of causing retributive justice to the sufferer, enriched pro-
" gressively the Renters' treasury by fixing as a tribute all that had
" been discovered taken by previous compulsion. And the holders
" of the property formerly *public* are, by the yearly receipt of the
" rent specified, in quiet possession of their impudent usurpations"

It does not appear from the report, what action the Collector proposed to take in this matter The Jamâbandi statements appended to the report show that some of the revenues derived from Chattram lands were included by him in the Jamâ, whilst others were left in the hands of the persons who enjoyed them And it would seem as though Mr. Hurdis wished to leave untouched all such misappropriations as appeared to have been actually sanctioned by grants from former rulers of the country

After this the report speaks of the *Arei-kattaleis* or mâniams granted to individuals for the purpose of continually making offerings and reciting prayers to the Deity on behalf of the departed grantors, or rather for the continuance of the " same mode of worship the donor " observed in his lifetime, as the prayer is always as if from the donor " himself" These mâniams Mr. Hurdis divides into two classes, 1st

those granted under the Carnatic Government previous to the time of Mohammad Yûsuf Khân: 2dly, those improperly alienated at subsequent periods by dishonest servants of various managers And he then gives a list of them. Those composing the first class "were never taxed with any tribute" and the titles to them seemed good The copper plates indeed on which the Sanads relating to them had been engraved were said to have been carried away in time of war, and destroyed together with the idols of the temples But the Collector saw no reason to doubt the truth of this story, and he had no doubt but that the claims to these mâniams rested on solid foundations of right The mâniams of the second class were on an entirely different footing They were described as bearing not the least mark of authenticity:—"Prescription alone is pleaded but no other autho- "rity whatever. Nor is it likely that the man who struck the first "blow at the power of the Brahmins, should of his own act tend to "increase the influence of the church

"The resistance of the church Brahmins to his impositions, and "the circumvention of his measures by their vigilance, it is said, made "many people suppose, that property held under the church would, "as protected by the Brahmins, be of a more certain tenure than any "other. This, I understand, has been a custom And hence it is pre- "sumable, that the lands granted as "Aracuttala" during Usaf Cawn's "time are, in fact, possessed by the descendants of the grantees, as "property, the interest of the Brahmins would always effectually "secure."

There was also another kind of Arei-kattalei mâniam, namely villages said to have been granted rent-free to intending donors to the Pagoda, such as Semanût, Kamudi, Moleyêndal, G'hanapattiyêndal, Maravankulam, Pâpâpat, and Râmarâjapura

They had been made over nominally to the Pagoda but it was perfectly well understood that the lands were in fact enjoyed by the descendants of the grantors, and that the grants to the Pagoda had been made only for the purpose of obtaining that protection which was popularly supposed to be enjoyed by the Church

Mr Hurdis was of opinion that the rules laid down by the Nabob Wallajah ought to be followed in disposing of these alienations These orders sanctioned the confirmation of the Arei-kattalei grants of Tirumala Nâyakkan, and not even indirectly those of any other, but directed that the poruppu imposed by Mohammad Yûsuf Khân and the

additional nazzar of 800 Chakrams should continue to be paid by the Mînâkshi and Alagar Pagodas. And servants of the late Government had informed Mr. Hurdis that it was the Nabob's intention to confirm the grant of the Tirumala Nâyakkan arei-kattalei alone. Supposing this to be true, it was difficult to understand why tribute should have been levied indiscriminately from all the Church lands. Possibly this was the origin of the practice.—" The confusion of the " country for many years as well before the time of Usuf Cawn as " after, caused the Brahmins of the church individually to pay for " their security, according to their means And it is said (but with " what truth I know not) that the payment thus exacted was the " foundation of the porooppoo to the Sirkar

" It is probable that this might have been the origin. But as it " was attached to individual wealth and means, rather than to the " lands enjoyed, and as it is evident from this year's settlement, that " the lands according to the present accounts are unequal to the " Porooppoo demand, it appears clear, that it was imposed without " reference to any of those circumstances, which could render effectu- " ally valid the imposition."

If it should be ultimately decided that the poruppu must be collected as usual, Mr Hurdis thought it would be well to ascertain the value of the lands of each village, and then fix a tax of so much per cent. on it The then arrangement was wholly wanting in method, and pressed very unequally on different villages

The report then closes with remarks on the prospects of the district .—

" The province of Madura is, if in a state of quiet, very improve- " able: and, to ensure this, I have, in obedience to the orders of " Government, collected arms according to the accompanying list " The disuse of which, by giving more labor to the country, in the " exoneration of the Peon's service, will materially assist it."

On the 20th July 1802 Mr. Hurdis wrote a second report, showing the nature of the settlement which he had effected. This taken together with his first, enables the enquirer to form a rough idea of the revenue system then in vogue, and of the state of the Madura country when Mr. Hurdis took charge of it.

It appears that the rents on betel gardens were fixed on precisely the same principle as they had been under the Nabob's government. But what that principle was, is not explained: and it is somewhat

difficult to believe that:—"The difference on the value of each chey "in the different Taluqs has arisen from the better situation of the "gardens for the consumption of their produce, which in Madacolum "is much superior to all others" For the statements appended to the report show that in Mâdakulam $9\frac{7}{16}$ cheys of betel garden yielded a rent of 332 and odd Chakrams, whereas in Mêlûr $2\frac{6}{16}$ cheys yielded only 21 and odd Chakrams A difference so great as this could hardly have been caused by the one division having a rather better market than the other for an article always and everywhere in great demand. The total number of cheys cultivated with betel was only twenty-seven and odd, and it is quite possible that Mr Hurdis had not found time to make correct enquiries respecting the nature of the assessment imposed on them.

The number of cheys of paddy lands actually cultivated was according to the accounts given in by the Karnams, 14,307 odd. That portion of them which could not be settled at a money rent, yielded to the Circar according to the mâmûl rates of division 63,882 and odd kalams of paddy, worth at the current rate of price (5 fanams and $8\frac{5}{61}$ annas per kalam) 35,269 and odd Chakrams That portion which was settled at a money rent, yielded 34,490 and odd Chakrams. The total value of all the cultivated paddy lands was therefore 69,760 and odd Chakrams

But these calculations were fallacious, inasmuch as there was no standard of land measurement common to all the divisions forming the district Accordingly Mr. Hurdis had with infinite labor reduced all the measurements exhibited in the accounts of the different Karnams to their equivalents in Mâdakulam cheys, which standard was more widely known than any other. And the results so obtained were as follows, namely:—

Total number of cheys under cultivation 15,973 and odd;

	Chs	fs.	as.
Average value per chey...	4,	4,	$1\frac{3}{16}$;
Total value.	...70,401 and odd.		

Mr. Hurdis was (now · but see ante p. 116) of opinion that the Nanjey assessment was not at all high. It varied a little in different villages, according to the situation of lands and the number of crops which could be raised in one year. But the Karnams and Nattam-gars had assured him that, under his management, neither the ryot nor the Circar had enjoyed an undue proportion of the profits of cultivation. Âneiyûr indeed appeared to be taxed more highly than

any other division But then its average rate, Chs 6, fs $0\frac{6}{16}$ per chey, was only three fanams more than that of the adjoining division of Dindigul, Sandeiyûr; its soil was very productive; and it was taxed at the mâmûl rate No reduction therefore was necessary in that district.

The Punjey lands under cultivation amounted to 1,00,436 Dindigul guntas, and yielded at an average rate of 6 fs, $2\frac{1}{64}$ as per gunta, the gross sum of 61,959 and odd Chakrams They were rated much more unequally than were Nanjey lands · but the variations in their quality and productiveness were very noticeable For instance in Tirumangalam which was rated very highly being a great cotton-growing country, the village of Taccha-kudi was rated at no less than 24 fanams per gunta of Punjey but in the village of Maravan-kulam Punjey lands were rated at only 1 f, $8\frac{15}{16}$ as But then in the former village the soil was of the very finest quality · in the latter it was of the very worst, salt and sandy So bad was it, that Maravan-kulam could not boast of a single ulkudi or resident ryot, but was cultivated entirely by ryots who belonged to sundry adjoining villages Of Âneiyûr the report says —"The rate of lands in the "Anioor Taluq is apparently high, but it is the rent that has obtained, "and the quality of the land warrants it. The highest rate in the "poonjey is ten fanams, and the lowest about three The garden "lands are rated at twenty fanams per goontah, but there are so "few, as to make very little difference on the general average value."

As with the Nanjey lands so with the Punjey, Mr. Hurdis had experienced great difficulty in ascertaining their correct measurement And after doing his best he was by no means satisfied with the results obtained. He could not depend on the statements prepared by the Karnams and Nattamgars. Indeed he believed that the mâmûl measurement of the villages was not half the actual measurement; since after reducing the Karnams' measurements into Dindigul guntas, and then assessing each gunta at the mâmûl rate, he had found that the lands were assessed about 50 per cent more highly than lands of a like description and quality in Dindigul; and yet the ryots continued their cultivation and made no complaints. From this he inferred, that the excess of actual measurement in favor of the Madura cultivator compensated him for the excess of assessment in favor of the Circar

The explanation of this anomaly seemed to have been afforded by the Nattamgar of Peetalupatty, who informed Mr. Hurdis, that the then obtaining scale of measurement in Tirumangalam had been substituted for the Dindigul scale by one Seshagiri Âyyar a Renter in the time of Mohammad Yûsuf Khân's successor Abirâl Khân. This Renter had introduced an unit of measurement called a *bâgham* which was longer by about seventy per cent than the one then in use. Consequently the lands brought to account in the cultivation reports were in reality seventy per cent. more extensive than they appeared to be; and the Circar was cheated in proportion to that excess. In addition to this, in measuring with the bâgham an excess of fourteen per cent had been customarily let go to the ryot as a sort of charitable remission ; so that altogether the measurements were wrong to the extent of about eighty-four per cent.

Assuming that what was probably true of Tirumangalam was probably true of the rest of the district also, Mr Hurdis came to the conclusion that on the whole the Madura ryots were in rather a better position as respected the assessment on their Punjey lands than they ought to be Certainly they had no right to complain: and they had not complained.

The ready money collections under the head of Swarnâdâya which comprised the usual taxes on shops houses looms topes and the like amounted in all to 11,481 and odd Chakrams, and this amount together with the land tax, brought up the Jamâ to 1,43,842 and odd Chakrams

But from this amount certain deductions had to be made on account of 1, Sibbandi ; 2, Chattrams ; 3, *Ardd'ha-mâniams.*

Sibbandi.—This was an allowance made to the Nattamgars and Karnams employed in the Fort on certain duties; and amounted to 175 and odd Chakrams.

Chattrams—This was a fictitious item which had been inserted in order to compensate for the improper bringing to account of the revenues of certain Inâm villages. The mistake had been made by some oversight, and it was necessary to correct it. The item amounted to 5,683 and odd Chakrams. See page 121 ante for the villages.

Ardd'ha-mâniams.—Certain villages in Mâdakulam and Tirumangalam paid a favorable rent of only one-half the proper assessment, and kept back the other half as Inâm. But by mistake the

lands which constituted them had all been described in the accounts as Circar lands proper. This item was therefore necessarily introduced in order to balance the accounts. It amounted to 92 and odd Chakrams. Deducting these three items, the total Jamâ amounted to 1,37,891 Chakrams or Star Pagodas 83,750 and odd.

After giving the details of the Jamâ proper, the report goes on to speak of the Sayer or customs. The receipts under this head were far less than they had been, in consequence of the discontinuance of several fraudulent and grievous impositions which had been introduced by the Amaldârs and Renters of the late Government; and in consequence of the abolition of the obstructive duties on grain. The abolition of these two kinds of duties had caused a total loss of 9,867 and odd Chakrams The duty on grain of various sorts had previously brought in 6,000 and odd, and the improper cesses on salt oil sheep and other articles 3,866 and odd. The Sayer Jamâ of the current Fasli would therefore amount to only 8,860 and odd Chakrams, as against 18,727 and odd realized in the preceding Fasli. But the measures which caused this direct loss to Government were highly necessary and politic, and productive of great good to the people at large The Jamâ including the Sayer collections amounted to 88,940 and odd Star Pagodas.

The report then speaks of the ten petty Madura pâleiyams, the names of which it is unnecessary to give. In settling them for Fasli 1211 Mr. Hurdis had followed the same plan of assessment as he had in settling the Circar lands, but at rates rather more favorable to the ryot. And the Pêshkash had been fixed, as follows:— From every 100 Chakrams of Jamâ 7½ were deducted for expenses of collection and the remainder was divided in the proportion of 70 per cent. to the Circar, and 30 per cent. to the Poligar. The total revenue thus calculated amounted to 9,008 and odd Chakrams, or Star Pagodas 5,459 and odd. In the preceding Fasli the Pêshkash had amounted to only 3,128 and odd. There was therefore an increase under this head of more than 74 per cent But the pâleiyams were very improvable properties, and would yield still more if properly managed.

Having shown the state of the revenue under all its heads, Mr Hurdis proceeds to compare it with the state of the revenue in the preceding Fasli. The comparison shows an increase of land revenue

to the extent of 13,194 and odd Star Pagodas, and an increase of 2,331 and odd in Poligars' Pêshkash. On the other hand, there was a decrease in the Sayer of 5,980 and odd. The total net increase was therefore 9,545 and odd Star Pagodas; and the gross collections reached the sum of Star Pagodas 94,400 odd.

The report concludes with the following remarks on the state of the district:—

"I have little to say on the general state of the country: but
" that little appears to promise good. The ryots are everywhere
" returning to habits of industry The Colleries have certainly been
" more quiet than before, since the days of Usaf Cawn. The
" country has improved, is improving, and (I verily believe) when
" the Colleries feel the comfort of tranquillity, their predatory habits
" will cease. Very trifling indeed have been the complaints of
" aggression, since the possession of the country: and their general
" conduct from the cowles for cultivation they have asked for and
" obtained, gives according to present appearances fair hopes of well
" directed industry from these hitherto insubordinate people."

On the 3rd January 1803 the Board of Revenue wrote to the Collector an order approving generally of the Collector's acts and suggestions, but at the same time pointing out that certain of his plans could not be carried into effect until fuller and more accurate knowledge had been obtained with regard to the subjects of them In order to ascertain the actual extent and quality of the arable lands of the district it was necessary to survey them thoroughly; and the Collector would begin to take steps to carry out a survey.

It would be highly inexpedient to make any hasty reduction in the share of produce allowed by custom to the ryot, and the Collector must never attempt to do anything of the kind without first obtaining express sanction from the Board. Mr. Hurdis had expressed an opinion to the effect that the cultivators of Nanjey lands appeared to enjoy too small a share of the profits of their labors, and this defect must be remedied at once, if existent. Mr. Hurdis would therefore favor the Board with an explanation of his views upon this point.

He would also explain what he meant by Kattu-kuttagei villages; and upon what principle he had thought proper to raise the mâmûl tax collected from them. If the holders of them had a prescriptive right to pay a reduced rent, Mr. Hurdis could not be held to be

justified in having violated that right. If their immunity from the pressure of ordinary taxation was the fruit of abuse and fraud, in that case it ought to be denied to them in future; and the abuse and fraud ought to be radically corrected. The system must be thoroughly investigated and reported upon at length .

The assumed Dêvast'hâna lands must be given up to the Pagodas:—

" The subject of Devastanum lands is of great importance to the " happiness of the people, and the attention paid to the interests of " the Pagodas by the immediate Officers of Government has been " attended with the most beneficial consequences to the religious " establishments in different parts of the Peninsula. The Governor " in Council being, therefore, desirous that the ceremonies and " festivals of the temples at Madura should be re-established by the " appropriation of the former funds for their support has been " pleased to direct, that you proclaim the restoration of the lands " resumed from the Pagodas by the late Government

" The administration of the revenues of those lands forms a dis- " tinct question. The extensive abuses found to prevail with respect " to those lands, with which the Pagodas of Dindigul were endowed, " render it expedient, that the lands and affairs of the Pagodas of " Madura be conducted in the same manner as those of Dindigul, " under the immediate care of the Collector."

With regard to the Areikattalei and Poruppu lands, the Board would appear to have entirely misunderstood Mr. Hurdis' exceedingly vague and obscure explanation of the nature of the abuses connected therewith They contented themselves with observing generally that his remarks seemed to be exceedingly judicious, and that Government had sanctioned the disbursement of 12,000 Chakrams on account of the Pagodas for Fasli 1211. No order was passed on the important question, was or was not the Poruppu on the Sibbandi tribute to be collected in future? And perhaps it was felt that no one but Mr Hurdis could hope to understand the merits of that question. But the Collector was directed to confirm the then holders of Poruppu villages in the possession of their properties, so long as they continued to perform the duties in consideration of which the lands had originally been granted. And it is just possible that the Poruppu collected from these villages and the tribute exacted from the Pagoda Sibbandi were erroneously thought to be one and the same source of income.

On the 4th May 1803 Mr. Hurdis sent in his Jamâbandi report for Fasli 1212, and at the same time promised to send full explanations on all the points noted in the Board's letter. But soon afterwards he left the district on his promotion; and so was never able to fulfil his promise.

The report for Fasli 1212 does not contain any very important matter. The Collector had anticipated the Board's orders with regard to the carrying out of a survey, and he attributed to this circumstance the very considerable increase of revenue which he had been enabled to realize. And he was particularly well satisfied with the state of his treasury, seeing that he had appropriated 12,000 Chakrams to the support of the Pagodas in conformity with the Board's orders. Moreover the increase had been brought about without having recourse to the system of giving *takkâvi* or advances for cultivation to the ryots, who had nevertheless done well. The net increase of revenue in the Madura district amounted to no less than 13,473 and odd Star Pagodas

On the 8th June 1804 Mr Hurdis' successor, Mr. Parish, reported on the Jamâbandi of Fasli 1213. He had strictly adhered to the Revenue system which he found to be in operation. and as Mr Hurdis had described that system in detail he refrained from troubling the Board with lengthy explanations and arguments.

There had been a healthy extension of cultivation, leading to an increase of eight per cent on the Jamâ of the preceding Fasli, and there was every reason to expect even greater advances now that the country was beginning to recover from the injurious effects of the Nabob's mal-administration. The assumption of the Sayer had been carried out in all parts of the district. And in spite of the difficulty experienced in suddenly taking under management this so intricate a branch of revenue, there had been an actual increase in the Sayer collections. When once the new Regulations were properly understood by the people, and the existing accounts rescued from confusion, the income derivable from the customs would rapidly increase in amount. The statements accompanying this report are very full, and interesting as showing amongst other things the first-fruits of the newly introduced measures for the better management of the Salt Abkâri and other branches of revenue It appears that the Râmnâd Zamindâri yielded a Salt revenue of Star Pagodas 3,500, and the Sivagangei 2,007 and odd. The Abkâri rent of Râmnâd produced Star

Pagodas 1,914 and odd; that of Dindigul 695 and odd; that of Madura 376 and odd. The Sayer *Chdukis* or custom-houses of Madura collected Star Pogadas 8,290 and odd; those of Manapâra 3,442 and odd; those of Dindigul 12,272 and odd; those of Sivagangei 10,333; and those of Râmnâd 13,500. The kâvali or watching fees collected on the cultivated lands of Madura and the Swarnâdâya amounted together to Star Pagodas 5,417 and odd

From the well-known report of Mr. A. D. Campbell of the 6th November 1826, we learn that:—

In 1804-5 a settlement was come to with each ryot "formed upon the money-assessments introduced by Mr. Hurdis:" and similar settlements were formed in each of the two following years.

In 1807-8 triennial leases were granted to the village communities, presumably through their head-men.

In 1810-11 the triennial leases had expired, and it was found advisable to revert to the system of settling with each ryot individually; the District having been completely disorganized and impoverished by the tremendous ravages of the great fever described in Part I.

The continued ill-being of the Madura country during the next three years rendered it absolutely necessary to continue the Ryotwâri system.

In 1814-15 the Ryotwâri system was formally reverted to in both the Dindigul and Madura countries.

And from that time to the present it has obtained uninterruptedly. Its main features, as found in the Madura Collectorate, will be described hereafter in the proper place.

CHAPTER VI.

Mr. Hurdis' reports almost unintelligible.—Twelve kinds of lands.—Nanjey and Punjey assessments.—Punjey cultivation uncommon in old times.—The history of the Hafta Dêvast'hânas.—The hasty disposal of them.—Poruppu, Chattram, Mâniam and other lands.—Two-crop lands.—The survey.—The great fever.—Mr. Peter's discretionary remissions.—The Proceedings of the Board of 3rd *January* 1843 *abstracted.—Fassal Jâsti, and the Board's enquiries touching it.—Proposals touching the disposal of the Hafta and other Dêvast'hâna lands.—The tasdîks still allowed.*

All the available sources of information regarding the settlement of the Madura country have been exhausted in Chapter V: and it now becomes necessary to endeavour to illumine to some little extent the dark and apparently unfathomable depths of Mr. Hurdis' reports. His reports on Dindigul were rendered partly intelligible by the reports of his successors and by other documents: but nothing in this way has been done for Madura, and the mode in which its settlement was effected is to this day a mystery.

The reports speak of twelve kinds of lands held under various tenures, which were variously denominated and variously treated by Mr. Hurdis. These were the following, viz:—

1. Circar or ordinary Government lands.
2. Hafta Dêvast'hâna.
3. Sibbandi Poruppu.
4. Jîvitham.
5. Poruppu village.
6. Church Mâniams.
7. Chattram.
8. Arei-kattalei.
9. Arei-kattalei village.
10. Ardd'ha-mâniam.
11. Pâleiyam.
12. Inâm.

It will be useful to notice briefly these several kinds in the order in which they are mentioned in the reports.

Circar lands.—These were divided into Nanjey Punjey and betel-garden.

Nanjey lands were of two kinds, Âttu-kâl-pâshana and Mânâ-vari-pat; and were taxed in the modes described above. The tax on them was in some cases collected in kind, in others in money.

Whether Mr. Hurdis introduced the system of collecting the tax in money where the ryots agreed to his terms, or whether he found the practice already existent, does not appear. But he says generally in his first report that he followed the practice of former cutcherries, and it is probable therefore that a money tax on Nanjey lands was well known in Madura before his time. And there is no reason to suppose the contrary, seeing that the practice was certainly adopted in Tanjore under the Mahratta Government in the year 1780, as has been shown at page 151 of Part III.

It is probable that Mr. Hurdis had no intention of fixing a money-rent on Nanjey in perpetuity, where he collected it in 1801: and the mysterious process of assessment described at page 117 ante must have been intended to be applicable to that year alone. But the rates assessed in that year seem to have been maintained in the following year—perhaps because average crops were raised in both seasons—and Mr. Parish did not feel equal to the task of revising the assessment in 1803, or in any following year: and owing to some strange combination of accidents the haphazard commutation rates of Mr. Hurdis' first settlement are with a few exceptions the Nanjey rates of the present day.

It is difficult to see the force of one of Mr. Hurdis' arguments in support of the position that rain-fed Nanjey was the more profitable. He states that it was more profitable partly because it required less manure as it produced but one crop per annum! One would suppose that the value of the ryot's share of a second crop would have been more valuable than the manure employed in raising it: else how did the ryot afford to cultivate his lands? We must perhaps assume that Mr. Hurdis made a slip of the pen when he wrote these words.

Punjey lands were of two kinds, ordinary and Kattu-kuttagei. The former were very variously assessed with money rates on a certain area: but there is nothing to show on what principle. And Mr. Hurdis admits his inability to show how large a percentage of the supposed profits of this kind of cultivation was allowed or intended to be allowed to the ryot.

We have seen in Part III that under Hindû rulers the ryot was theoretically allowed half the produce of his lands: but no mention is made of dry crops by the Jesuits, and it is very questionable I think whether they were cultivated to any great extent before the 18th century. In the 16th and 17th centuries the population was

so much less numerous than at present, the tanks were kept in so good order by the King, and the exportation of rice was so rare, that there would have been no necessity for the cultivation of unirrigated lands and the raising of what Hindûs usually regard as inferior grains. Moreover the word universally used for daily food in Madura is still "rice," although the greater proportion of the population do not eat rice once a month; and this circumstance goes far to show that kinds of grain other than rice have become staple articles of diet only in modern times. It would seem to be probable therefore that when Punjey cultivation first began to become common, the old rule of dividing the produce equally was not deviated from in taxing Punjey lands. And Colonel Fullarton writing in 1785 tells us that it was the immemorial custom in the south to divide the produce into two equal shares; and is altogether silent as to any exception being made in the case of Punjey lands So too Mr. Peter speaks of the old custom of equally dividing Punjey produce after allowing for the pothu selavu or charges of cultivation. Looking at the evidence as it stands, I think there is good reason to believe that prior to 1800 the customary practise in assessing Punjey lands was to take from the ryot the supposed equivalent in money of the Circar half of the produce, calculated after making an allowance for the pothu selavu; which allowance probably amounted to twenty per cent. as in Dindigul.

Mr. Hurdis never explained the tenure of the Kattu-kuttagei villages, and none of his successors have attempted to supply the omission. I can only suppose that they were, as suggested at page 118, a species of Inâm villages held by favored individuals subject to a quit-rent. The meaning of the term Kattu-kuttagei is fixed rent, and it therefore shows that the villages so denominated, or their owners, paid a certain fixed yearly rent to Government in good and bad seasons alike.

Remarks have already been made upon Mr. Hurdis' observations with regard to betel-gardens. And he says nothing about either Nanjey or Punjey gardens; nothing about Nanjey degraded into Punjey, Punjey improved into Nanjey, or topes of fruit-bearing trees.

THE HAFTA DÊVAST'HÂNA lands were lands granted to seven (Hafta) Churches (Dêvast'hânas) for the purpose of duly maintaining the religious worship and ceremonies observed in them. Their names were the following:—

1. The Mînâkshi or *sakti* portion of the great Pagoda at Madura.
2. The Kalla Alagar.
3. The Gûdal Alagar.
4. The Thirupparankunram.
5. The Ten-karei.
6. The Thiruvêdakam.
7. The Kuruvi-thurei

It does not appear from the reports when or by whom thê grants to these Churches were originally made: but there can be no doubt that they should be attributed, if to any one, to the great Tirumala. We are expressly told in the MS. translated at page 147, Vol. II of the O. H. MSS. that "the whole of the splendour of the temple is to be attributed to the illustrious Tirumala." And see Chapter VII of Part III for the grant of 44,000 Pons And we are also told in the abovementioned MS., and this is more to the purpose, that when Tirumala dismissed the chief Pandâram of the Mînâkshi Pagoda for criminal misappropriation of the revenues entrusted to his charge, he endowed that Pagoda with lands yielding an annual revenue of twelve thousand Pons or about Rupees 24,000, in order to provide for the *Masakûdum ab'hishêkam*, the *Nêy-vêthanam*, garlands, lights, and daily services.

When Chandâ Sahêb obtained possession of the Madura kingdom he seized the Church lands; and his proceedings rendered it necessary for the managers of the Mînâkshi Pagoda to close it, and to hurriedly remove the idols and entire establishment for safety to Mâna-Madura; where it is said that they remained for a period of two years and three months, during which the expense of conducting the worship in the customary manner and supporting the establishment was defrayed by the Sêthupati.

After the capture of Chandâ Sahêb, Morâri Raû procured the return of the idols and Pagoda establishment to Madura, and according to the Srî-tâla book caused the endowments which had been made by the Karnataka Kings to be restored to the Pagoda. Whether he restored in their entirety all the lands which had been held by the Pagoda prior to Chandâ Sahêb's usurpation, or only part of them, does not appear: but it may be reasonably supposed that he restored all

During the troublous times which followed upon the death of Chandâ Sahêb, and probably during the administration of Barkat Ulla (see Part III, page 274) the endowed lands were again taken from the Pagoda; and the usual worship appears to have been discontinued until the time of Mohammad Yûsuf Khân. This man it will be

remembered was by birth a Vellâlan, and it is therefore probable that he was prompted by strong motives of superstition to restore the great Pagoda to its normal condition and accordingly when he took possession of Madura, if the Srî-tâla book can be believed, he remarked that the Mînâkshi Pagoda was a very illustrious dwelling place of the Deity, and that it behoved him to see that its affairs were conducted in the ancient Karnataka manner. He therefore caused the temple to be lustrated, removed the lame Fakîr and his umbrella (see Part III, page 274), and appropriated a revenue of 12,000 Kali Pons to the maintenance of the Mînâkshi and six other Dêvast'hânas And from that time to the time of the final assumption of the country by the British, the appropriation was confirmed by successive administrators

It will be observed that this account, which appears to be perfectly natural and credible, differs materially from the account given by Mr Hurdis, in that it makes Mohammad Yûsuf Khân to have endowed the Pagoda afresh, whilst the latter makes him to have usurped existing endowments and made an allowance to the church out of the proceeds of his usurpation, and to have immediately reduced that allowance by one-half, and subsequently paid it out of the proceeds of a fresh usurpation

Taking the two accounts together, and attaching greater weight to the statements of the Srî-tâla book than to Mr. Hurdis' mere hearsay evidence, I think that the following explanation of the Hafta Dêvas-t'hâna question may be accepted as being sufficiently satisfactory. Very extensive domains situated in various parts of the kingdom were granted by Tirumala to the Mînâkshi Amman Kôvil and the great Pagoda generally, and produced in all what was in his time a most enormous revenue, 56,000 Pons Of these lands the greater part was lost when the kingdom underwent dismemberment, other parcels were usurped by various individuals, and what few remained in 1738, were assumed by Chandâ Sahêb and subsequent Mahometan rulers of Madura. When Mohammad Yûsuf Khân came to Madura, and resolved to re-establish the Pagoda worship, he found a comparatively small amount of lands said to have been granted by Tirumala within the limits of his jurisdiction, and that the titles to many of the parcels which constituted that amount were extremely doubtful and invalid, as the copper *Sâsanams* or deeds of conveyance to the Pagoda had all been lost in the confusion which ensued on the removal of the establishment to Mâna-

Madura. He therefore determined to retain possession of the lands said to form the remnant of the original endowment, and to provide for the support of the seven Pagodas by appropriating to their use almost the exact amount of revenue which Tirumala intênded the Mînâkshi Pagoda alone to enjoy. The value of money had fallen very considerably during the century which had elapsed since the date of the original grant, and it no doubt seemed perfectly feasible to make up the allowance out of the revenues of the supposed Dêvast'hâna lands which still remained. But the anarchical state of the country, and the financial embarrassments in which Mohammad Yûsuf Khân must have been from the very first involved, rendered it impossible for him to carry out his generous intention. and in the second year of his administration, that is the year after that in which he decided on making the appropriation, he was compelled to reduce the allowance by one-half. And he subsequently found it necessary to reimburse himself by imposing the poruppu or quit-rent on the rent-free lands enjoyed by the principal servants of the Pagodas.

When Mr Hurdis took charge of the country, he found that what were called the Hafta Dêvast'hâna lands were yielding to the Circar a revenue of Rupees 50,291 as 9 p. 10, or about twice the amount of Mohammad Yûsuf Khân's original and larger allowance; and that only half that allowance was being made by the Circar to the seven Churches. He was therefore in doubt as to whether Government ought to retain possession of the lands, and reported accordingly.

Upon this the Board of Revenue hastily wrote the order which has been noticed above, without sufficiently understanding the meagre report submitted for their consideration and without calling for such information as would have enabled them to form a just estimate of the merits of the case as between them and the managers of the Dêvast'hânas. The question to be decided was the following.—A certain Telugu King of a Tamil kingdom which had been completely broken up and destroyed some sixty years previously, had some hundred and fifty years previously granted certain lands to a certain Pagoda. Some of those lands had been seized by invading enemies and others. The remainder had been taken away from the Pagoda by the Mahometan chief who destroyed the kingdom. Certain lands supposed to be those which formed that remnant had been restored, or were said to have been restored to the Pagoda by a certain Mahratta chief. If so, they had been again usurped by a Mahometan

ruler and for a period of some forty-five years their revenues had certainly formed part of the revenues of the Circar. In such case was it, or was it not necessary for the British Government to make an enquiry into the nature of the original grant; to endeavour to trace separately the ownership of each parcel of land which was represented in certain very doubtful accounts to be Hafta Dêvast'hâna, through endless political changes and convulsions to the time of the alleged grant? And if it appeared that the alleged grant had in fact been made, and that the lands alleged to the Hafta Dêvas-t'hana lands had undoubtedly formed part of the original endowment, to restore them parties who, if they had ever possessed title-deeds, could not produce them or give secondary evidence of their contents, and who had certainly been out of possession for a period of more than forty years?

Had the Board been made aware of the real nature of the question to be decided, there can be little doubt that they would have passed a very different order. But as it happened, their order led to no results. For some reason which cannot be ascertained, Mr. Hurdis never made the proclamation relating to the transfer of the lands, and never transferred them And the Hafta Dêvast'hâna lands are to this day in the possession of Government, and bring in a revenue amounting to no less than Rupees 50,000 and odd. The question of their disposal was revived in 1849 and again in 1859. but as we shall see hereafter, nothing came of what was done on those occasions.

THE SIBBANDI PORUPPU lands were in the occupation of individuals who belonged to the Sibbandi or establishment of the Pagoda. They were said to have been at one time rent-free, and to have been saddled by Mohammad Yûsuf Khân with a poruppu or fixed tribute of an arbitrary nature This was increased and again increased in amount, and in Mr Hurdis' time yielded the sum of Chs. 5,506, fs. 7, as 12 As soon as it was collected it was handed over to the Pagoda managers for application to the Paditaram, and accordingly Mr. Hurdis did not include this head of demand in the Jamâ, pending the reception of orders from the Board

These mâniams also were most probably granted by Tirumala. The MS translated by Mr. Taylor at page 147 vol. ii of his O H. MSS. states that Tirumala granted some villages in fee simple (suttha-sarva-mâniam) for the "food and drink" of the St'hânikâl and *Parijananjal* or attendants of the Pagoda · and no doubt all or

some of those lands were the lands known as Sibbandi poruppu in Mr. Hurdis' time

It is observable that the imposition of a poruppu on those lands was not necessarily oppressive Tirumala intended them to yield a revenue sufficient for the food and clothing of a certain number of servants, the value of money fell considerably in the course of a century, and if Mohammed Yusuf Khân found that the lands were yielding more than was necessary for the object of the grant, he might very well assume the surplus for the use of the State without laying himself open to the charge of avarice and tyranny The partial incidence of the tax was another matter

THE JÎVITHAM requires no explanation.

THE PORUPPU VILLAGE lands appear from the report to have been lands comprised in villages belonging to Brâhmans, which had once been held rent-free and subject to no kind of service, but had been voluntarily subjected by their possessors to a poruppu in order to secure Governmental protection and quiet possession in disturbed times Mr Hurdis states that they were "quite unequal to the poruppu," but does not explain the grounds for his belief that such was the case And his explanation of the tenure of these lands is far from satisfactory I should prefer to believe that the Mahometans who ruled the country after the fall of the kingdom searched out all the mâniam lands of which the titles were in the least defective, and offered their occupants the choice of resumption or the imposition of a poruppu and that in cases where the latter alternative was accepted, the amount of the poruppu imposed on each estate varied in proportion as the amount of the nazzar or acknowledgment of the favor shown to him by the ruler, which each proprietor could afford or thought it expedient to pay, was large or small.

THE CHURCH MÂNIAMS —This term appears to have been used by Mr. Hurdis to express generally all lands held by the Church or by Brâhmans or by individuals connected in any way with the Church, which were not subject to the ordinary and full land-tax.

THE CHATTRAM LANDS were lands granted by pious rulers like Queen Mangammâl for the purpose of perpetually maintaining certain Chattrams or rest-houses for travellers In some of these institutions lodging alone was provided; in others rations of rice, &c., were also provided Some were for the benefit of Brâhmans alone, others were opened to all comers In some the traveller might stay

only twenty-four hours, in others he might stay for days and months together. The trustees or rather grantees of the lands granted for this purpose, for it was generally speaking an understood thing that the trustee profited largely by the trust, were practically exempt from supervision and responsibility, and in many instances altogether ignored their trusts and treated the lands as their private property. Instead of correcting this abuse by divesting the managers of the Chattrams of their trusts and appointing proper persons in their place, Mr Hurdis' predecessors had connived at their frauds and established them in quiet possession of the lands in consideration of receiving from them a poruppu.

THE AREI-KATTALEI LANDS.—It is somewhat difficult to make out the precise meaning of this term In Ecclesiastical phraseology *Arei* means an apartment in the Pagoda, and *Kattalei* means a practice prescribed or an allotment of a fund for a specific pious purpose made by the Râja. And the compound word Arei-kattalei is used in the sense of the Pagoda stores and paraphernalia which are kept in small apartments And the *Arei-kattalei d'harmam* is used in the sense of the pious duty of looking after the Pagoda property generally. Thus when Tirumala dismissed the chief Pandâram he is said to have assumed the Arei-kattalei d'harmam Hence it would appear that the Arei-kattalei mâniams were lands granted and added to the Pagoda property for the purpose of performing certain religious acts, one of which may have been as Mr. Hurdis says that of performing *pûjei* or worship for the benefit of the soul of the departed grantor. The Tahsildâr of the Mînâkshi Pagoda informed me that such a practice is still daily observed. But it would seem that the names of grantors are not severally mentioned before or during the performance of the pûjei maintained by their grants, and that if the performance benefits their souls, it must benefit them collectively and not severally.

THE AREI-KATTALEI VILLAGE lands differed from those just described, in that they were granted by the Râja to individuals in order that they might transfer them to the Pagoda, and thus be enabled to perform charitable acts. According to Mr. Hurdis the transfer to the Pagoda had in most cases been only nominal and colorable, and the descendants of the so-called grantors were in fact enjoying the alleged grants. And he suggested the adoption of the rule said to have been laid down by the Nabòb, that no grants of this nature

should be confirmed except those which appeared to have been made by Tirumala.

THE ARDD'HA-MÂNIAM and PÂLEIYAM lands need no explanation other than that already afforded: and Mr. Hurdis tells us nothing about the INÂM.

We have thus noticed all the classes of lands mentioned in Mr. Hurdis' reports: and it only remains to make a few more observations touching the settlement of Madura. It appears that Mr. Hurdis made no provision for the case of two-crop Nanjey lands, that is to say lands sufficiently well supplied with water to be capable of giving two crops per annum, being prepared and sown only once in a year. He collected the Government share or supposed equivalent in money of the Government share of the crop actually raised; but demanded and collected no tax from such ryots as omitted to raise a second crop when it was possible for them to raise one The practice must be attributed to an oversight on the part of Mr. Hurdis, who seems to have devoted very much more time and labor to the settlement of Dindigul than to that of Madura. In the former country, as we have seen in Chapter II, two-crop Nanjey was taxed with reference to its natural capabilities and not with reference to its actual yield, which is in many cases dependent upon the thrift and energy or the reverse of its occupants.

No provision was made by Mr. Hurdis for Punjey or Nanjey bâg'hâyat, and accordingly lands so termed are for the most part taxed in Madura simply as Nanjey or Punjey and quite irrespectively of the kinds of produce raised on them. If garden-stuff is raised on Nanjey lands, they are taxed in the same manner as they would if sown with paddy: if it is raised on Punjey, the ordinary Punjey tax is levied so long as the occupant abstains from using Government water in the process of raising it. This is no doubt a liberal and very proper arrangement: but it is clearly owing to the result of a happy accident rather than to the sagacity and forethought of Mr. Hurdis and his successors.

Lastly it must be understood that the Madura country has never been surveyed by skilled surveyors as was the Dindigul The area under cultivation in 1802, and that only, was hastily and incompletely surveyed by the Karnams and other village officers in that year: the remainder has never been surveyed, and the survey of 1802 has never been revised.

On the 24th of February 1812 an interesting report was written by Mr. Peter, the Head Assistant to the Collector.

It states amongst other things that in 1807-8 the Madura district was farmed out for a period of three years, viz: for Faslis 1218, 19, and 20. It had been farmed out to a number of Renters for the preceding Fasli, and most of them entered into new engagements for the period above specified. Some few of them had been guilty of embezzlement, and others had failed to give the required security. But these were exceptions: most of them had behaved well, and were accordingly permitted to try their luck again. The average Jamâ of these three years had amounted to Star Pagodas 74,277 and odd.

In Fasli 1221 the district was farmed out again for only 51,076 and odd Star Pagodas. This extraordinary decrease had been caused by the fever described in Part I. Within ten months this terrible epidemic had carried off no less than 12,708 of the inhabitants of the Madura district, and utterly prostrated almost every one who was lucky enough to escape with his life. So unsparing had been its attacks, that cultivation and business had been everywhere seriously interrupted. The ryots were unable to work in the fields; the Nattamgars could hardly crawl to the Huzûr Cutcherry for their pattas; the Gumastahs were too sickly to prepare accounts; and the Collector himself was unable to write a report, and was compelled to order his Head Assistant to write it for him.

The rates of assessment imposed or rather continued by Mr. Hurdis have never been materially altered. but in the interval between Faslis 1224 and 1231 Mr Peter granted on several occasions unauthorised reductions of tîrvei in favor of ryots of some fifty-two villages, situated in the then Tâlûks of Mâdakulam Sôlavandân Mêlûr and Tirumangalam respectively. No explanation of the principles upon which these reductions were allowed, or of the causes which rendered the allowance necessary, was ever furnished to the Board: and their discontinuance was eventually directed by the Board, in their Proceedings under date January 23rd, 1843. The order was in substance as follows:—

Mr. Peter had been repeatedly called upon to explain, why he thought reductions necessary in the villages which he had favored: but he had neglected to furnish any. His successor, Mr. Viveash, had also failed to give the desired information; and when Mr. Blackburn attempted to answer the Board's questions, he had found that there was nothing on record calculated to throw light upon the

matter. He had therefore proceeded to test for himself the capabilities of the fifty-two villages, by comparing the amounts of their produce for several years, and commuting the supposed amounts of the Government shares into their money equivalents with reference to the ruling prices of grain. Unfortunately however this commutation had been performed in an unbusiness-like and unsatisfactory manner Instead of taking the accounts of each village for ten or twelve consecutive years, Mr. Blackburn had taken the accounts for two unconnected series of years in the case of two Tâlûks, and for only five years in the case of the other two And instead of striking an average of the prices of grain which had been prevailing during a series of years, he had merely struck a balance between the average prices of the two series of years he had selected, and the prices which ruled at the time when the original assessment was imposed This had been the general plan followed by Mr. Blackburn; but in some cases the average price of only one of his two series had been taken as a standard. In others the rates prevailing in adjacent villages had formed the basis of his calculations

After completing these enquiries such as they were, Mr Blackburn had arrived at the conclusion that in thirty-one of the villages the original assessment was too high and needed reduction, though not to the full extent allowed by Mr. Peter: and that in the remaining eighteen no reduction was called for. But the Board were by no means prepared to carry these recommendations into effect. It was clear to them that the produce returns had been prepared by the village officers in a purely perfunctory manner, and that consequently no reliance whatever could be placed on them, even if they had been furnished for sufficient numbers of years But in the present case there was another and a most weighty reason, why these accounts should not be held to be worthy of any credit In Fasli 1242 Mr Wroughton, the acting Collector, had personally inspected the crops of one of the fifty-two villages namely Mâdakulam, and had found that the amount of its produce was actually greater than what Mr Hurdis had estimated the village to be capable of yielding. And he was proceeding to inspect the crops of another village, Pommani, when the ryots came forward and admitted that their lands were very productive, and at the same time promised to furnish him with correct returns. The accounts subsequently obtained from them were certain not to be unfair to the ryots; and yet they showed that Mr. Hurdis' assessment was not too high, at all events in the

year for which they were framed. And that year had been a very unfavorable one throughout Southern India generally. It was true of course that just estimates could not be formed from calculations based on the accounts of a single year. But still the Board saw good ground for doubting the vague assertions which had been made touching the inability of the fifty-two villages to pay the rates of Mr. Hurdis' assessment.

Under any circumstances, Mr. Blackburn's opinion was unworthy of adoption. It only remained for the Board to consider whether there were any special circumstances which might seem to warrant the continuance of the reduction. They could see no such circumstances. From the meagre facts before them it appeared that there was no reason to suppose that the fifty-two villages were naturally less productive and therefore less able to bear the original assessment, than all the other villages of the district which were assessed by Mr. Hurdis at one and the same time. Had it appeared that Mr. Hurdis had overlooked some latent inferiority in soil position and the like inherent in these villages, it would have been necessary for the Collector before putting them on an exceptional footing to thoroughly examine into their actual condition and prospects; and after so doing to send up for sanction an uniform scheme of assessment suitable to their productive powers. But no Collector had ever thought of doing such a thing. Mr. Peter had imagined that it was necessary to make reductions, and accordingly had made them as a matter of favor upon no fixed principles and without paying any regard to the special characteristics of the several villages. And his reasons for making these reductions were entitled to no weight: but rather seemed to be mere colorable excuses. One of them moreover told directly against him He had alleged that in consequence of the villages being over-assessed, the ryots were perpetually being forced to sell and mortgage their holdings. But it was clear that if such a state of things were existent, the lands must be valuable and therefore could not have been over-assessed. So too the circumstance alluded to by Mr. Blackburn, that it was only in a few districts that lands could yield a Sâmib'hôgam or landlord's rent to the occupants, showed that the circumstances of the Madura ryot were exceptionally flourishing. And besides it was well known to every one that the Madura assessment was lighter than that of most districts. In conclusion the Board passed the following order.—

"The reductions of assessment in these villages having thus been "made without any sufficient reason, as well as without the requisite "official sanction, it only remains for the Board to direct that the "lands be brought again to the full rates. All the advantage that "the proprietors have hitherto enjoyed by these remissions has been "a clear net gain to which they had no title, and which cannot give "them a claim to further indulgence; there would be no injustice "therefore in reverting at once to the original assessment But with "reference to what the Government recently ordered in the somewhat "similar case of raising the assessment of certain lands in Tinnevelly, "it seems allowable to grant them the further indulgence of coming "up to the full assessment gradually. And the Board accordingly "authorize the Commissioner now administering the affairs of the "district to remit one-half of the difference in the current Fusly "only. But the full assessment must in every case be brought to "account, and the moiety remitted must be so exhibited in "the Puttah."

The Collector's Jamâbandi report for the year 1848-49 contained several statements which perplexed the Board of Revenue: and in their proceedings under date the 30th of July 1849, they called for certain explanations. Para. 7 runs as follows :—

"The Board have received Mr. Parker's letter dated 16th June "1849 requesting that para. 11 of his report might be erased, "'because he had discovered that in the principal division no Fussel "'Jastee was levied for land cultivated with a second crop in Fusly "'1212, the same having been more highly assessed in consequence.' "The tax on one-crop and on two-crop lands in both divisions of "the district with reference to the Collector's observations is involv- "ed in obscurity, and the Board think it desirable that he should "submit a separate communication upon the subject, showing the "extent of all lands assessed with a consolidated two-crop rent, and "that he should endeavour to determine the proportion which when "the accounts of produce were prepared at the survey of Fusly 1212, "was assessable on a single crop. They observe that in Statement "No. 4, cawnies 623-2¼ assessed at Rs. 7,871-0-6 are entered as two- "crop lands, and that Rs. 14-3-2 are charged as Fussel Jastee "apparently upon land already assessed with two-crop rent. This "should be explained, as also whether the extent of land entered in "col. 363 is all that was assessed in the Madura division with two-

" crop rent in Fusly 1212. The cols. 145 and 146 of the Form No. " 4, to which the Collector alludes, are not intended to show the " whole extent of two-crop lands classed as such at the survey but " only such portion as may be taken up for cultivation in each year."

It does not appear that the "separate communication" called for in this order was ever prepared. The Collector's general explanation of the circumstances noticed in the Board's proceedings contains only the following very brief and unsatisfactory reply to the queries in para. 7, namely :—

" The extent of land entered in col. 363 is not all that was culti- " vated with two crops in Fusly 1212, which amounted to $684\frac{11}{16}$, but " only such portion *thereof* as was cultivated with either one or two " crops in Fusly 1257."

It will be observed that the principal question, was or was not *Fassal Jâsti* charged for land cultivated with a second crop in Fasli 1212 ? was passed over in silence by Mr. Parker ; and so far as I can ascertain it has never yet been answered. Judging from Mr. Hurdis' reports, there can be no doubt it seems to me that he collected the Government share or the equivalent in money of the Government share of the second crop in precisely the same manner as he collected that of the first crop. He does not tell us this in so many words. But he has endeavoured to explain the general modes in which the assessment fixed on Nanjey lands for Fasli 1212 was calculated : and as was shown at page 125 ante, he has placed upon record the fact that the assessment varied in different villages amongst other reasons because in some the lands gave only one crop in others two. And inasmuch as he has not said anything from which we might infer that a special provision was made for and a separate mode of assessment adopted in the case of second crops raised on Nanjey lands, it must be assumed in the absence of all evidence to the contrary that the second crop or its value was divided between the Circar and the ryot in the same proportions as the first.

Mr. Parker was no doubt correct in stating that no Fassal Jâsti was levied in 1212, inasmuch as Fassal Jâsti is a rate levied on an extraordinary, never on an ordinary crop. As understood in Madura, and apparently in every district (see the glossary in Mr. Dalyell's Standing Orders) the term is applicable to the rate assessed on a second crop when raised on land which properly and customarily yields but one. In 1802, Mr. Hurdis had not surveyed the district,

no attempt had been made to classify wet lands or graduate a scale of rates of assessment, or in a word to make any but purely temporary arrangements for the realisation of the revenue. It was not to be expected therefore that Mr. Hurdis would draw an immaterial distinction between ordinary and extraordinary second crops, and adopt the use of a highly technical term for the assessment fixed on the latter when it differed in no respect from that fixed on the former. As he drew no distinction in his accounts between one-crop and two-crop Nanjey lands in the Madura district, it was not necessary for him to use a term which originated in such a distinction.

On the 14th of April 1849 the Collector, Mr. Parker, proposed to the Board of Revenue to surrender to the Hafta Dêvast'hâna managers twenty of the villages which were styled Hafta Dêvast'hâna in the accounts and of lands situated in two other villages, and to incorporate the remaining Hafta Dêvast'hâna villages with the Government villages. He calculated that the amount of the revenues so surrendered would be a trifle in excess of the sum annually allowed for the paditaram expenses, and that those finally assumed would amount to over Rs. 31,000 per annum.

The landed endowments of the entire district were classified by Mr. Parker as follows:—

	No of Villages
" *1st.*—Endowment of the Haftah Devastanums of the Madura Division, -	58
" And an allowance of Rupees 169-12-8 out of Rupees 343-10-2, the quit-rent of the Mussulman " Inam village of Annonjyoor."	
" *2nd.*—Endowments of 14 sundry Devastanums of the Madura Division, -	23
" An allowance of Rs. 636-5-10, from the revenue " of the resumed Chuttrum village of Mullankenner."	
" *3rd.*—Do. of 11 Devastanums in Dindigul, - - - - - - - -	16
" Lands in the village of Cumbum classed as a separate village,- -	1
" *4th.*—The village of Pandagoody in Maylore which once " belonged to Peramalay Devastanum, but has not " been enjoyed by it during the Company's Government, -	1
Total. - - -	99."

As the Hafta Dêvast'hâna villages had been "sequestrated some time before the British Rule," and as the British had "found the Pagodas in the enjoyment of only one-half the amount of the tusdeek which, ever since, we have allowed them;" Mr. Parker was of opinion that the assumption of the lands in excess of what was sufficient to yield the customary allowance, was perfectly justifiable.

The lands belonging to the other Dêvast'hânas stood on a different footing. They too had been assumed by Mr. Hurdis. but the revenues which flowed from them where wholly devoted to the maintenance of the Dêvast'hânas, and were in some instances inadequate to the charges incurred. Mr. Parker proposed to surrender the greater part of them to the institutions to which they had been severally granted.

Nothing came of this proposal, and on the 12th of August 1859 Mr. Clarke, the Collector, submitted for the consideration of the Board another plan for the disposal of the Dêvast'hâna lands, in obedience to a requisition contained in the proceedings of the Board of Revenue, under date the 26th of February 1859, upon an order from Government which called for a report:—

"I.—As to whether in cases in which the endowment and grant to "Pagodas and other religious establishments was originally in "land, that land cannot be granted in lieu of money payments "now made."

"II.—When the grant has always been in money, whether an "assignment of land cannot now be given in lieu."

After stating what Mr. Hurdis had done in the matter of the Hafta Dêvast'hânas, and the proposals of Mr. Parker described above, Mr. Clarke observed with regard to the latter:—"but he appears to "have overlooked one very material point in the consideration of "this subject: viz., the order of Government to proclaim the restora-"tion of these lands, whereby it appears to me they gave up "altogether any right which they may have derived from the "Mahomedan Government in these lands, and constituted themselves "simply the trustees of the endowments, on behalf of the Pagodas. "I, therefore, conceive that we are morally, as well as in strict "justice, bound to restore the whole of the villages with their "immense revenue of Rupees 78,336-14-8 to the Pagodas."

The only question which in Mr. Clarke's opinion required careful consideration, was the disposal of the surplus funds which had accrued from the revenues of the Hafta Dêvast'hânas during their management by the British. This surplus amounted, after deducting the amount of the annual allowance paid since 1802, and the expenses incurred in repairs and other charges, to Rupees 13,32,269 and odd in favor of the Dêvast'hâna. What was to be done with it?

Mr. Clarke thought it advisable to follow the established rule, in accordance with which all surplus funds which accrued from Pagoda revenues whilst under the management of Government officers, were customarily appropriated to purposes of public utility, such as roads, bridges, the improvement of towns, educational grants, and the like. The annual allowance was more than sufficient to meet all necessary expenses; and the revenues of the Pagoda would be more than doubled by the transfer to the Pagoda of the endowed lands.

In like manner Mr. Clarke recommended that all the other Dêvast'hâna lands should be restored to the institutions to which they severally belonged The objection that whereas in some cases the endowments yielded revenues in excess of the *tasdîk* or customary allowances made for the maintenance of the institutions in favor of which they had been made, in other cases the revenues fell short of the allowances, should be allowed no weight, inasmuch as it was not the duty of Government to redress any inequalities observable in endowments made for the purpose of maintaining heathen worship. The words of the report are as follows :—

" I do not think we could, with any propriety or shew of justice, " appropriate the excess in the endowment over the tusdeek without " making good the deficiency; but the adoption of the latter course " would subject the Government to the charge and opprobrium of " newly endowing Pagodas as much as the following one would lay " them open to the accusation of spoliation and injustice.

" It appears to me there is a marked difference between distribut-" ing the proceeds of Devastanum lands, under our control, among " the several Devastanums, in such proportions as may-have been " sanctioned by time, and the re-adjusting the endowments them-" selves. If the endowments originally conferred on the Pagodas, by " those who may be presumed to have had the strongest motives for " maintaining them in becoming grandeur, are secured to the people " intact and complete, they have no just grounds for calling on a

"Christian Government to make good any supposed deficiency or to "make new.

"It is not for a Christian Government but for the devotees of the "temples to devise measures for making good any deficiency which "they may complain the transfer occasions."

But little was done upon this report: and the Dêvast'hâna lands have not yet been transferred.

The following are the tasdîks or annual allowances made by Government to the Pagodas in various parts of the district:—

IN THE MADURA TÂLÛK.

		RS.	A.	P.
1.	To the Mînâkshi Pagoda	12,515	2	5
2.	To the Kalla Alagar do.	5,515	2	5
3.	To the Gûdal Alagar do.	3,075	12	2
4.	To the Thirupparankunram Pagoda	2,651	8	3
5.	To the Ten-karei do.	530	4	10
6.	To the Thiruvêdakam do.	530	4	10
7.	To the Kuruvi-thurei do.	636	5	10
	These tasdîks were sanctioned on the 3d of January 1803.			
8.	To the Tiruvappadiâr Pagoda	424	3	10
9.	To the Ten-thiru-vallavan do.	178	2	11
10.	To the Tirumbûr do.	742	6	10

These three were sanctioned on the 28th of January 1802; as also were the following twelve, viz:—

IN THE TIRUMANGALAM TÂLÛK.

		RS.	A.	P.
11.	To the Mallankannar Pagoda	636	5	10
12.	To the Sindupatti do.	563	13	1
13.	To the Âneiyûr do.	506	12	2
14.	To the Tidiankilasannadisâmi Pagoda	574	13	7
15.	To the Tidiankilasannadi Gôpâlasâmi do.	211	4	5
16.	To the Padûr Subramanyasâmi do.	276	2	11
17.	To the Alligundam do.	105	10	2
18.	To the Tirumangalam do.	307	9	2

IN THE MÊLÛR TÂLÛK.

		RS.	A.	P.
19.	To the Tiruvâdûr Pagoda	1,637	9	2
20.	To the Kôvilpatti do.	615	2	5
21.	To the Tiruchanai do.	428	7	9
22.	To the Terkagudi do.	78	7	9

In the Dindigul Tâlûk.

		RS.	A.	P.
23.	To the Dindigul Pagoda - - - - - - - -	954	8	9
24.	To the Tâdikambu do. - - - - - - - - -	901	8	3
25.	To the Vada-Madura do.- - - - - - - - -	424	3	10

These three were sanctioned on the 6th of March 1806; as also were all the remaining, viz:—

In the Palani Tâlûk.

26.	To the Palani Pagoda - - - - - - - - - -	7,055	6	8

In the Periyakulam Tâlûk.

27.	To the Tenkarei Subramanyasâmi Pagoda - -	3,181	13	1
28.	To the Tenkarei Varatharâjasâmi do. - - -	582	4	4
29.	To the Ândipatti do. - - -	246	1	0
30.	To the Jambala-pattûr do - - -	948	2	11
31.	To the Utthamapâleiyam do. - - -	600	9	11
32.	To the Kambam do. - - -	458	2	11
33.	To the Pulanât'hapuram do. - - -	1,060	9	8

CHAPTER VII.

Little is known about the settlement of Râmnâd and Sivagangei.—The pêshkash of Râmnâd under the Nabob.—It is increased.—Rebellious conduct of the Sêthupati.—He is deposed.—His sister succeeds.—British management.—Decrease in the revenues.—Mr Collector Lushington.—His success.—His report abstracted.—The report of the Special Commission.—The unsatisfactory nature of their arguments.—The Permanent Settlement.—The Murdus in Sivagangei.—Seshavarna Têvan's line fails.—Rebellion.—Colonel Agnew marches into the Sivagangei country.—The tactics of the rebels.—The Tondiman.—The elevation of Padamâtûr Udeiyâ Têvan.—The Proclamation.—Agnew's successes.—The Murdus are hanged.—Mr. Lushington's report on Sivagangei abstracted.—Observations regarding the value of Sivagangei.—The report of the Special Commission.—Fallacies.—The assessment of the Zamindâri.—Nanjey, Kulam-kôrvei and other kinds of lands.

THE Revenue history of the two great Zamindâris of Râmnâd and Sivagangei must be disposed of in one short chapter. The materials for writing it completely and satisfactorily, if they ever existed, are not now to be found in the Record Offices of either the Madura or Tinnevelly district and I have been able to find only one report which throws much light upon the settlement of these extensive estates, that namely which was addressed by Mr Lushington, the Collector of Southern Poligar Pêshkash, on the 30th September 1802, to the Special Commission for the settlement of the Southern Pâleiyams

A few events which preceded their settlement appear from the correspondence of the end of the last century, and from a collection of letters in the Government Record Office at Madras, described as No 26, Revenue Department, Sundry Book for the year 1801. and these will be briefly noticed

The Râmnâd country, or rather that portion of it which fell to the share of the Sêthupati at the time of its final dismemberment in the year 1730, was the scene of great disturbances in 1780 The entire population revolted against the Nabob, and it became necessary to restore Muttu Râmalinga the Sêthupati, who was then a prisoner in Trichinopoly, to the throne of his ancestors. Colonel Fullarton would appear to have been unaware of this fact, and to have supposed that the Sêthupati was a prisoner from 1773 to the time when he wrote his report, viz, 1785: but his style is obscure, and possibly he intended to convey a different meaning from that which his words naturally bear He writes as follows:—

"The reduction of the country in the year 1773 by General Joseph "Smith, and a garrison of the Nabob's troops constantly stationed in "the capital, have deprived the Native Prince even of personal free-"dom He is still, however, venerated by the Gentoos on account of "his high descent, and as the guardian of the sacred waters of "Ramisseram."

The restored Sêthupati paid a tribute of Rs. 1,75,000 to the Nabob; his revenues being supposed to amount in all to the sum of five lacs per annum.

After Mr. McLeod became Collector at Madura, some correspondence took place with regard to the propriety of increasing the Râmnâd pêshkash; and in March 1791 it was temporarily increased to Rs. 2,20,000. The Sêthupati appeared to be quite contented with this arrangement, and asked for and obtained a Sanad for the current year. In 1792 Râmnâd was ceded by treaty to the British Government

In March 1792 the Râmnâd Zamindâr, as he was now called, showed a disposition to rebel against the Government; and the Board rebuked the Collector in rather strong terms for delaying to report to them the rebellious conduct of the Zamindâr. But nothing came of this conduct, and a few weeks afterwards the Collector thought proper to send Muttu Irulappa Pillei, the Renter, to Râmnâd to settle accounts with the Zamindâr, to whom he appears to have acted as minister.

In 1795 apparently, but in circumstances which I have not been able to ascertain, it became necessary to depose the Sêthupati, and appoint his sister in his stead. And at the same time a Collector was appointed to Râmnâd to administer the country for a time in behalf of the Honorable Company

		S Ps	F.	C.
In the year 1795-6 the total revenue collected in the Zamindâri, exclusive of the Sayer and Salt revenues, amounted to		1,31,207	18	27
In 1796-7	to	1,33,391	16	15
In 1797-8	to	94,882	33	0
In 1798-9	to	65,127	31	33½

This great decrease in the revenue is nowhere accounted for, so far as I am aware. But it appears that a fresh revolt against the Government, having for its object the restoration of the Sêthupati, commenced on the 23rd of April 1797, and the adjoining countries were in a state of great disorder. And no doubt the general ferment in the south caused by the movements of the Poligars re-acted very injuriously upon the Râmnâd country. And there was it seems a great "defalcation of the revenue in the third and fourth years."

In 1799 Mr. Lushington was appointed Collector, and found his charge in a very unpromising condition. In a letter dated 26th June 1799 he complained that abuses and irregularities of all kinds were rampant throughout every part of the Zamindâri. The late Collector's Dubâshi, one Ranga Pillei, had embezzled large sums of money, and had cheated the Government to a very considerable extent in disposing of the grain collected as land-tax. And the people were suffering much for the want of food.

Notwithstanding these obstacles, and the outbreak of the great rebellion in Tinnevelly and Sivagangei, Mr Lushington contrived to collect no less than

S. Ps	F	C	
1,52,315	13	44½	in his first year
1,55,181	28	0	in 1800-1
1,85,625	14	0	in 1801-2

This extraordinary increase was brought about without any difficulty, and without in any way oppressing the ryots or overtaxing the resources of the country. The revenue was punctually realised, and without complaint: and in the last of the three years the ryots received as their share no less than S. Ps. 30,374 and odd in excess of what they had received in the time of Mr. Lushington's predecessors.

In 1802 it was determined to settle the Râmnâd Zamindâri permanently; and on the 30th September Mr Lushington drew up a report upon which a permanent settlement was based.

It appears from this that excluding the Sayer and Salt revenues, the heads of public revenue were six in number, viz:—

1	Nanjey	4	Swarnâdâya
2	Nanjey-mêl-punjey.	5	The Chank royalty
3	Punjey	6	The Chaya-root royalty

I have not been able to find the statements which accompanied the report, showing the sums collected under each of these heads, nor any previous reports explanatory of the principles on which the land and other taxes were fixed There can be no doubt however that Nanjey lands were for the most part taxed on the *vâram* system, that is to say, after deducting ten per cent more or less from the gathered crops half the remainder went to the Circar in the shape of *mêl-vâram* or superior's share, and half went to the ryot as the *kudi-vâram* or inhabitant's share And the Punjey lands were assessed some of them with a tîrvei or tax in money, some of them with a share of the gross produce.

Mr Lushington's proposal touching the amount at which the Pêshkash should be fixed was the following —

"In 1209, the season was moderately favorable In 1210, nearly "the same In 1211, the rain fell in due time, and with unusual "abundance considering, however, the extraordinary uncertainty "of seasons in Ramnad, two moderate and one favorable year cannot "be deemed a proper foundation for a permanent assessment I "have therefore added to them two of Mr Powney's, and one of "Mr Jackson's Fuslies; and I think no circumstance can occur to "render a peshcush, fixed, according to the Zemindary principle, upon "this foundation, either burthensome to the Ranee, or oppressive to "the inhabitants, protected as they will be, by the judicial courts, in "the enjoyment of those rules and rates of assessment by which the "revenues have been collected during the last three years The "detail of these rates, has been given in my previous reports, and "they are contained in every talook Cutcherry. In cases, therefore, "where specific pecuniary engagements shall not have superseded "the necessity of further enquiry, the previous mamool can be at "once distinctly ascertained"

"The permanent peshcush which, upon these grounds, I have "suggested for your consideration, amounts to Star Pagodas 94,733, "exactly two-thirds of the gross receipts of the province during the

"six years, from which the average is taken It is also within a "thousand Pagodas of the average net revenue derived by the "Company, during their whole management of Ramnad It is more "than the net revenue preceding my management by 33 per cent., "and it exceeds the peshcush paid by the former Zemindar, more "than 50 per cent or in the sum of Pagodas 33,875-15, exclusive of "salt and sayer, to be retained in the hands of Government, or "abolished, according to their pleasure."

"Such are the terms, which the experience that I have acquired "of the resources of Ramnad, suggest to me, as equitable and "moderate, and in this consideration, I have attentively weighed "the expediency of augmenting the Jumma to Government, upon "the presumption of an increase of revenue, under the system of "property and security about to take place, but the enjoyment of "advantage, from any improvement in the repair of tanks, &c, is so "precarious, in consequence of the extraordinary variation of the "seasons in Ramnad, that I should not feel myself justified in "recommending any increase upon such uncertain expectations."

After this the report goes on to state that there was no class of people in the country "possessing any rights of the nature of talookdars," and no one except the Râni who possessed any proprietary right of any kind The ryots of course had the right to cultivate their land; and would be protected in the exercise of that right The Karnams were the only Revenue officers. and the Kâvalgars the only Police officers. In conclusion the report notices the quiet and satisfactory state of the country and predicts a considerable extension of its agriculture commerce and manufactures

On the 5th April 1803 the Special Commission for the settlement of the southern pâleiyams reported to Government on the result of their labors, and in the matter of Râmnâd approved generally of Mr Lushington's suggestions

In the opinion of the Commission it would be unsafe to take Mr Lushington's three years alone as the basis of an arrangement. and on the other hand it would be unfair to Government to take by itself, the period of four years preceding Mr Lushington's administration It seemed just and reasonable to take Mr. Lushington's years and the three first of his predecessor's four years, and exclude from calculation the last and exceptionally bad year.

The average gross collections during the seven years of British administration had amounted to S. Ps 1,31,104, and after every necessary charge including the provision for the subsistence of the Râni had been deducted, there remained an average net revenue of S. Ps. 95,562. But if the fourth year were disregarded, the average gross revenue would amount to S. Ps. 1,42,101 And a permanent assessment might "be fixed with great safety, according to the usual terms of Zemindari assessment, in the proportion of two-thirds of the gross revenue upon the average of the above mentioned six years" So calculated the pêshkash would amount to S Ps. 94,733, an amount which was "something less than the average net revenue received from the province during the whole management of the Company's officers," and which exceeded in the sum of S Ps 33,875 the amount of pêshkash paid by the deposed Râja

It is certainly somewhat astonishing to find the Special Commission confidently expecting that the timid and helpless Râni would be well able to pay punctually every year to Government a sum which fell short by only a few hundred Pagodas of the average annual amount which the Collectors of the Government, armed with almost despotic power and supported when necessary by armies, had contrived to pay into the Company's treasury; and after paying so much would be able to suitably maintain her position and dignity, on what might remain to her But they did expect this, as appears from the following passage —

"Notwithstanding this proposed augmentation of the peshcush "formerly paid by the Zemindar, we are of opinion that the accounts "now submitted to your Lordship in Council, furnish abundant "proofs of the revenues of the province being adequate to the per- "manent assessment, as the period of time for which the average is "calculated, has included frequent transitions of authority, and has "partaken, to a certain degree, of the effects of the late commotions "in the southern provinces It is further to be observed, that under "the new constitution of the Government, the Zemindar will be "entirely relieved from the expense of military sibbendy; and as the "allowance granted for the support of the Ranny's household, is "included in the account of the gross charges deducted previously to "the calculation of the net revenue above stated, we can have no "doubt that the residue left at the disposal of the Zemindar, will "always be found consistent with those principles of moderation "and security, on which it is the immediate policy of the British

"Government to provide for the punctual receipt of the territorial "revenue, and for the comfort of those who pay it"

One cannot refrain from asking, where are the "abundant proofs" furnished by Mr. Lushington's accounts? Those accounts seem to show, in the first place that in one very good and two good seasons Mr. Lushington succeeded in raising the revenues of Râmnâd to an amount considerably larger than that of those collected by his predecessors in years which for anything which appears to the contrary may have been ordinary, average seasons, and in the next place that if Mr. Lushington's predecessors had been saddled with the pêshkash fixed for the Râni, they would have been many thousands of Star Pagodas out of pocket

The Special Commission either were not aware of the existence of Colonel Fullarton's report of 1785, or they thought it unnecessary to pay any attention to it As we have seen above, the gross revenues including it must be presumed both salt and sayer, amounted in 1785 to Rs. 5,00,000. Two-thirds of this sum would be Rs 3,33,333⅓, or 1767 and odd Rupees more than the pêshkash fixed by the Special Commission. But Mr. Parish's report for 1803-4 shows that the salt and sayer of Râmnâd produced together 17,000 S Pagodas or Rs. 59,500; and if this sum were deducted from the five lacs, and the pêshkash fixed at two-thirds of the remainder, it would amount to only Rs. 2,93,666⅔, or Rs. 37,898½ less than the pêshkash fixed by the Special Commission

After fixing the pêshkash the report goes on to recommend that a "Sanad of permanent property" should be at once granted to the Râni. And next it notices the recommendation of Mr Lushington, to the effect that the Company should continue to bear the expense of supporting the deposed Poligar so long only as they continued to collect the sayer, but that as soon as they ceased to collect it, the Râni should be saddled with the charge "in consideration of the general benefit which the Zemindary may be expected to derive from the discontinuance of the customs." The Special Commission would have been quite prepared to adopt the suggestion, had it been "determinable exclusively by pecuniary considerations," but they conceived it to be important that no measure should be contemplated which might in any way disturb "the idea of permanency" attached by the Râni and the people generally to the settlement about to be effected; and therefore declined to sanction the Collector's proposal.

The report closes with this expression of opinion as far as concerns Râmnâd · and it only remains for me to state that the proposed settlement was sanctioned by Government; and a *Sanad-i-Milkeut-Istimrâr* drawn up in almost the precise terms made use of in Regulation XXV of 1802, was given to the Râni. She and her successors have severally enjoyed the Zamindâri up to the present day, paying their pêshkash with more or less regularity; and indulging from time to time in very costly litigation. The great Râmnâd adoption case is still before the Privy Council in appeal; and it is impossible to say whether the Zamindâri will escheat to Government upon the death of the present incumbent, or remain in the possession of the old family. In the meanwhile the estate has been suffered to fall into a ruinous state, and arrears of pêshkash are constantly accruing against its proprietor

The Revenue history of Sivagangei is even less extensive than that of Râmnâd. It will be remembered that the two Murdus returned to the Sivagangei country in 1781 when the whole of the South was in a most disturbed and anarchical state, and meeting with no opposition usurped the Government, and that the expedition under Colonel Fullarton in 1783 restored British authority in the revolted districts of the South Amongst other things the Government of Sivagangei was at this time taken out of the hands of the Murdus, and made over to the widow of the late Râja, Vadaganât'ha Têvan But the change was merely nominal. The Murdus very soon acquired a complete ascendancy over the Râni and over all her friends connections and relatives: and were regarded as the *de facto* rulers of the country, not only by the inhabitants but also by the British Government. And the pêshkash or tribute appears to have been paid by them rather on their own behalf than on that of the Râni their mistress.

In 1785 the pêshkash was Rupees 1,75,000 · and the gross revenue Rupees 5,00,000

The daughter and sole heiress of the Râni was married to one Venkamma Periya Udeiyâ Têvan, and bore to him an only daughter, who died young leaving no issue The Princess herself demised not very long afterwards, and in 1800 the Râni died, under somewhat suspicious circumstances. The line of Seshavarna Têvan thus became extinct, and the Murdus were left in sole possession of the country.

Fearing lest they should be once more ousted by the British Govern-

ment from their usurped position; and thinking it possible at the same time that they might succeed in altogether shaking off the British yoke by throwing in their lot with the rebels of Tinnevelly; the Murdus entered into negotiations with the Chief of Pânjâla-kuricchi and others, and supplied them with money and arms. They also constructed a large dam across the river Veigei, and entirely cut off its waters from the Râmnâd Zamindâri: and committed various overt acts of rebellion, such as invading and plundering adjacent districts, murdering British subjects and the like And in June 1801 the country was declared to be in a state of revolt.

Lieutenant Colonel Agnew was at this time in command of the forces sent against Pânjâla-kuricchi, and had shortly before succeeded in taking that stronghold and hanging the principal rebels of Tinnevelly. Upon hearing of this fresh revolt he lost no time in marching against the Murdus, who forthwith betook themselves to the dense jungles in the neighbourhood of Kâleiyâr-kôvil; and commenced a series of manœuvres very similar in all probability to those practised by the Sêthupati when attacked by Choka Nâtha in 1676. They destroyed all their fortified posts. Every path which led through the jungles was blocked up with thorns, and protected by sharp-shooters. Constant attacks were made upon Colonel Agnew's pioneers and wood-cutters. And the rebels never came to close quarters. But Colonel Agnew was in no wise disconcerted by these tactics; and pushed on steadily in spite of every difficulty and disadvantage. His coloured troops showed symptoms of disaffection, and he contrived to infuse a better spirit amongst them. He was sorely pressed for money; and by some means or other he kept his men together for some time without money. The rebels would not come near him, and he determined to reach them wherever they might go.

The Râja Tondiman of Puthu-kôttei, who had on several occasions rendered signal services to the British Government, was called upon to assist in suppressing the revolt. and furnished some troops, which proved very useful in guarding baggage and performing other essential duties. And a healthy diversion was created in July by Government causing to be proclaimed in every part of the country the appointment to the Zamindârship of one Padamâtûr Udeiyâ Têvan, a collateral descendant of the family from which Seshavarna Têvan sprang; and thereby detaching from the cause of the Murdus many of the numerous friends and adherents of the old Poligar family.

The Murdus were well known to be mere upstarts, without a shadow of right to the position which they held · and their ascendancy was no doubt regarded with feelings of the liveliest jealousy by all who belonged to or were in any way connected with the ancient stock. Nothing therefore could have been better calculated to weaken the rebel interests than the elevation to power of Venkamma Periya Udeiyâ Têvan.

But the arguments by which the right of Government to interfere in the affairs of the Sivagangei country was supported in the proclamation, were far from satisfactory: and evidenced a most remarkable ignorance of the history of the South. They are so curious that the following extracts from the proclamation must be quoted at length ·—

"Shashawarna Tavar, distinguished by his personal merit was "raised to the rank of Zemindar as the reward of his services and "was the first Zamindar of Shevagunga."........................"The "hereditary right of succession to that Zemindary is therefore "extinct, and the Zemindary of Shevagunga, upon the principles on "which it was erected into a Zemindary, has positively escheated to "the State from which it derives its protection......................"

"The Zemindary of Shevagunga being dependent on the Carnatic "Payenghaut, the Princes, nobles, and inhabitants of that Zemindary "owed allegiance to the Nabobs of the Carnatic, but the first Zemin- "dar having been expressly appointed by the Nabob Sabder Ally "Khan, and advanced by those means to the rank of a feudal lord, "Shashawarna Taver and his descendants owed in a particular man- "ner allegiance and obedience to the Nabob and his successors "Sovereigns of the Carnatic By virtue of the connection long "established between the Nabob's Sovereigns of the Carnatic, and "the British nation, the portion of the Carnatic and its dependencies "has been committed to the armies of the Honorable Company, and "by the express stipulations of an existing treaty dated 12th July "1792, all power and control over the Polygar countries including the "Zemindary Shevagunga, as well as the right of levying, receiving "and appropriating the peishcush or tribute due from the Zemindars "and Poligars of those countries, were formally and perpetually "transferred by the late Nabob Wallajah to the Honorable Company. "In conformity to the rights acquired by that treaty the Honorable "Company has continued, from the date of the conclusion of the

"instrument, to receive the peishcush and to exercise the authority of "Government over the Polygar countries generally, and in particular "over the Zamindary of Shevagunga. By virtue, therefore, of the "rights acquired by treaty, and by the continued exercise of legiti- "mate Government, the Honorable Company is the lawful Sovereign "of the Polygar countries including the Zemindary of Shevagunga, "and consequently possesses the sole right of exercising the power "according to its discretion, in disposing of the escheated Zemindary "of Shevagunga."

It has been shown in Part III that Seshavarna Têvan was a pâleiya-kâran before Safdar Ali Khân first marched against Trichinopoly; that he obtained for himself the Sivagangei country after the defeat of Bavâni Sankara Têvan; and that in 1733 he was an independent King. And it has also been shown that in all probability Mohammad Yûsuf Khân was the first servant of the Nabob Mohammad Ali who attempted, and without a shadow of right, to reduce the Râmnâd and Sivagangei countries to submission. It is passing strange therefore to find it stated that Seshavarna Têvan was made a Zamindâr in return for faithful services by Safdar Ali Khân; who was never in possession of any part of the Pândya-mandalam, and was connected with its history only by his nefarious collusion with Chandâ Sahêb. The rights of the British Government might very properly have been based upon the conquest of the country in 1773 by General Joseph Smith, and the treaties subsequently entered into with the Nabob Wallajah: but to base them upon the alleged creation of the Zamindâri by Safdar Ali Khân, was an absurdity which should never have been perpetrated.

The proclamation produced a good effect: and a few weeks later Colonel Agnew took Kâleiyâr-kôvil by assault, after a most skilful movement. And shortly afterwards the fugitive Murdus were both taken prisoners together with many of their principal adherents, tried for rebellion, convicted, and hung. Before the end of the year the rebellion had been completely stamped out, and the country was in a quiet state. Padamâtûr Udeiyâ Têvan was then placed in possession of the Zamindâri; and Mr. Lushington, the Collector, whose report upon Râmnâd has been above noticed, was entrusted with the duty of reporting upon the revenues and prospects of Sivagangei.

His report on Sivagangei formed a part of the general report on

the southern pâleiyams dated 30th September 1802, which has been alluded to above. It commences with the statement that whilst the Zamindâri remained in the hands of the Murdus, it was impossible to obtain a knowledge of its revenues and resources; and that before venturing upon making a settlement, it had been necessary for the Collector to have a personal interview with the newly created Zamindâr. The Zamindâr had estimated the gross revenues at S. Ps. 88,609¾: but Mr. Lushington felt assured that this estimate was far too low, and stated his conviction to the Zamindâr. Upon this it was represented that the Zamindâr:—"was heartily disposed to bring "forth the accounts of the country; that he was sensible of the efforts "that would be made to counteract him; of the vigilance that would "be necessary to give success to any enquiry; and that the collision "of two authorities, would defeat the objects of both; that my letter "had encouraged him to look to my advice, at the certain means of "relieving him in every difficulty, and of establishing him perma-"nently in that enviable situation, which the proclamation of His "Lordship in Council had promised to him: secured from future "distress by a peshcush, which it would be easy for him to pay; and "maintained without fear of interruption, in his possessions, by the "unalterable regulations of a just Government. With these feelings, "he did not hesitate to promise his concurrence in whatever arrange-"ments I might recommend to him, and you might approve; and "that even to the temporary transfer of the country, he should be "satisfied to agree, trusting that it would be done in such a manner "as to show, that the Company had not withdrawn their favor "from him."

Mr. Lushington was satisfied that the Zamindâr was in fact unable to furnish the required information; and being sensible of the evil results likely to accrue from an investigation being conducted by servants of the Company at a time when the Zamindâr was first commencing to exercise his authority, recommended that the government of the Zamindâri should be temporarily transferred to the Honorable Company, in order that its resources might be accurately ascertained. The Special Commission objected to this proposal, on the ground that although the Zamindâr might be perfectly willing to agree to the transfer, such an arrangement might give rise to unfavorable impressions, and tend to impair confidence in the "system of permanency and security" which was then being estab-

lished. Accordingly it was left to Mr. Lushington to obtain the best information he could, and submit without delay a definite proposal.

In accordance with this direction the Collector had "bestowed every leisure moment to the correction of all the general statements and information received at various times since he became Collector;" and was prepared to state the opinion which he had formed with regard to the amount which the Zamindâr ought to be called upon to pay in the shape of pêshkash. But he had been precluded by ill-health and the constant pressure of emergent business from personally examining the villages and accounts of Sivagangei.

The report then goes on to give some historical information of a very questionable character:—

"The Commission are aware, that the country now called Sheva-"gunga, was originally a part of the Ramnad Rauj; that Curta Taver, "the Rajah of Ramnad, having divided the whole of his possessions "into fifths, gave to Shasavurna Taver two-fifths, reserving three-"fifths for himself. The knowledge of this transaction, combined "with the accurate information since obtained of the actual value of "Ramnad, forms a ground for judging of the resources of Sheva-"gunga. There are, however, other collateral circumstances, which "require to be examined. A very general impression prevails in "these countries, that Shasavurna Taver (who, in comparison with "Curta Taver, was a man of considerable personal address) contrived "to practice unfair means for his own advantage, with the Sum-"perdies, who regulated the division. But this design of Shasavurna "Taver, is understood to have extended to the capability of the por-"tion he obtained, for future improvement, not to the actual past "value of the Rauj, which was too well known to Curta Taver and "his ministers, to render any collusion practicable. But on the "other hand, are to be remembered the many advantages Ramnad "has, since that time, received, in consequence of its maritime situa-"tion, from the progressive increase of its external commerce, and "the permanent establishment of a large public investment of cloth, "which consuming the whole of its manufactures, maintains a consi-"derable capital circulating in the country. Shevagunga partici-"pates but in a small degree, in these advantages; and hence the "sale of its produce possesses not the same certainty and advantages, "as Ramnad. In judging, also, of the future value of Shevagunga,

" allowance must be made for material diminution of demand for its
" grain, in consequence of the greater abundance in the neighbouring
" villages of Madura, arising from the change of Government."

Looking to the circumstances in which the division of the ancient Râmnâd kingdom took place, there can be little doubt I think that Seshavarna Têvan took care to secure for himself at least as valuable a share as that of Kattaya Têvan; and that he contented himself with two-fifths of the Râmnâd country because the two-fifths which comprised his hereditary possessions were quite as productive as the whole of the remainder. The Sivagangei Zamindâri receives the waters of the Veigei before the Râmnâd, and when the freshes are moderate intercepts the whole of them. And we have seen in Part I to how great an extent the rice-lands of the entire Madura District are dependent upon the filling of the Veigei, and how seldom the river fills the tanks nearest the coast. And the letter quoted at page 241, Part III shows that in 1713 it required freshes of several weeks' duration to fill all the tanks along the course of the river. Again we have seen that in 1785 the Sivagangei Zamindâri was stated by Colonel Fullarton to yield a revenue of "hardly more than five lacs of Rupees," whilst the Râmnâd Zamindâri, although better peopled and in a far better condition generally, was stated by the same authority to be yielding " revenues equal to five lacs a year." And each of the two Zamindâris paid a pêshkash of 1,75,000 Rupees. Then again with regard to the advantages enjoyed by Râmnâd but denied to Sivagangei in respect of a maritime situation, it seems to have escaped Mr. Lushington's notice that the desirable port of Tondi was expressly reserved for the benefit of Sivagangei at the time of the division, in order that it might have an outlet for its commerce. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, it is difficult to believe that Sivagangei was regarded as being less valuable than Râmnâd at any time prior to Mr. Lushington's administration. The country was no doubt reduced in size by Tanjore extending its southern boundaries: but Râmnâd suffered in the same manner and probably to an exactly equal extent.

Mr. Lushington was of opinion upon the facts set out in the paragraph above quoted, and upon a consideration of the collections made in 1801-2 as exhibited in the Zamindâr's accounts, that the sum of S. Ps. 75,000 would be a very proper pêshkash for the Zamindâr to pay. It exceeded two-thirds of that of Râmnâd, and was greater

by S. Ps. 25,000 than that which had been hitherto paid to the Company.

In other words, it was exactly fifty per cent. greater than the pêshkash paid in 1785; whilst the proposed pêshkash of Râmnâd was nearly one hundred per cent. greater than that which Râmnâd paid in 1785. It is certainly somewhat remarkable that Mr. Lushington should have felt satisfied with this inequality in the valuation of the sister Zamindâris.

Upon receipt of this report the Special Commission sanctioned Mr. Lushington's proposal, and in their report to Government above referred to, of the 5th April 1803, assigned the following rather illogical reasons for their recommendation:—

"The historical points stated by the late Collector Mr. Lushing- " ton, with respect to the separation of this district from Ramnad, " are calculated to throw considerable light on the relative propor- " tion of the value of those provinces Additional means of com- " parison may be drawn from the rate of peshkush paid by those " Zemindaries respectively, at the time when the Poligar countries " were transferred to the authority of the British Government; and " if the grounds are accurate on which we have calculated the gross " revenues of Ramnad, at Star Pagodas 1,42,105, on the average pro- " duce of six years, much credit appears to be due to the correctness " of the accounts furnished by the present Zemindar of Shevagunga, " for the Fusly year 1211, which state the gross revenue at Star " Pagodas 1,25,626, exclusively of sayer and of the salt revenue."

They omitted to state the amounts paid by the two Zamindâris respectively at the time of their transfer to the authority of the British Government: and it is therefore impossible for me to discuss the principle upon which the comparison was drawn. But if as seems probable, allusion was made to the increase of the Râmnâd pêshkash noticed at page 154 ante, it is clear that no argument could be based on the difference between the amounts of pêshkash paid at the time of the transfer of the Zamindâris, because no corresponding increase of pêshkash had been demanded from Sivagangei. The pêshkash of Râmnâd was raised from Rupees 1,75,000 to Rupees 2,25,000, whilst that of Sivagangei was permitted to remain the same as usual. Moreover no investigation had taken place with regard to the revenues and resources of either country. And in like manner no calculation of any value could be based upon the

fact that in 1801-2 the collections said to have been made in Sivagangei by the Zamindâr bore a certain proportion to the average collections made by the Collector in Râmnâd in a series of six years arbitrarily chosen for consideration.

In paragraph 19 of their report the Special Commissioners made a half apology for the meagreness of the information upon which their recommendation was founded, to the effect that it was urgently required that a permanent settlement should be at once effected; and that there was every reason to believe that Sivagangei could bear an increase of fifty per cent. in its pêshkash, seeing that there was every reason to believe that Râmnâd could bear an increase of $55\frac{1}{1}\frac{0}{6}$ per cent.

Anything less satisfactory than this explanation it is difficult to conceive. Either the Zamindâris were equally valuable, in which case they should have been saddled with equal amounts of pêshkash as they were in 1785, and apparently until the Râmnâd pêshkash was experimentally augmented in 1782: or they were not equally valuable, in which case an attempt should have been made to estimate the value of Sivagangei by ascertaining the amounts of its collections during a series of years. There is undoubtedly every reason to suppose that the Sivagangei Zamindâri was quite as capable of paying S Ps. 94,733 in 1802, as was the Râmnâd.

In conclusion the report explains that the pêshkash was exclusive of the salt and sayer revenues, which amounted to S. Ps. 7,610.

It will have been observed that no information as to the principles upon which the lands of Sivagangei were assessed, is afforded by the reports of the Collector and the Special Commission. But it would appear that the mâmûl or customary taxes on lands of various kinds were impliedly sanctioned and confirmed by the Collector as the agent of Government, when the permanent Sanad was given to the Zamindâr: and that those identical taxes have always been collected until quite recent times.

The late manager of the Zamindâri, Mr. James Fischer, kindly furnished me with some information touching the rates of the Sivagangei assessment: and it seems probable that the only change in them which has been effected since 1802, is the substitution of a money tax for a tax in kind in the case of certain Nanjey and Punjey lands.

The cultivated lands of the whole Zamindâri appear to be divided for revenue purposes into :—

1. Nanjey.
2. Kulamkôrvei
3. Varisei-pat Nanjey.
4. Nanjey-taram-Punjey.
5. Tîrvei-pat Nanjey
6. Nanjey-vân-payir.
7. Vâra-pat tidakâl Punjey.
8. Tîrvei-pat tidakâl Punjey.
9. Punjey-vân-payir.

NANJEY.—Ordinary lands of this description are taxed in the following manner. The crop is divided equally between the Zamindâr and the ryot after ten per cent. has been set aside for swatantrams, &c. The ryot therefore gets in all sixty per cent of the gross produce: and the Zamindâr forty. Compare with this the assessments described at pages 36 and 37 ante.

KULAM-KÔRVEI lands are such as are comprised within the water-spread of a tank, and cultivated for rice crops The cultivators of them pay in some villages a *vâram* or share of one-third, in others of one-half of the gross produce. Nothing is said with regard to swatantrams. Perhaps it may be assumed that where the tax amounts to half the produce, no swatantrams are allowed for on the ground that the lands are exceptionally fertile, and that where it amounts to only one-third, the non-provision for the swatantrams is compensated for by allowing the ryot an unusually large proportion of the produce.

VARISEI-PAT-NANJEY pays a fixed tax in kind, in good and bad seasons alike. Lands falling under this head are divided into two classes: and the *varisei* or customary assessment is in the case of the better sort eleven kalams three markâls on each chey; in the case of the less valuable sort, ten kalams eight markâls The Sivagangei kalam consists of twelve markâls of four and a half Madras measures each, and the Sivagangei chey contains 4,480 square yards, or 256 *kulis* of 17½ square yards each. At the present market rates of rice the varisei on the best lands must therefore yield revenue at the rate of more than Rupees 50 per acre.

NANJEY-TARAM-PUNJEY.—This term has been explained at page 37 ante, which see. Lands so denominated pay a vâram of one-third, no allowance apparently being made for the pothu selavu.

TÎRVEI-PAT-NANJEY pays tax in money at the following rates :—

The first sort...	Rs. 12	8	0	per chey.
The second sort	„ 9	13	0	per chey.

There is nothing to show how large a share of the produce of these lands is supposed to go to the ryot.

NANJEY-VÂN-PAYIR is of three kinds, and taxed accordingly

The first kind is cultivated with betel-vines; and pays a tax which varies, according to circumstances not explained, from Rs 62 to Rs. 163½. It is not stated that this tax is fixed for the whole period during which the betel-vines remain in the ground, and not for each year: but it seems to be clear that this must be the case. See page 35 ante.

The second kind is cultivated with plantains, sugar-cane, *karunei*, turmeric, &c, and is assessed with rates varying from Rs. 2½ to Rs. 6½.

VÂRA-PAT TIDAKÂL PUNJEY appears to be ordinary high, unirrigated land cultivated with the usual dry grains. It is assessed with the tax of a vâram of one-third of the produce taken after the pothu selavu has been allowed for. But it does not appear how large this allowance is.

TÎRVEI-PAT TIDAKÂL PUNJEY pays a tîrvei instead of a vâram, at rates varying from As. 5 to R. 1 and As 4 per *kurukkam*, measuring (if I rightly understand the Tamil,) 24 *bâghams* or 156 feet square.

PUNJEY-VÂN-PAYIR lands are Punjey lands cultivated with garden produce such as brinjals, chillies, tobacco, sweet-potatoes, onions, greens, turmeric, *Karunei, Pavalkây*, plantains, &c.; and is assessed with rates varying from one to ten pice per kuli, which is a square of either 17¼, 12½, 8⅝, or 6½ yards according to the customs of different villages.

I have thus stated the whole of the information which I have been able to obtain with regard to the settlement of the two great Zamindâris, and must bring this chapter to a close.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Hukum-nâmâ of the District.—The Collector's draft.—The revised draft given in full.—The Collector's observations on the Board's Dittam rules.

HAVING set out at length the main incidents which together form the Revenue History of the Collectorate, it only remains for me to give the local *Hukum-nâmâ* or written rules which at present govern the dealings of the Collector and his subordinates with the ryots who cultivate the Ayan or Government lands of the Collectorate

It is always asserted that there is no Hukum-nâmâ in Madura, and Assistants to the Collector engaged in preparing themselves for the 1st and 2nd Standard Examinations, are generally delighted to hear that they are at all events free from the trouble of learning by rote a dry set of rules. But in fact there is a Hukum-nâmâ, which is to some extent followed, although it has never been formally sanctioned by the Board of Revenue

On the 26th February 1849 the Collector, Mr Parker, submitted a draft Hukum-nâmâ to the Board for approval and sanction This was carefully considered, and in the main approved of. but it appeared to be necessary to make a few alterations in it, and in their Proceedings of the 3rd September 1849 the Board of Revenue directed the Collector to consider certain proposed alterations, and to prepare a revised draft adopting as far as might be possible the Board's suggestions.

Whilst the Collector was considering the suggestions of the Board and revising his draft, he received from the Board a set of sixty-one rules denominated "Rules for the settlement of the revenue from the land." These had been compiled from the Hukum-nâmâs submittted to the Board by the Collectors of the several districts of the Presidency, and were apparently intended to supersede them as far as possible, so that the revenue practice of each district might be rendered uniform and consistent with that of every other. The Collector was directed to return to the Board a copy of the sixty-one rules together with such remarks upon them as he might think proper to offer: and he was also directed to do something else about the

rules, of which I cannot at all understand the nature. I shall therefore quote the passage from the Board's Circular, dated 10th January 1850, which embodies this direction It runs as follows:—

"The application of the rules as it is found in the district under your charge, will be recorded in a separate paper, and the para. of the Manual to which the practice in each case has reference should be specified"

As the rules were sent for the first time with the letter from which this extract is taken, it is difficult to see how any existent "application" of them could be "found in the district:" and it is difficult to see what is meant by "the practice in each case." The Collector would appear to have felt this difficulty and to have quietly ignored the order, contenting himself with sending up a few observations which will hereafter be noticed

On the 21st March the Collector submitted the following revised draft:—

THE HUKUM-NÂMÂ OF THE MADURA DISTRICT.—Rules for Puttadup or Dittum:

1 A ryot is entitled to the land included in his Puttah of last year.

2. A ryot wishing to abandon any portion of the land included in his Puttah of the preceding year, must excute a formal relinquishment, either before the Tahsildar or Zilladars, on or before 1st Chitteray (15th April) if the spot be Punjah or Punjah Garden. If he fails to execute this Razeenamah, he will continue to be held responsible for the tîrwa. A ryot is not at liberty to throw up land indiscriminately. The interests both of the Government and of other ryots must be attended to according to the general usage of the country All relinquishments of lands must therefore be based on the principle which requires that the portion of land given up shall form a convenient and eligible holding for another The application of this rule must remain at the discretion of the Collector, who will be guided by the peculiarities and usages of the district under his charge. The portion relinquished must be such as can be conveniently cultivated by other ryots requiring land.

3 Lands which have become very much deteriorated from various circumstances, such as inundations, accumulations of sand and the filling up of wells (as regards garden land), impossibility of

irrigation from high position, or recently taken up and found unprofitable, ryots will be allowed to relinquish by themselves on a special report by the Tahsildar.

4. Land left uncultivated in consequence of the neglect or absence of the owner, may be taken up temporarily by another person, but the latter will not thereby acquire a permanent right to them and his Puttah must specify that he cultivates for the former Puttadar who will be at liberty to claim his lands again at the third or any preceding Dittum, provided he pays up any balance that may be outstanding against the land up to that time whether the same accrued while in his own possession or that of the temporary occupant. Should the ryot who abandons fail to reclaim within the period abovementioned or to pay the said balance he will forfeit all right to the land which may then be altogether made over to another. If land abandoned without Razeenamah be waste for three years and upwards, it shall be at the option of the Collector to give it to the former possessor or any other ryot who may then offer to cultivate it. This provision does not apply to privileged fallow.

5. Should any ryot wish to transfer any portion of his Putcut to another, he should address the Tahsildar in writing; who, after enquiry, will report to the Hoozoor and on receipt of orders register the transfer in the prescribed manner. Transfers will only be allowed under the limitations as to extent and quality specified in para. 2.

6. A ryot wishing deductions from his Dittum of decayed Plantain and Betel Gardens which are subject to a special tîrwa, must intimate the same to the village officers at the time of extinction. The village officers will report to the Zilladar; who will examine the spot without delay and report to the Tahsildar, who if satisfied, will recommend to the Hoozoor to allow the land to revert to its original tîrwa.

7 When Poonjah has been cultivated for five years successively, the ryot is at liberty to retain the same in his Putcut without cultivation, and exempt from tax for five years, if black land required for cotton cultivation; and for two years if other land; provided, that the tîrwa of such land shall not exceed one-third of the tîrwa of the total Putcut. Such privileged fallow will be entered in the Puttah and the amount of tîrwa specified as a deduction.

8. No ryot should be compelled to take land against his will

9. Should any ryot require land for cultivation in lieu of other land abandoned, or in excess of his last Puttah, he should make a proposal to the Zilladar at the time of the Dittum, who will enter the same in his name, if, on enquiry, there appear no objections, provided that he shall take land in one piece or so that no impediment may be afforded to the cultivation of the neighbouring lands by other ryots. And whether the land be fresh or old Benger it must be taken in whole stulls, if they be of moderate size or if the stulls be large, in portions of not less than five cawnies if Poonjah, half if Nunjah.

10. Should any ryot require Perumboke land for cultivation it should be measured, and a report made to the Hoozoor specifying its state and the rate of the tax on the neighbouring land of the same quality. If approved by the Hoozoor, entry should be made in the allotment account.

11. If two or more persons together take land, they shall not be at liberty to divide it into separate Puttahs without the sanction of the Hoozoor. The object of this rule is to prevent Rule No. 8 being rendered nugatory by several persons taking land and then splitting the same into small pieces. Where division is unobjectionable, the Hoozoor will accord the permission requested.

12. The Dittum should be commenced by the 12th July and finished by the 15th September; and an abstract of it forwarded to the Hoozoor before the end of that month; care being taken to furnish an account on the 16th and 30th of each of the intervening months, of such villages, the allotment of which may be complete. Proposals for land may continue to be received from March to the end of December; but the allotment accounts must not be delayed for them, nor the allotment itself postponed on the pretext of there being no rain or any other excuses.

13. In furnishing the return of allotment of lands a statement of lands abandoned and taken by proposals, must also be sent, specifying the names of villages, the individuals and fields.

14. Every field must be entered in the accounts with a specification of its extent. If any crop raised in the year be tobacco, the garden is assessed with tobacco garden tax; whilst the lands cultivated with coady crops only are designated coady garden and assessed

accordingly. In Iyempally there is no distinction between the assessment of tobacco and coady bagayet.

19. Any person requiring a Cowle must apply to the village officers, who are to furnish him with an account showing thenumb er and extent of the land, the number of years during which it has been waste, its classification and rate of tax. He is then to submit this account and his proposal to the Tahsildar or Peshcar, who on being satisfied through. the village officer and accounts that the land in question is fit to be granted in Cowle; should take a Moochalika from him in the following form, and forward the same to the Hoozoor, with his extent, sort, and assessment with reference to the survey, and any excess quantity found above the survey must be correctly shown.

15. The Tahsildar will be responsible for the preparation of the Dittum accounts. His personal attendance will be given to it as far as practicable, and he will depute his principal officers to such villages as he cannot personally examine.

16. If a ryot desires to cultivate Fysul bagayet or Juddeed (recent) bagayet with Poonjah on account of a failure of water or other sufficient cause, a full report should be made to the Hoozoor, whence orders will be given to collect full tîrwah or half tîrwah or Poonjah tîrwah according to the circumstances of each case. If the land be Fysul bagayet, the original head must, under any circumstances, be retained in account, and any remission granted will be entered under the head of tîrwah Cummee. If the land be Juddeed, that is bagayet converted since the survey, it will revert to the head of Poonjah as provided in the succeeding rule unless the change be merely temporary.

17. If a ryot offers at the time of Dittum to cultivate Poonjah land as bagayet by means of a well, it should be entered in the Dittum accounts under the latter head—but it will revert to the head of Poonjah if cultivated again with that description of crop with the consent of the Collector obtained on reports through the Nattamagar, Zilladar and Tahsildar. But if Poonjah shall be cultivated with bagayet by a casual excess in the water of a river, tank or channel, it should retain that denomination and be charged with tîrvah Jastee.

18. In Dindigul there are two heads under bagayet, tobacco and coady. If his security bond and a specification of the fields offered

for, and their tîrwa Cowlenamah will then be *furnished from the* Hoozoor.

Terms of Moochalika

" 1. I do hereby bind myself to cultivate the land granted me in " Cowle at my request until it attains to the full tax, and to give " immediate security for the same.

" 2. I also bind myself to cultivate my Putcut lands of last year " as well as the Cowle land referred to, and to pay tax for the former " even if left waste.

" 3 If I leave the Cowle land fallow before it attains full tax, I " will be responsible *for its tîrwa.*"

20 As it is necessary that persons requiring Cowle land should have sufficient time to reclaim and convert it into arable, they must offer for it between March and September. The terms of Cowle are as follows .—

Waste.

	Upwards of 5 to 10 years.	10 to 20 years.	Long waste above 10 years with grown up trees
1st Year......	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	0
2nd do.	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{8}$
3rd do.	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$
4th do	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
5th do.	0	1	$\frac{3}{4}$
6th do.	0	0	1

21. Cowle will be granted for land left fallow under Rule 6.

22. The Government servant entrusted with the duty of making allotment of lands shall take with him the account of the highest year of cultivation of each village within the last twelve years, and in making the allotment, should enquire into the circumstances of the ryots requiring lands and should endeavour that no high-taxed lands may be left waste.

23. The ryots assembled for Dittum should not be detained for more than a day, but be directed to return to their respective villages so soon as their business is done.

24. After the allotment is closed, a cadjan account must be prepared in the following form showing the allotment of land to each individual, and his signature obtained thereto.

For Poonjah.

	Stallom.	Cawnies.	Demand.	Collection
Fusly 1256....................	10	15	45	45
Deduct land relinquished under Razeenamah				
No. 155, Aulamarom Poonjah, 1st sort.	1	2	3	3
No. 160, Vunnymarom, 2d sort........	1	1	1½	1½
	2	3	4½	4½
Remainder.				
Additional extent taken for cultivation.				
No. 170, Thittumorom Poonjah, 2d sort.. ..	1	1½	4	4
	9	13½	44½	44½

25. The above form is applicable to Nunjah and garden lands also

26. *Cultivation Detail*—The Zilladars should commence to inspect the newly sown Nunjah Poonjah and garden cultivation as well as the tanks and water-courses, from May in each year, and the Tahsildar and his Establishment must examine them as often as they go out on circuit, enquire into the cause of decrease, if any, of a ryot's cultivation below last year, and take notice of the state of the means of irrigation The Zilladars must also inspect every well useful for cultivation, and see if the whole land under it is duly cultivated, and in case of any deficiency they must endeavour to induce the ryots to make up the same. Should the whole land under any well lie fallow, they must ascertain the cause of it and report the particulars for the information of the Tahsildar, keeping an account with themselves showing the village and the stull in which each well is situated, and the name of the individual to whom it belongs. They should submit reports of cultivation to the Hoozoor every fifteen days. As Zilladars have great means of checking village accounts they will be held responsible for their correctness and to a considerable extent the same remark applies to the Tahsildar.

27. *Directions for Village Officers*—The Curnoms and Nattamgars should inspect the cultivation from the beginning of July in which it commences by stalloms, enter it in the signed cadjans to be

furnished by the Tahsildars, and forward an abstract of it to the Talook every month. As the Zilladar has many villages to look after, it is not necessary that he should be present when the Nattamgars inspect the cultivation every month, but he should from time to time supervise the accounts and inspect the fields. Should any land other than what was entered in the Puttadap, be cultivated by a ryot of his own accord, it must be entered as such in the signed cadjans. The 2nd and 3rd crops raised on the lands in which Audicoday was cultivated for the first crop, must be exhibited by stalloms in the signed cadjans and the periodical returns of cultivation, showing the extent of each crop The Curnom and Nattamgar should close their inspection of cultivation against the 25th of each month, and submit an abstract of it to the Talook within the 30th.

28. Every field ploughed, Nunjah and Poonjah, should also be shown in the cadjan account and in the abstract under their respective heads

29. On the receipt of the above accounts in the Talook they must be verified, and the abstract be forwarded to the Hoozoor so as to reach it within the 10th of the next month

30 *Pungoony Coaday*—The Tahsildar should cause the cultivation of the Pungoony coaday to be correctly examined through Zilladars and Village Officers before the end of June, and forward a detailed account to the Hoozoor so as to reach it by the 31st July, showing the cultivation included in the last year's settlement; the crops reaped up to the end of Auny (June) and carried to the head of "Sevoy Jumma," the extent of land cultivated with a third crop and that entered in the periodical return of the current year.

31 *Rent of Topes.*—It is the duty of Tahsildars to receive tenders for the rent of Palmirah and other Topes in proper season, and report the same to the Hoozoor showing the amount of the revenue of the last five years They should also take care to guard the Topes from injury

32 *Care of Tanks, &c*—From the 15th September to the end of the monsoon, the head inhabitant, Nattamgar, Thotty, &c., of the village should watch the banks of tanks and water-courses to guard against any sudden breaches. The attention of Zilladars also is required to this important duty Where the tanks are large, the Peons should render their assistance and report on the state of such tanks to the Tahsildar from time to time, who will report the same, if necessary, for the information of the Hoozoor

33. Care should be taken to guard as much as possible against inundation, and should any nevertheless take place, the state of lands inundated suffering therefrom should be reported to the Talooks.

34. Where the cultivation suffers from want of water, it must be preserved if possible by means of baling by Pycotahs and baskets.

35. Water cannot be diverted from the land to which it is ordinarily applied without permission of the Collector

36. The Dowlê account, viz the cultivation account due on the 10th February should be as exact as possible, and comprise a statement of the ready money demand.

37. *Karar Sagoopuddee*—At the beginning of January of each year the Village Officers should inspect the actual cultivation with the signed cadjan periodical returns, and the Ooloogoo accounts of the last year and those of the survey In doing this, whole stulls with full defined boundaries may be entered without actual measurement, but cultivation in portions of stulls, or on recent Bunger, or concerning which suspicion is felt, should be measured in presence of their respective owners before it is entered in the accounts.

38 *What the Curnoms Karar Sagoopuddee account should contain*—The Curnom's account of the Karar Sagoopuddee should specify all the stulls whether cultivated or not, the Auyacut extent of each stullum, its tax and the quantity cultivated or left fallow together with all other particulars connected with it

39 It is the duty of the village officers and subordinate Revenue Officer in charge of a sub-division to see that the boundaries of fields are preserved An affidavit to that effect signed by the Potail and Curnoms and countersigned by the subordinate Revenue Officer in verification of the truth of its contents, shall be appended to the Adungul accounts in each year

40 When the Karar Sagoopuddee accounts have been received the Tahsildar will order some of the villages to be re-measured by the Talook servants, and the Collector in like manner will cause inspection by some of the Hoozoor servants

41. *Concealment of cultivation.*—Where doubts may occur or complaints brought of concealment of cultivation in any village either the Zilladar or a Talook servant must be deputed to examine the same. They shall obtain from the Curnom of the village an abstract of the whole cultivation of the village and the signed Stul-

lawary cadjan accounts, and then proceed to measure every spot with reference to them. In case of necessity owing to no Talook servant being available, the Curnoms and Nattamgars of other villages may be deputed alone to make the examination: but if they should discover frauds of sufficient magnitude to require proceedings under Regulation IX of 1822, a further inspection must be made by a Talook servant. Generally the Curnoms and Nattamgars of other villages should be called on to assist the Talook authorities in examination of fields.

42. *Directions for Officers supervising Karar Sagoopuddee.*—The Talook and Hoozoor Officers deputed to re-inspect the exact cultivation must execute their task within a reasonable period, and forward together with the Curnom's account mentioned in the preceding para. an abstract signed by the Zilladar and Village Officers showing the total cultivation of each village, its increase or decrease in comparison with last year, the total land occupied including fields taken up without written engagement, the portion cultivated and that left uncultivated, with an explanation of the latter. This account must be scrutinized in the Talook and an abstract of it transmitted to the Hoozoor.

43 *Tahsildar should keep Memorandums of disputes*—The Tahsildar must keep a Memorandum of every dispute settled by him during the Dittum and the season of cultivation, whether under orders from the Hoozoor or not, to enable him to answer any question that may be put to him during the settlement

44 *Settlement Detail.*—So soon as the Curnoms are assembled in the Jummabundy Cutcherry, the account of cultivation must be examined, the increase or decrease ascertained, in contrast with last year, and an account obtained (with an explanation of the cause) of the portion of each individual's Dittum left waste. The Hoozoor Gomastah deputed for the preparation of the Jummabundy accounts should make himself acquainted with all the foregoing details by reference to the Tahsildar.

45 *Para.* 1 *of Salem Hookumnamah.*—The Curnoms should compare the Stullawary cultivation accounts of the current year with the Ooloogoo accounts of the survey, to verify the measurement classification and tax, and at the Jummabandy the Hoozoor servants should ascertain that this has been carefully done The Jummabundy Chitta of each individual should then be prepared accordingly, which must include every item of demand.

46. Where a portion only of a stullum of survey Poonjah or Garden land, which stullum measures not more than two Goolies, or of Nunjah measuring not more than half a cawny is brought under cultivation, and the rest left waste, the whole should be entered as cultivated In all stullums exceeding the above extent, the portion cultivated only should be entered, except in the case of several ryots holding portions of one stull, wherein each holding shall be considered a stull and if not exceeding two Goolies or half cawny according to the sort, the portion left bunjer is to be entered as cultivated.

47. Two accounts of Dittum waste are to be prepared at the Jummabundy, one account including all the Dittum waste without exception, with a general explanation of the cause of non-cultivation The other including lands coming under one or other of the descriptions given in para. 45. The former will be called the general Dittum waste paper, and the latter the dispute paper. Both will be drawn up under the directions of the Tahsildar, and he will be responsible for their correctness.

48 Such Nunjah and Poonjah lands included in the general statement as are left uncultivated for want of rain or water in tanks &c., will be deducted from the Settlement by order of the Collector.

49 Particulars of Dittum waste to be entered in Dispute paper :—

An inconsiderable portion of a large Puttah.

Lands offered for by more than one ryot and given to one, on consideration of paying full tax whether it be cultivated or not.

The uncultivated portion of the Puttah of a ryot who has cultivated Enam or Zemindary land.

Land of any description left waste notwithstanding a sufficiency of rain and irrigation.

Land neglected for the cultivation of an extra crop or other land.

Two-crop land on which one crop has been left uncultivated notwithstanding a sufficiency of water.

All Bagayet Bunger.—As a general rule remission will be denied to the above items except under special circumstances.

50. *Hooloos Maaf Moonasib Cummee and Moonasib Jaustee in Dindigul.*—The rates in Dindigul are liable in some places to the deductions of "Hooloos Maaf" and "Moonasib Cummee," and in some places to an increase termed "Moonasib Jastee." These deductions or the increase as the case may be, must be shown in the Settlement.

51. *Tax on Poonjah*—In no case can tîrwa be levied for an extra crop of Poonjah on Survey Poonjah land

52. *Madura*—In Madura there is a specific Stullawary and Tarrawary account of all Poonjah lands, according to which their assessment should be entered in the Settlement accounts

53. *Chatoor Baugum in Teeroomungalum*—In the talook of Tiroomungalum it is usual to allow a remission of one-fourth of the tax on Poonjah land actually cultivated by the use of the private ploughs of Bramin cultivators. It is necessary that great care should be taken to ascertain with certainty that private ploughs are used, and to note the circumstance in the accounts from the beginning of the Fusly

54 Poonjah tax will be collected as heretofore on the Poonjah lands of the Anoopanady village in Madacolum, situated in the environs of the Madura town, on which weavers have built houses

55. Poonjah tîrwa in Dindigul is levied according to the field survey.

56. If to Poonjah cultivation irrigation be applied two or three times, one and a half Poonjah tax will be levied

Tax on Poonjah land converted to Garden.

57 *Madura*—Whereas it was intended that except in the Nuttum division, Poonjah lands cultivated with garden produce should be taxed according to a table of rates fixed by Mr Hurdis, three times the Poonjah rate has been levied in a few instances in 97 villages, and four times that tax in one village (Selloor) A correction of the rates will be made in these instances, and henceforth Mr Hurdis' Dittum must be uniformly followed except in the Nuttum division. Mr. Hurdis' Dittum is as follows —

Quality and Tax

Description of Soil.	1st Sort		2d Sort		3d Sort	
	Pons	Fs	Pons.	Fs	Pons.	Fs
Kursul, Padoogay, Sengareesul, Kakaray, Veppel and Boothy	1	5	1	3½	1	2
Sevel and Pottul	1	3½	1	2	1	0½
Sookan, Saralay and Manel	1	2	1	0½	0	9
Kalur	1	0½	0	9	0	7½

58. *Nuttum.*—In Nuttum the Poonjah tax being heavy, it has been the practice to levy double Poonjah tax on Poonjah converted to bagayet, which must be continued

59. Poonjah land cultivated with dry grains and watered by tanks and water-courses should pay garden tax as usual

60. The division of bagayet lands into coaday and tobacco has already been stated under the head of Dittum.

61. When Poonjah land is converted into bagayet the Tahsildar should inspect the neighbouring bagayet lands and report their tax and quality with the quantity of land in question to the Sub-Collector, who will fix the amount of tax to be levied with reference to the undermentioned rates and the information thus furnished :—

Moonasib Teerwa for Fysul Poonjah land per Gooly	Bagayet Teerwa per Gooly of Fysul Poonjah land.			
	Particulars thereof			
	For Coda cultivation		For Tobacco cultivation	
Fanams	Chukrams.	Fs.	Chukrams	Fs
1 2 3	1	0	1	5
4 5	1	2	1	8
6	1	5	2	0

62. Plantains grown on bagayet pay a particular tîrwa

Poonjah converted to Nunjah

63. *Madura and Ramgherry*—In the three talooks of Madura and in Ramgherry where Poonjah is cultivated with Nunjah, it pays Nunjah tax at the rate of the Nunjah class corresponding with its Poonjah class.

64. *Dindigul* In the four talooks of Dindigul where a survey field assessment exists, the tax on Poonjah land newly converted to Nunjah has hitherto been fixed with reference to that of the adjoining lands. In future, besides the said rates, the quality of the particular land, facilities of irrigation, together with all circumstances bearing on its productive power should be reported to the Hoozoor, who will fix the tîrwa on a combined view of all of them.

65. The tîrwa on Peramboke will be regulated by the same considerations, and the same particulars must be included in the Tahsildar's report

66. If Nunjah be cultivated on Poonjah from land springs, double Poonjah tax will be levied.

Nunjah.

67. *Madura.*—In Madura the first crop Nunjah should be taxed with full Nunjah tîrwa, and the second crop on the same land, whatever may be its description, with half Nunjah tax, which will be entered as Fussal Jastee.

68. No additional Teerwa will be exacted for a third crop, provided it be cut within the Fusly.

69. *Nuttum Talook.*—In the Nuttum Talook, a consolidated assessment having been fixed on Nunjah lands on an average of the produce of all the crops, no additional tîrwa is to be levied for a second crop.

70. *Dindigul.*—The same rule is applicable also to all Nunjah lands in Dindigul for the same reason.

71. Cucumbers cultivated in the beds of tanks pay two fanams per Goontah.

72. Seed-plots are in general cultivated for a crop after the removal of the seedlings according to the custom of the district, therefore they should be included in the assessment.

Nunjah Garden.

73. *Madura Plantains.*—In Fuslies 1212 and 1213 Plantain gardens paid one and a half Nunjah tax from the time of planting: and from Fusly 1214 up to the present time it has been assessed with Nunjah full Teerwa in the first year, and one and a half from the second year; and the practice must be continued until further orders

74. *Betel.*—In Fuslies 1212 and 1213 Betel gardens paid full Betel tax from the time of planting; but as they do not attain maturity till the second year, they have since Fusly 1214, paid Nunjah tîrwa for the first year, and full Betel tax afterwards while the crop stands. This rule should be continued. It is also to be understood that according to custom, the Betel tax on lands within five miles of the town of Madura is 20 Pons per cawny, and beyond that distance 12 Pons per cawny.

75. *Sugar-cane, Turmeric, &c.*—Sugar-cane, Turmeric, &c., if cultivated on Nunjah should pay one and a half Nunjah tax.

76. *Nuttum Talook.*—In the Nuttum Talook it has been the custom to assess betel garden at 5 Pons per Gooly during its whole duration, which should be continued. Plantain garden in the same Talook shall continue, as hitherto, to pay single Nunjah Teerwa in the first, and double the same in the second year Turmeric double Nunjah tax, and sugar-cane 5 Pons per Gooly.

77. *Dindigul*—Nunjah garden in Dindigul must be taxed according to the description of crop at the rates specified in the Teerwa Dittum

78. The Board of Revenue have directed the taxation of sugar-cane with 80 per cent in addition to the Teerwa of single crop land. For this purpose, all lands taxed at and below 20 fanams the Gooly are designated as single crop, and those above it as double crop lands. Where the addition of 80 per cent may raise the aggregate Teerwa above 30 fanams the Gooly, which is the highest Nunjah rate under Mr Peter's discretionary settlement, the excess above that sum must be remitted. The rule should be continued until further orders.

79 *Nunjah-mail-Poonjah.*—Survey Nunjah-mail-Poonjah land pays the tax then established

80. *Madura and Dindigul.*—If Poonjah crops be cultivated on Nunjah land, without previous permission from the Hoozoor, it shall be assessed with full Nunjah tax. If from a deficiency of water in tanks or the high position of land or other sufficient cause, Nunjah crops cannot in any particular year be raised, permission will be granted to cultivate Poonjah at the Nunjah mail Poonjah rates; for this purpose ryots should apply to the Nattamgar and Curnom of their village, whose duty it will be to inform the Zillahdar, who will inspect the land and source of irrigation, and report to the Tahsildar, by whom permission will be granted, if there be sufficient grounds. Report of the lands thus allowed to be cultivated as Nunjah mail Poonjah will be made monthly to the Hoozoor, and the Tahsildars will be held responsible that this permission be not given without due cause

81. The Nunjah-mail-Poonjah rate on Nunjah land is one-half the Nunjah tax, except where there is a special Teerwa Dittum for this description of produce.

82. Two crops of Poonjah on Nunjah land shall pay one and a half the Nunjah-mail-Poonjah tax, and in some of the villages of the Madacolum Talook, full single Nunjah tax. Nunjah land cultivated

with Poonjah for the first, and Nunjah for the second crop must be carried to the head of "Nunjah" and assessed with one and a half the Nunjah tax.

83 Hitherto it has been the practice, both in Madura and Dindigul in the cases of Poonjah land once cultivated with Nunjah, to consider it ever after as Nunjah land, and on Poonjah being again cultivated thereon, to levy the Nunjah-mail-Poonjah tax This rule operates oppressively on lands cultivated with Nunjah from a casual supply of water which afterwards fails, and may tend to check enterprize and throw good land out of cultivation. It is therefore desirable to provide for Fysul Poonjah, reverting to Poonjah cultivation owing to want of water after being sometime cultivated as Nunjah, being allowed to revert also to the Poonjah rate of tax. But as much Poonjah land has been converted to Nunjah since the Fysul survey by improvement to the tanks, and ryots frequently induce Government to lay out money on the sources of irrigation by a promise to cultivate with Nunjah, it is necessary to preclude such lands from being taxed only as Poonjah when cultivated with that crop It is therefore provided that when Fysul Poonjah lands cultivated with Nunjah from casual sources of supply, can no longer be cultivated with Nunjah owing to the failure of those sources, leave will be granted to levy a Poonjah tax on them on a special report to the Hoozoor

84. *Nuttum.*—In the Nuttum Talook, Nunjah tax has hitherto been exacted in all cases for Nunjah-mail-Poonjah crops. In future the practice should be assimilated with that of Madura.

85. *Pulney Hills.*—The rates hitherto observed on the Pulney Hills will be continued till further orders.

86. *Remission for withered Crops.*—Remission for withered crops cannot be claimed as of right; and will never be allowed to Poonjah and garden produce, but where wet crops wither from failure of the means of irrigation, and considerable loss is sustained which may not be compensated by high prices or other advantages, remission will be granted as a favor, provided that every endeavour has been made to supply the deficiency by raising water by baling or with Pycotahs The following rules are to be observed in the examination.

87. The Nattamgar shall inform the Zilladar, the Zilladar should make a detailed report to the Talook, with a Cadjan abstract, signed by himself and the village officers showing the total extent of cultivation under each source of irrigation, the description of the

withered crops, the particular month in which they were cultivated, and the date up to which they were not in need of water He shall submit such reports monthly to the Hoozoor

88. On receipt of the above report in the Talook, the Tahsildar or; on his order, the Moozoomdar, or Peshcar, should proceed to the spot without delay and inspect the state of irrigation, the extent of cultivation and withered crops of the village, accompanied by the Zilladar and village officers of that and two adjoining villages.

89. After the inspection is complete, the Tahsildar should furnish the Hoozoor with an abstract and papers showing the quantity of water received from the commencement of the year, the total cultivation under each tank, the extent of withered crops, the date up to which supply of water lasted, whether the stubble was present for examination, and if not the cause, together with a Stullawary account for the same in Cadjan signed by himself and the others present at the inspection, and containing his opinion on the propriety of granting the remission.

90. In the years in which withered crops may be so extensive that the inspection of them cannot be effected by the three functionaries abovementioned, the Head Goomastah of the Talook may also be deputed, a report of the circumstance being made to the Hoozoor with specification of the villages he may be sent to. If further assistance be required, the Tahsildar should report to the Hoozoor The first report regarding Shavee must emanate from Zilladars, and if it be far from correct they will be punished.

91. On the receipt in the Hoozoor of the Tahsildar's report, orders will be given for its confirmation, or for re-inspection of the withered crops by the Hoozoor servants, as may seem fit.

92. Pending the final order of the Collector on the subject, the ryots must be strictly enjoined to preserve the stubble for examination, on pain of otherwise losing all claim to remission, and the Nattamgars are to see to this.

93. After the final inspection of the withered crops, the Serishtadar will scrutinize the accounts, report the particulars to the Collector, together with all the circumstances of each claimant's cultivation which may affect his ability to pay, and be guided by his orders in making deductions from the Puttah on account of the withered crops.

94. The tax on fish in tanks, nullahs, &c, will be collected by rent or fixed assessment on each ryot according to the practice of the village.

95. *Cowle lands Increasing Cowle.*—The fixed tîrwa of the respective years on Cowle lands liable to gradual increase of tax should be levied, whether they be cultivated or not according to the terms of the agreement, and an account kept showing the extent thereof cultivated and left waste, full tax and the amount collected on account of the Cowle. Should a ryot cultivate waste land without previous application and afterwards request Cowle, it will not be granted.

96 *Cowle to Ramnad Sepoys.*—The tax on each cawny of Nunjah land granted in Cowle to the disbanded Sepoys of Ramnad must be entered in the settlement at the following rates, according to the fixed terms of agreement.

Description of soil	*Rate of tax per Goontah.* Pagodas.
Pudoogay	$\frac{1}{2}$
Karisul and Veppel	$\frac{3}{8}$
Manel, Sevel and Saralay	$\frac{1}{4}$
	$\frac{3}{16}$
Calur	$\frac{1}{8}$

97. The death of each incumbent should be reported as the same privilege will not be continued to their heirs.

98. *Cowle to Servants of Nabob*—So long as the servants of the late Nabob to whom Cowle was granted, and their heirs continue to occupy the lands granted to them, the fixed Cowle tax only is to be exacted according to the Board's letter of the 10th February of 1802.

99. *Tax on Trees*—In some villages in the Madacolum and Sholavundan Talooks, situated on the banks of the river Vighay, all sorts of trees planted on Nunjah and Poonjah lands are taxed, the former with the Nunjah bagayet rate and the latter with the Poonjah bagayet rate in conformity with the Board's letter of the 17th September 1835. This should be continued.

100. In general Cocoanut trees are assessed with a tax of $1\frac{1}{2}$, $1\frac{1}{4}$, $1\frac{1}{8}$, $1\frac{3}{4}$ fanams per tree according to the rate of the respective villages, in conformity with the Board's Order in their Proceedings on the settlement of Fusly 1247, para. 15. The same rates will be con-

tinued, and when cocoanut trees in any village are coming into bearing, the rates of that and the neighbouring villages and the quality of the soil should be reported to the Hoozoor, by whom the tax will be fixed.

101. Trees dispersed over cultivated land are not liable to a separate tax, The tax on the land only shall be levied according to the Order of Government under date 20th October 1835 on the Settlement Reports of Fuslies 1242 and 1243 This rule does not apply to topes, and when the tax on the trees in any field may exceed the land tax, the former will be collected and not the latter.

102. On the request of any ryot for remission of tax on trees worn-out with age or knocked down by winds, &c. the fact should be ascertained by the Tahsildar, and if it be made known by him at the time of settlement, when the tax will be deducted if necessary. It must be remembered that no decayed or fruitless trees should be cut down or carried away without an order from the Hoozoor.

103. With respect to the property in the wood of trees cut or falling down, the Tahsildar should report whether the person who held the Puttah or rent of them or the field in which they were situated, or his ancestors were the planters or purchased the land from such persons, in which case he will be allowed to take the wood. Otherwise the wood will be sold by auction, and carried to the account of Government, as the yearly amount paid by the holder entitled him to the yearly produce only.

104. In some villages Palmyra topes pay tree-tax, and in others they are rented on contract; which customs must be continued.

105. The topes hitherto planted are to continue to be assessed as heretofore: but the following rules have been enacted for planting topes and avenue trees in future .—

106. *Public Topes.*—Every person desirous of planting a tope for public utility and convenience shall first communicate with the local European Revenue authorities, and obtain their sanction. If he neglect to do so, his plantation shall be liable to be taxed at the rate chargeable for private topes. A register shall be kept of such applications

107. Parties who after sanction shall have been previously obtained as directed in Rule 1, may plant topes, either of fruit or timber trees or other trees affording shade, in situations approved by the

Collector on the roadside, near a Choultry or near any place of public resort, for general accommodation and convenience or other beneficial purpose, shall be allowed to cultivate the ground free, until the tope becomes productive, as a compensation for the trouble and expense incurred in forming the plantation. When the trees, if fruit trees, shall have reached maturity, the tope shall be entered in the accounts as a public tope free of all tax, and the produce left to the planter to be appropriated for the support of the Choultry, repair of the road and other municipal purpose contemplated.

108. The produce of trees or avenues planted by the roadside in such a manner as the district authorities shall approve, shall be enjoyed free of tax by the individuals or village communities who may have planted them.

109. *Private Topes.*—Parties wishing to plant topes for their private benefit in waste land, including plantations for firewood, shall be allowed land for that purpose, and it shall be exempt from assessment for twenty years, whether cultivated or not After the lapse of that period, the full tîrwa of the land only shall be charged If the tope be planted in special land or land usually under cultivation, ground so appropriated shall as a general rule be assessed with full tîrwa from the time the trees are planted, whether it be cultivated or not, unless there should be special reasons for greater indulgence, which the Collector shall be at liberty to represent should he see fit.

110. The produce of single trees to be hereafter planted in cultivable land, shall be enjoyed free of tax by the party by whom the land is cultivated. Such trees shall be taxed only when the land is left waste.

111. In places where water is scarce and where trees grow with difficulty, as in the black or regular soils, an advance of Tuccavee will be given for the construction of a well on the special recommendation of the Collector, and on such terms as the case may seem to require.

112. Parties who after obtaining land under the above rules may fail to fulfil the terms of their engagement, shall forfeit their Cowle.

113. The foregoing rules shall not apply to the Areca palms, or to Palmyra and date trees, or in general to cocoanuts, but when cocoanut trees are planted by the roadside in single rows and in such situations as may be approved by the Revenue or Engineer autho-

rities, they will be exempted from tax on the usual condition that if the trees are kept for Toddy the produce be not disposed of to any others than the Abkarry Renters.

114. *Tax on pastures.*—In the Talook of Ramgherry, as it is the practice of the inhabitants to rear cattle for sale, and as this practice interferes with cultivation, it is directed that the ryots shall pay an assessment for the grazing ground according to the following rules.—

115. Each ryot shall be allowed to hold Poonjah land for grazing to the extent of one-fifth his Putcut on a tax of a quarter Poonjah tax.

116. A portion of the waste land near each village shall be set apart for the grazing of the cattle used for ploughing and ordinary purposes, whether by the ryot or others.

117. The waste which remains after deduction of that alluded to in the preceding two paras shall be let out in tracts, the villagers having the preference if they make a sufficient offer.

118. If it is considered expedient to extend these rules to other Talooks, a specific order will be given for the purpose.

119. If any cultivation takes place after the close of the Jummabundy accounts, and the crop is reaped within the Fusly, it should be carried to the account of extra revenue, unless it be a second crop of Poonjah throughout the district, or second or third crops of Nunjah in Dindigul and Nuttum, or third crop of Nunjah in Madura, which are liable to no additional tax; an account should nevertheless be submitted to the Hoozoor.

120. Where it is expedient that items entered in the last settlement under the head of extra revenue should be transferred to that of Ayen during the current year, the whole particulars should be made known to the Hoozoor by a statement, and orders obtained for the transfer.

121. *Poroopoo and other maniams*—The fixed quit-rent on Poroopoo maniam villages and the tax on the cultivated lands of "Pathy Cavul" and "Culler Cavul" Enams should be carried to the settlement account as usual. If the quit-rent be not paid punctually, they will be resumed.

122. In some villages Maniam land pays fixed quit-rent whether cultivated or not; whilst in others it pays on the actual cultivation. This practice must be continued as hitherto.

123. The cultivation of endowments of Pagodas, Chuttrums, &c which are not maintained, and of Enams for which no legal incum-

bonds are forthcoming, are liable to resumption, a statement of such must be given by the Tahsildar to the Hoozoor Goomastah, who will obtain the orders of the Hoozoor as to placing it to the deposit or Ayen account.

124. *Information of concealed cultivation.*—Information of concealment of cultivation either by Curnoms, Nattamgars, &c, will meet with notice at all times, whether before or after the close of the settlement, in conformity with the Board's Circular of the 27th May 1850, and a reward not exceeding fifty per cent of the concealment will be recommended for sanction, if the information be given at or before the close of the settlement, but no reward will be given for information after the Jummabundy of the whole district has closed. The Nattamgars and Curnoms, and Zilladars concerned in the concealment will be dismissed and further punished according to law.

125. At the Jummabundy an account should be prepared for each village showing what amount may have been laid out in the improvement of the sources of irrigation within the three years pending under ordinary occasional and extraordinary estimates, whether additional lands have been brought under cultivation thereby during the current year, or whether the repair only maintained the usual cultivation

126. Disputed boundaries must be entered in the accounts of the villages in which the demand thereon has hitherto been realized pending a final decision. It should in no case be entered in the accounts of both villages

127. Puttahs shall be prepared and issued to each ryot The particulars shown in the Zemembundy Chittah shall be entered in the Puttah, with the periods when the kists are payable. The arrears due by the ryot shall also be entered Fuslywar in the Puttah.

128. Where lands are held jointly by two or more persons the name of each sharer shall be specified in the Puttah, but the entire land and its produce shall be held responsible for the rent.

129. It shall not be necessary to include the names of sub-tenants in a Puttah The owner alone in such cases is responsible for the public demand. The produce and the land will be responsible as provided by law.

Together with the above draft the Collector submitted the following observations on the rules framed by the Board of Revenue. No orders appear to have been communicated to him with reference to these observations, and no further correspondence appears to have passed having reference to the Madura Hukumnâmâ. At all events none is on record.

The Collector's observations on the Board's Dittam Rules.

Para. 12. Where land is valuable, record in the village Register does not appear to afford sufficient security, since the Register is kept by the Curnum (a class addicted to fraud) and written on cadjans. It has long been the practice in Madura to keep a Register of transfers in the Collector's Cutcherry. Formerly the parties came to the Hoozoor and signed before the Collector, but as this entailed more trouble than seemed necessary, I have allowed the Tahsildars to receive the signatures, and on their report an entry is made in the Hoozoor Register, so that in fact there are now two Registers one in the Talook and another in the Hoozoor. On application being made for a transfer, notice of one month is given to enable any one to come forward and object

Para. 13 Adopted in Madura, the period of grace being two years.

Para. 17. In Madura where wet crops are raised on Poonjah lands, moist from land springs, they pay Nunjah tax, and tobacco, &c. raised on Nunjah pay a peculiar tîrwah.

Para. 21. In Madura the provision has been that the third crop shall be cut within the Fusly, thus making the difference of a day or two in the time of reaping exempt from, or burden the crop with a tax, as the case may be, on the other hand the Board's proposed tax though more just in its spirit, is too indefinite for application.

Para. 24. In the Madura division according to the Turrum. In Dindigul as in this rule.

Para. 25. The garden tax being generally heavier than Nunjah tax in this district is continued.

Para. 26. Under such circumstances the land would be assessed as bagayet in Madura and Dindigul.

Para. 29. One-half Nunjah tîrwa would be the tax in Madura and Dindigul and would seem preferable, as the description of land is generally better, and the subsoil is moister than in ordinary Poonjah.

Para 33. The restriction of Shavee remission to cases in which the crop has not come into ear seems too severe. Grain frequently withers in the ear. Some danger of mistake or fraud certainly exists when grain which has eared is allowed to claim; but as in seasons of drought, the ryot suffers far more loss than is compensated by the remission of tax, a mistake in his favor rather than on the other side, would seem safer for the eventual interests of Government, which would suffer if his capital stock should be encroached upon.

Para 37. An exception is made in para. 46 of the proposed Hookoomnamah of Madura in favor of large fields, 2 goolies for Poonjah and ½ cawny for Nunjah land has hitherto been the limit of the district.

Para 38. According to the custom of Madura, a charge is made for seed beds which are generally re-cultivated.

Para. 49. According to the custom of the Madura district, the backyards of Bramins are exempt and those of ryots taxed

Para 50. If the Enam be included in the Nunjah Ayacut it is entitled to a share of the Circar water.

Para. 54. The Form No 2 is not in sufficient detail for the periodical village account

Para 61. In Madura, Puttahs being written on cadjans and delivered late in the year, separate cadjans stamped with the Collector's chop are previously issued for entry of receipts. This seems to be the safest and most convenient plan, as in no district is the Jummabundy concluded before the 1st kist.

Having given the Hukumnâmâ and the remarks of the Collector on the Board's Dittam Rules, I must next show very briefly in what respects the provisions of the former have been from time to time modified And in doing this it will be convenient to take it paragraph by paragraph.

Para 2.—The latest date of relinquishment has been altered to the 15th August

Other rules which govern the relinquishment of patta lands were fixed by the Board in the years 1858 and 61, and may be found at page 126 of Mr. Dalyell's Circular Orders.

Para 4.—The Dittam or system of taking engagements from ryots at the beginning of the season to cultivate certain portions of land has been wholly abolished.

Para. 5.—See the procedure laid down at page 127 of the C. O.

Para. 6.—The special tîrvei on gardens has been abolished. In their Proceedings of the 10th May 1860, the Board ruled that from and after that date all lands irrigated by means of water from Government sources, should :—" For the sake of uniformity and sim-" plicity in accounts be classed as Nanjey with an assessment pro-" portioned to its advantages, lands watered by mechanical means " being rated with the tax usually demanded from garden lands." And further the Board ruled that the practice of classing lands as garden simply because garden products were raised upon them and without reference to the sources of irrigation by which they were supplied, was objectionable and should be for ever discontinued.

A very considerable correspondence has passed between the Collector and the Board and Government touching the classification and assessment of garden lands. but it would be impossible to give a fair idea of the questions therein discussed and disposed of except by means of an elaborate precis, which would be quite out of place here.

Para 7.—These rules have been modified. The correspondence about fallows should be consulted.

Para. 9—There are no Zilladârs now. Their duties are done for the most part by Revenue Inspectors.

Applications for land may be made at any time in the form of a *Dark'hâst.* See the C. O., page 128.

Para 10.—For the rules affecting the sale of waste lands, see the C. O. page 132.

Paras. 12, 13 and 14 are obsolete As stated above, the Dittam system has been abolished.

Para. 19.—Cowles are but rarely granted now. The rules under which they are occasionally granted in order to tempt men to reclaim exceptionally tough jungle, may be found at page 104 of the C. O.

Paras. from 15 *to* 25 inclusive are quite obsolete, being referential to the old Dittam system.

Paras. from 26 *to* 30 inclusive contain directions which have been superseded by those given in the Manual of village accounts, and in the C. O.

The Revenue Inspectors do the work of inspecting the fields.

The reports are now sent to the Collector once and not twice in thirty days.

Para. 36.—This account is no longer kept.

Paras. 37 *to* 40 inclusive. See the directions given in the Village Manual and C. O.

Para. 43.—Obsolete, as there is now no Dittam.

Para. 44.—As there is no such thing as Dittam nowadays, read "holding" for "Dittam."

Para. 47 is obsolete.

Para. 48.—See the Village Manual.

Para. 49 goes with para. 47.

Para. 50.—The Board have directed the discontinuance of these entries.

Paras. 57 *to* 62 inclusive are obsolete. The term "garden-land" is no longer used. See remarks on para. 6 ante.

Paras. 73 *to* 78 inclusive are obsolete, the imposition of special taxes on special products having been abolished.

Paras. 82 *and* 83.—The first of these has been overruled, and the second modified by the Proceedings of the Board, dated 14th September 1854.

Para. 86.—Remissions are now granted under the rules laid down at p. 112 of the C. O.

Para. 99.—This tax has been abolished.

Paras. from 99 *to* 113 inclusive contain rules which have been as a whole superseded by those laid down by the Board for general adoption. See the C. O, p. 101.

Para. 124.—See p. 359 of the C. O.

PART V.

MISCELLANEOUS.

CHAPTER I.

THE LAND TENURES.—Two main classes of lands.—Ryotwâri lands.—Amâni lands.—Inâms.—Mâniams.—Zamindâri lands.—Pâleiyam, Muttadâri, Mâniam and Inâm lands.—Waste lands.—Mâniams.—Village Service Mâniams.—Inâms.—Waste.—The Karei tenure.—Mirâsi rights.—Mirâsidârs.—The Sâmib'hôgam tenure.—The Tunduvâram.—The Vâram.—Fixed rent tenancy.—Cowles.—Mortgages.—Sales.

THE land tenures of the Madura as compared with those of other Districts are not over-numerous, and present but few difficulties to the enquirer.

When this assertion is made it is not to be understood that there is any deficiency in the number and variety of the tenures founded upon the agreement of parties, subsisting at the present time as between landlords and tenants, tenants and sub-tenants, mortgagors and mortgagees and so forth. All that is meant is that the elementary and most important tenures which sprang originally from the relations between the great common landlord, the State, on the one side, and the tenantry consisting of various classes of landholders on the other side, are not very complicated and require but a brief description to be rendered intelligible.

All the lands of the District may be divided for the purpose of this description into two classes, viz :—

I Lands paying tax to Government.

II. Lands not paying tax to Government.

The 1st class may be subdivided into :—

(*a.*) Lands which pay tax immediately to Governmental officers.

(*b*) Lands which pay tax mediately to Government, that is to say which pay tax through persons variously denominated, such as Zamindârs, Poligars, Inâmdârs and others being intermediate between the landholders and the Government.

The 2nd class may be subdivided into —

(*c*) Lands under the sole and exclusive dominion of Government.

(*d*) Lands under the sole and exclusive dominion of private individuals or communities

(*e.*) Lands under the partial dominion of Government, in which individuals or communities have a certain limited interest or property.

I shall now proceed to enumerate the technical names by which lands falling under each of the above heads are severally called.

And first with regard to the lands of CLASS I.

Subdivision (*a*) comprises —

1 *Ryotwâri* lands

2. *Amâni* lands,

3 *Inâm* lands

4. *Mâniam* lands

Subdivision (*b*) comprises —

1. *Zamindâri* lands in the occupancy and under the sole and exclusive dominion of individuals not being Zamindârs.

2. *Pâleiyam* (Pollam) lands in the occupancy and under the sole and exclusive dominion of individuals not being Pâleiyakârans (Poligars.)

3. *Muttadâri* lands in the occupancy and under the sole and exclusive dominion of individuals not being Muttadârs.

4. *Mâniam* lands in the occupancy and under the sole and exclusive dominion of individuals not being Mâniamdârs.

5. *Inâm* lands in the occupancy and under the sole and exclusive dominion of individuals not being Inâmdârs.

In CLASS II.

Subdivision (c) comprises

1. All waste lands not included within the limits of any permanently settled Zamindâri or any other estate or holding, and in which no individual or community has any right, title or interest of any kind.

Subdivision (d) comprises :—

1. All such waste lands as being included at some time by the State within the limits of a permanently settled Zamindâri, became *ipso facto* the exclusive property of the Zamindâr.

2. All Mâniam and Inâm lands, the sole and exclusive right to own, occupy and enjoy which is vested in the Mâniamdârs and Inâmdârs respectively.

3. All waste lands situated on the Palani hills and elsewhere which have been sold by Government to individuals as free-hold estates perpetually exempt from tax.

Subdivision (e) comprises :—

1. All waste lands situated within the limits of some village where the villagers have a prescriptive right to take up and occupy such waste lands in preference to strangers.

I shall now proceed to describe briefly the general characteristics of the tenures under which each of these species of lands is held.

RYOTWÂRI LANDS are lands which belong to Government and are or may be held and occupied by "ryots" on terms more or less favorable according to circumstances made or to be made with Government by each severally on his own behalf The one distinguishing feature of the ryotwâri tenure is the practice of Government assessing a separate tax upon each holding in a village, and collecting that tax directly from the individual who holds, without the intervention of a middle man of any sort or kind.

The term "ryot" appears to be a corruption of the Arabic name *Râyut,* which in Mahometan countries is commonly applied in the sense of a "herd of cattle" to the subjects at large ; and to have been introduced into Madura by officers of the British Government. It certainly is not a technical term : and to avoid all confusion of things Tamil and things Bengâli, I shall carefully abstain from its use in this part of my subject.

The nature of the terms which Government habitually imposes upon its tenants in the Madura District, has been already disclosed in Part IV of this work, and more particularly in the Chapter on the Hukumnâmâ; and it will therefore be unnecessary to describe it here. It will be well however to point out the inner meaning of Rule I of the Hukumnâmâ, which declares that every tenant "is entitled to the land included in his Puttah of last year." The meaning is that the Collector of Madura, as the agent of Government, cannot oust a landholder from his holding in any circumstances whatever. So long as he pays the Government tax, a landholder has a perfect indefeasible right of occupancy; and can moreover convey this right by sale, transfer, mortgage or otherwise to whomsoever he will.

The recognition of this right by the British Government appears to date from the earliest times of British dominion, and doubtless has been the principal means of raising the country to its present prosperous and constantly improving state.

Under native Governments the right was imperfectly or more probably not at all recognised. As has been shown in Part III, Chapter VII, in the days of the Nâyakkans the ordinary landholder was held to be one who farmed for the sole benefit of his lord, who was either the Râja or a Chief to whom property in the soil had been granted by the Râja. And the Nabobs who succeeded the Nâyakkans let out whole provinces to Renters, who respected no rights of cultivators if any there were. The mode in which these Renters managed their farms, has been shown at p. 110, Part IV.

In order to give ample opportunity for the development of the advantages inherent in the full recognition of the landholder's right of perpetual occupancy, it was necessary to keep the assessment within such reasonable limits that by industry and skill the landholder might be enabled to get out of his holding enough to pay the Government demand upon it, feed, clothe and house himself and his family, and leave a balance in his hands as capital. And this necessity has been invariably kept in sight by Madura Collectors. To so great an extent indeed has the assessment been watched and restricted, that in many villages Government takes but a fractional part of its fair share of the produce of the soil. The best rice-lands in the principal division are known to yield per kâni, in one crop, twenty-five kalams of paddy worth at the present time about Rs. 106: and are assessed with a consolidated tax of only ten Rupees per kâni.

When this consolidated tax was assessed in 1802, it was intended (see p. 117, Part III) that Government should take 43¾ per cent. of the value of the gross produce of Âttu-kâl-pâshanam lands, and Rs. ten fairly represented that amount: but now that rice has risen so greatly in value, a tax of 43¾ per cent. of the value of the gross produce would amount to more than forty-five Rupees. In Sivagangei where the old practice of collecting the tax in kind still obtains for the most part, Varisei-pat-nanjey lands actually yield the Zamindâr at the present time something like Rs. fifty per acre: and ordinary Nanjey must be quite as profitable to him if not more.

Such being the case, it is doubtful whether it would not perhaps be better for Government to raise the assessment on Nanjey to a moderate extent, than to have recourse to new taxes which cause so much alarm and discontent.

A question of the highest importance in connection with the ryotwâri tenure has lately begun to attract attention, namely to what extent is Government answerable for the preservation in working order of existing works of irrigation? Can tenants injured by the neglect of Government in suffering works to fall into decay, recover damages for the injury done to them? No doubt a tenant who has lost a good crop of rice through the breaching of a badly conserved tank will obtain a remission of his tîrvei, but can he or can he not recover in an action for damages the full value of what he has lost? The question is still more important when applied to the case of men holding lands in Zamindâris, inasmuch as Zamindârs are proverbial as a class for reckless improvidence and neglect of their true interests.

In concluding this brief notice of the ryotwâri tenure in Madura, I may remark that in the opinion of those most competent to judge, it is admirably suited to the genius of the people and productive of the best results. The very poorest tenants are for the most part happy and contented—not with the limitation, "*sua si bona nôrint:*" but absolutely—and are altogether ignorant of such ills as habitually fall to the lot of our agricultural laborers at home. The old and infirm, the lame and the blind, are comfortably supported without inconvenience to their friends. Chronic disease is comparatively rare. Starvation is, I believe, a thing unknown amongst them. On the other hand the science of agriculture is probably well understood, I say probably because Englishmen really know nothing of Indian farming; and all the energies of the cultivating classes are called into

play by the knowledge that they will assuredly reap where they sow. Looking to the circumstances of landholders in Madura, it is difficult to believe that they could get more out of the soil than they do: and if the Periyâr scheme succeed, I will venture to predict that the whole area benefited by its operation will within a year or two rival or even exceed in productiveness the far-famed plains of Tanjore.

AMÂNI lands differ from Ryotwâri in that they have not been surveyed and assessed, but pay tax in kind. At the time of harvest a responsible officer is sent to collect the Government share of the produce, and superintends the reaping, carrying and threshing The Amâni system, objectionable and inconvenient in a hundred ways, was speedily discontinued in every part of the District after the assumption by the British, and now lingers in only three and three-quarters inconsiderable villages belonging to Government, within the limits of the Râmnâd Zamindâri.

INÂM lands paying tax to Government, are lands the greater portion of the tax on which has been remitted to the holders in consideration of their performing services of various kinds too numerous to mention. The remission may be revoked in case of non-performance of the service. The following are the principal classes of Inâms, viz:—

1 Dêvâdâya
2. D'harmâdâya.
3. Bram'hâdâya.
4 K'hayrâth

Dêvâdâya Inâms are those granted for the support of Pagodas and other religious institutions, and of the officials employed in them, such as the B'hattans or officiating priests, cooks, musicians, sweepers and others.

D'harmâdâya Inâms are lands granted for the maintenance of Chattrams, Matams or Monasteries, bathing tanks, and the like. See Chapter VI, Part IV.

Bram'hâdâya Inâms are lands granted to Brâhmans to enable them to prosecute their religious studies in comfort, and for the advancement of religious learning generally; for the constant recitation of passages in the Vêdas; and for the explanation to other Brâhmans of the meaning of Purânas and other religious works.

K'hayrâth or personal Inâms are lands granted for the support of the dumb, cripples and others unable to support themselves; and of Kâsi-Pandârams, tumblers, and others.

MÂNIAMS are lands granted to laymen in return for services performed or in consideration of the performance of future services. The Hindû word Mâniam appears to correspond pretty closely with the foreign word Inâm. Mâniams paying half the proper tax (ardd'ha-mâniams) or a small quit-rent, poruppu, are not common Generally speaking Mâniam lands pay nothing, and are in the enjoyment of village officers: and in such case they fall under Class II.

ZAMINDÂRI lands are those lying within the limits of the two permanently settled Zamindâris, Râmnâd and Sivagangei. Such of them as are under cultivation are held and occupied for the most part by cultivators having a right of perpetual occupancy, subject to the payment of the tax assessed at the time of the permanent settlement. The Zamindâris enjoy the right of collecting this tax, but cannot enhance it directly or indirectly, and hence it would appear at first sight as though Zamindâri landholders were better off than their brethren in the Government tracts. But it must be remembered that in Râmnâd and Sivagangei the tax on Nanjey is for the most part payable in kind, and therefore the landholders have benefited only to a very moderate degree by the great rise in the price of agricultural produce. Instead of paying the Zamindâr some ten Rupees per acre, they pay as much paddy as will fetch Rupees 40 or 50 in the market. Then in the Zamindâris special products are specially taxed; irrigational works as a rule grossly neglected; and petty oppression of all kinds is exceedingly rife. No doubt the condition of the cultivator is not nearly so enviable in the Zamindâris as in tracts under Collectorial management, and there would be a strong tide of emigration into the Principal and Sub-divisions were it not for the existence of several most sufficient reasons, of which the following are some.—

1. Lands in the Zamindâris are valuable, if not so valuable as ryotwâri lands.

2 Good land is scarcely to be bought at any price in the Government tâlûks.

3. Indians hate change of all kinds, but more especially change of residence, and cling with the most wonderful tenacity to whatever constitutes their family estate.

4. The interests of Zamindârs are not protected by subordinates with the same watchfulness as those of Government, and fraud

and chicane of all sorts are successfully employed by Zamindâri landholders in avoiding payment of all that is claimable from them.

5. The Maravans have a peculiar love for their native country: and probably prefer to be poor at home to being rich abroad.

The precise rights of the Zamindârs on the one part and of their landholders on the other, are as yet imperfectly understood; but have been to some extent defined by the Rent Act, No. VIII of 1865, Madras, which is the result of an attempt to consolidate and amend the old Madras Regulations affecting Zamindârs.

PÂLEIYAM lands differ in no material respect from ordinary ryotwâri lands. They were surveyed and assessed at the end of the last century by Mr. Hurdis, as has been shown in Part IV, and the holders of them have the same rights as Government landholders So long as a pâleiyam remains in the hands of its Pâleiyakâran, no change can be made in its assessment: but whenever it escheats or is forfeited to Government, it becomes subject to all incidents of ryotwâri tenure. Special products are still specially taxed in the pâleiyams.

MUTTADÂRI lands differ in no respect (as far as I am aware) from pâleiyam. The word *Mutta* or *Mitâ* is hardly known in Madura; and when it is used, I believe it is incorrectly used as equivalent to the term pâleiyam.

MÂNIAM lands which pay tax mediately, appear to be held by cultivators upon the same terms as ryotwâri lands, and to differ from them only in so far as the tîrvei assessed upon them is payable to Mâniamdârs and not to the Collector. Thus the holder of lands appropriated by the State to the maintenance of a Pagoda pays tîrvei to the manager of the Pagoda; the holder of lands appropriated to the support of a village accountant pays tîrvei to the village accountant; and so forth.

INÂM lands not in the possession of Inâmdârs are held upon the same tenure as Mâniam lands not in the possession of Mâniamdârs.

WASTE LANDS not included within the limits of any Zamindâri, Pâleiyam, Mitâ, or freehold estate, are as a rule under the sole and exclusive dominion of Government. Extensive tracts of high-lying lands round the bases of hills and those which form the plateaus on the summits of hills, have lain waste for centuries, and are available for cultivation or pasturage. First class blocks on the Palanis well-watered and partly covered with virgin jungles, may be brought

outright and subject to no kind of tax for Rupees ten per acre. and open grass-lands for five Rupees None of the castes settled on the Palanis have ever asserted any claims to the ownership of these promising lands, and no doubt large tracts will be taken up by tea and coffee-planters within the next few years.

WASTE LANDS which were included within the limits of the two permanently settled Zamindâris at the time of the permanent settlement, are generally supposed to have become, under the terms of the *Sanads* or patents granted to the Zamindârs, the sole and exclusive property of the Zamindârs. How far this opinion holds good, depends entirely upon the question, what were the rights of Government in respect of those waste lands at the time when the grants were made? Government could not grant larger rights than it possessed, and if it was not the proprietor of all waste lands, it could not convey property in them by gift, sale or transfer. The point is of importance, because in the present flourishing state of the country land is becoming day by day more valuable, and villagers are beginning to dispute the Zamindârs' right to dispose of waste lands at pleasure. Perhaps it will be found hereafter, when the question of proprietary right shall have been fairly raised and enquired into, that the Zamindâr is absolute owner of all "immemorial waste" in outlying tracts, and old established cultivators have a right of pre-occupation of all lands temporarily left waste within the limits of their villages.

MÂNIAM lands which are entirely rent-free, are occupied and enjoyed by individuals in consideration of various services executed or executory, but the great part of them is in the hands of village officers.

Village service Mâniams, usually and less correctly termed village service Inâms, are lands of which the produce is either wholly or partly appropriated to the remuneration of certain officials, designated as follows, viz.—

1. Nâttânmeikâran.
2. Karnam or Kanakku-pillei.
3. Thandalkâran.
4. Nôttakâran.
5. Tôttı
6. Mâthâıı
7. Kâvalkâran.
8. Madeiyan

These Mâniyams are of two degrees, and termed Nila-(or Sarva-) mâniams and Tîrvei-mâniams respectively, according as the right of

occupying and enjoying the land is or is not vested in the person who holds the office and title of Mâniamdâr As a rule probably, the Mâniamdâr holds and occupies the lands registered in the village records as appropriated to his office without paying tax for them; but in many cases he only collects from the holder the tîrvei due by him and has no other right or interest in the holding. Disputes constantly arise touching the right of occupancy, when a Mâniamdâr dies or is removed from office. If the land be valuable, as is often the case, the heirs of the deceased or the Mâniamdâr himself will claim and retain possession of it as ancestral property, the new incumbent will stoutly resist the claim, alleging that the land itself and not merely the tîrvei on it is annexed to the office, and the result will be a Revenue suit in the Court of the Collector or one of his subordinates. As it not infrequently happens that the Collector and his subordinates entertain widely different views respecting the rights and *locus standi* of Mâniamdârs, litigation of this kind has become most uncertain and unsatisfactory. Allusion to the difficulties connected with the important mâniam question has been made before at p. 75, Part IV.

INÂM lands in the possession of Inâmdârs are held upon the same tenure and are in every way of a like nature with the mâniam lands just described.

WASTE LANDS on the Palanis and elsewhere have been sold to a very moderate extent, and become perfect freehold properties subject to no tax and free from official interference.

WASTE LANDS within the limits of a village—and most waste lands in the plains are such—are granted by the Collector to whoever may first apply for them, provided always that the old established inhabitants of the village decline to avail themselves of their recognised right of pre-occupation on the usual terms, *i. e.*, payment of the tîrvei assessed or assessable thereon. The right is almost always exercised when the applicant is a stranger, as the settlement of such a one in the midst of a small community would be quite sure sooner or later to disturb to some extent ancient customs and prejudices: and hence the difficulty of obtaining Government lands in Madura is all but insuperable. As soon as waste is taken up for cultivation, it becomes ryotwâri and all the incidents of the ryotwâri tenure attach to it.

I have now gone through the various tenures which derive their

origin from concessions and grants made by the State, and must now indicate a few of the more noticeable tenures which are based upon the private conventions and inter-relations of individuals, and exist side by side, apparently in complete harmony, with those already described.

The most important of these is what is called the *Karei* right. Fifty years ago, when there was a perfect mania for the discovery by ex-humation of *Mirâsi* rights, a circular was sent round to all Collectors calling for answers to a series of questions about Mirâsi, and in his crude and hasty reply of the 10th January 1815, Mr. Peter of Madura delivered himself of some doctrine of a very questionable character in entire accordance with the then prevailing belief Amongst other things he stated boldly:—

That in Dindigul and Madura the *Mirâsidârs* were styled *Kareikârans;*

That they had a right to a certain share in the crop, and to a rent from cultivators of waste lands;

That their right was not lost by neglect to cultivate for one year;

That Kareikârans were respected by the inhabitants,

That mirâsi right existed in 155 and did not exist in 26 villages in Dindigul, existed in 715 and did not exist in 163 villages in Madura;

That there were 3,878 Mirâsidârs amongst 9,632 cultivators in Dindigul and 6,422 in Madura out of 6,422 cultivators (some mistake here ?);

That the mirâsi right or share extended to ten per cent of the crop;

That if a Kareikâran wished to part with his karei—a thing almost unknown—he must offer it first to his relations, next to the other Kareikârans, lastly to strangers;

That the mirâsi right was hardly ever sold, but was probably worth on the average twenty years' purchase;

That the average value of a mirâsi share was Rs 40 or 50,

That where karei right was non-existent .—" particular lands " were held by inhabitants, on a right, of having been at the expense " of bringing them under cultivation for a series of years, and though " such lands were considered as attached to them, yet they had in " no instance a right to dispose of them by sale, or give them away " in charity, in the same manner as the Karay-karens were entitled " to do;"

That where renters of villages were not Mirâsidârs, they were

entitled to receive only the *mêlvâram* or Circar share which amounted to forty per cent., twenty being deducted for seed, labor, &c, and forty going to the ryot;

And that where waste was cultivated the renter could claim only the mêlvâram upon it.

The first thing that strikes one on reading these answers is that so far from the mirâsi right and the karei right being interchangeable terms in Madura, they have nothing whatever in common The origin of the karei right I take to have been of the following nature —

In the year 1700, we will suppose, the lands of a certain village, consisting of say one hundred acres, of which eighty were cultivated, were occupied and enjoyed by ten heads of families, each of whom occupied an equal or nearly equal portion of the village. In the presence of common dangers, they resolved to enter into a sort of partnership, in order to protect their common interests, and to hold the village in common. But for convenience' sake it was agreed that each family should for the future occupy and enjoy separately one equal portion of the cultivated lands, and that the waste should be possessed by all in common In effecting the division it was found to be impossible to allot to each an eight acre holding of precisely the same value as the rest—one would have land better supplied with water or more fertile than another—and it was no doubt feared that the State would likely find an occasion of seizing and confiscating some of the best shares : it was therefore resolved to apportion the holdings only for a certain limited period and not permanently; upon the understanding that a fresh apportionment should be made at the end of that period. In this way inequality was guarded against, and a bulwark set up against the rapacity and injustice of the State; for each family would in turn enjoy the best holding, and the State would hardly dare to seize lands jointly tenanted by ten families of substance. The apportionment thus carried out constituted the village a karei village; each allotment was a karei; each tenant was a Kareikâran; and the rights of the Kareikârans *inter se* were karei rights.

Whatever may have been the origin of the karei system, it has been productive apparently of but unimportant results. The periodical apportionments have long since been discontinued, indeed it is doubtful I believe whether in a single karei-village in the District a change of holdings has occurred within the memory of man; and

the rights of Kareikârans in respect of waste lands have not been recognised by Collectors as being higher in degree than those of ordinary old established cultivators. Then again the apathy and laziness of many Kareikârans have led to them granting their holdings on perpetual leases to poorer but more energetic cultivators; the Indian system of joint tenancy of family estates determinable at will by any member of the family, has split up shares into small fractions; many shares or portions of shares have been mortgaged sold and otherwise aliened. And at the present day the karei system may be said to be almost if not quite effete.

Such is the karei tenure. I will now attempt to show what is known about the mirâsi. In the first place it is observable that the Arabic term *Mirâs* appears to have been introduced into the Madura District by Englishmen at some time during the present century. I have found no traces of its use in the records of the end of the seventeenth: and Mr Hurdis, whose reports on the state of Madura and Dindigul are fuller than those of any of his successors, appears to have been ignorant of its meaning and application. There is even some reason to believe, I think, that the word mirâs was not known at all events in its present sense, until Mr Peter sent in his replies to the questions about mirâsi rights above alluded to. From "The Land-tax of India" by Bailie it appears that the use of the term mirâs is confined to Southern India, and the Papers on the Mirâsi Right show that the term was introduced into Tanjore by the officers of the Nabob Wallajah towards the close of the last century.

The meaning of the term is generally taken to be hereditary right or privilege, but what the right or privilege consists in, it is by no means easy to ascertain. I have shown above that Mr. Peter understood the right or privilege to be that of a Kareikâran, and remarked that he had in my opinion no grounds whatever for such a view. What then was it? I believe that in Madura it never amounted to more than an imperfect right of occupancy of State lands, subject to the payment of the State demand thereon; and that until the British took possession of the country—and indeed for a considerable time afterwards—the right was absolutely valueless except in certain exceptionally rich and productive localities This is not the place for a long discussion on mirâsi rights, and I shall therefore content myself with pointing to my history of Madura for the last three centuries (see more particularly Part III, Chapter VII,) and to the earlier pages of Part IV as containing abundant arguments in favor of my

position. But after all the question is no longer of much importance. The old Philo-mirâs school has well-nigh disappeared, and those for whom it fought so long and so bravely have waxed fat and kicked, though a victory was never won for them

It should be observed here that the words *Mirâs* and *Mirâsidâr* are commonly applied in Madura to hereditary village offices and their holders, not to men who have a right of perpetual occupancy. And it would seem probable from this that during the latter half of the last century, when the greatest confusion and anarchy prevailed in all parts of the country, the village officers were observed by the officers of the Nabob's Government to be the only inhabitants who remained at their posts always through all changes, and on that account were called Mirâsidârs.

SÂMIB'HÔGAM.—Next to the karei and mirâsi tenures in point of interest comes the *Sâmib'hôgam.* Cultivators under this tenure, hold of Inâmdârs, Mâniamdârs and others, and not directly from Government. They till and sow solely by the help of their own labor and stock: and pay rent in money or kind according to circumstances, but more commonly the former. Many of them regard the lands they cultivate as practically their own, and consider the Sâmib'hôgam to be a mere service or acknowledgment of legal right in another The amount of the Sâmib'hôgam depends altogether upon circumstances, and I am unable to state even approximately its average value Theoretically it is supposed to be a fee or acknowledgment taken out of the *kudivâram* or cultivator's share of the produce, and paid in addition to the mêlvâram or landlord's share as thus.—

Let 100 x = the supposed average produce of a holding.
Then 10 x = swatantrams.
45 x = mêlvâram.
45 x = kudivâram.

And of this 45 x one-tenth or more forms the Sâmib'hôgam and is paid by the tenant together with the mêlvâram to his landlord.

THE TUNDUVÂRAM or "bit of share" tenure has been already alluded to, in the abstract of Mr. Peter's replies to the mirâsi questions. It resembles very closely the Sâmib'hôgam, so closely indeed that from the information supplied to me I can hardly draw a clear distinction between the two. The tunduvâram also is theoretically a

fee or acknowledgment taken out of the kudivâram and paid by the tenant to his immediate landlord in addition to the mêlvâram: but it would seem to vary in proportion to the amount of the crop actually harvested, whereas the Sâmib'hôgam is a fixed acknowledgment payable alike in good and bad seasons

Let $100\,x$ = the actual produce of the holding in the year 186—.
Then $10\,x$ = swatantrams.
$45\,x$ = mêlvâram
$45\,x$ = kudivâram

And of this $45\,x$ one-tenth or more will be the tunduvâram for the year 186—.

THE VÂRAM or "share" tenure is that under which tenants at will or year by year or for years usually hold. They find seed and labor, and at harvest time reap and thresh under the superintendence of their landlord, whoever he may happen to be, and are then given their share, which amounts to one-third or one-half or more of the crop less swatantrams and tîrvei.

Let $100\,x$ = the gross produce of the holding for the year 186—.
Then $12\,x$ = swatantrams
$13\,x$ = tîrvei.
$50\,x$ = landlord's share.
$25\,x$ = tenant's share.

THE FIXED RENT tenure is that under which fertile lands in Periyakulam, Sôlavandân, the Tenkarei tract and elsewhere are usually held by tenants of the perpetual occupants. The rent varies according to circumstances, being calculated in much the same way as the vâram, but is payable in good and bad years alike.

COWLES are grants for terms on condition of paying a gradually increasing rent, and upon the understanding that at the end of the term, the grantee is to have the option of holding perpetually at the rent last paid by him. The object of a grant of this nature is to induce men to break up and subdue unpromising waste lands. Cowles are seldom granted by the Collector, but are popular in the Zamindâris, and with Inâmdârs and others.

MORTGAGES are exceedingly common. Sums of money are every day advanced upon landed security, the condition being generally entry and enjoyment by the mortgagee for a term certain. Sometimes it is agreed that the mortgagor shall hold as tenant of the

mortgagee during the term—sometimes the lands are simply hypothecated It is not customary for an outgoing mortgagee to claim compensation for improvements, sub-mortgages are frequently made.

Sales of land are not common So long as there remains a chance of getting out of pecuniary difficulties, a landholder will cling obstinately to his holding Estates are occasionally sold by the Courts, very seldom by the Collector on account of arrears of rent.

I have now described briefly all the more common tenures, and may bring this Chapter to a close It will perhaps have been remarked that I have said nothing here about the rights and position of Zamindârs and Poligars: and it will therefore be well to explain that so much has been said about them already in Parts III and IV that I thought it would be mere waste of space to describe their proprietary status in this part of the work

CHAPTER II.

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION.

The system much the same outwardly as in the seventeenth century.—Villages and Tâlûks.—Village Establishments.—Tâlûk Establishments.—Huzûr or Collector's Establishment.—Minor Establishments.—Subordinate, Head-Assistant, Assistant and Deputy Collectors.

THE system of Revenue administration prevailing in the Madura District at the present day, differs but slightly in external characteristics from that of the seventeenth century which has been described at p 147 of Part III. The District still consists of a number of isolated villages or *municipia*, which are grouped together and formed into divisions presided over by superior officers, each of whom is directly responsible to the Collector or as he would better be termed, the Administrator of the Province.

The mode in which the land-tax is assessed, and the rules which govern the proceedings of the Revenue authorities in dealing with landholders of various classes, have been already explained in Part IV, and it only remains for me to give a description of the machinery by means of which the Revenues are collected and administered, beginning with the village establishments and ending with that of the Collector.

VILLAGE ESTABLISHMENTS.

Every village has, according to its size and importance, one or more Nâttânmeikârans, or Ambalakârans as they are termed in the Râmnâd and Sivagangei Zamindâris. The Nâttânmeikâran is assisted by his Kanakku-pillei (karnam) or accountant and by subordinates called

respectively the Thandalkâran, Nôttakâran, Tôtti, Madeiyan, and Kâvalkâran. All but the last are remunerated for their services by Government, and are besides permitted to receive certain fees called Swatantrams, which the ryots have from time immemorial paid to them in grain and in other shapes These fees have never been regulated or indeed actually sanctioned by the Revenue authorities · and there is no means of knowing how much on the average village officials make out of their offices It is believed however that they make very little. The duties of the several village officers are as follows :—

THE NÂTTÂNMEIKÂRAN has to collect and take charge of the instalments of tax payable by the ryots, so soon as they fall due. He must take care that each ryot receive a formal receipt for the amount which he may pay signed by him (the Nâttânmeikâran) and by the Karnam After expeditiously collecting all that is due, he must transmit the amount at once to the Tahsildar, sending with it a "Memorandum of Remittances" signed by him and by the Karnam At the same time he must report to the Tahsildar the names of all defaulters, and be prepared to obey such orders as he may receive from that official relative to the attachment and sale of property belonging to such defaulters Acting always under the orders of the Tahsildar, he must make over the waste lands of his village to his ryots, or others, who may seek to cultivate them : and he must give his superior officer such reliable information touching claims to such lands, as will prevent him from wrongly awarding them. The Nâttânmeikâran is not authorized to grant waste lands himself Applications to cultivate such must be made either to the Tahsildar or to some still higher Revenue authority The Nâttânmeikâran must also receive all resignations of lands, and after certifying their genuineness forward them to the Tahsildar After receiving orders in such cases, he will carry them out Another of his ordinary duties is to report to the Tahsildar all formal transfers of lands made in his presence by the actual holders thereof, and on receipt of the Tahsildar's orders to enter the same in the Village Register. Then he must enquire into and determine all petty Revenue and miscellaneous disputes arising between ryots, and in cases of difficulty apply to the Tahsildar for orders. He must personally superintend the distribution of water for cultivation and other purposes He must constantly watch and see, in conjunction with the Karnam, that all lands taken into occupation

be duly entered in his accounts. He has also to superintend the petty repairs of tanks and channels which the ryots are customarily required to do, and to apportion to each ryot his fair share of work. And he must show civility to travellers, and more particularly officials, passing through his village. He should provide them with supplies, if possible, and procure them coolies or bullocks to help them on their way. Such are the Nâttânmeikâran's principal duties, and they must be by no means light. To ensure them being properly performed, he is forbidden to leave his village for more than fifteen days at a time without obtaining a written order from the Tahsildar: and he must provide for the proper performance of his duties during his absence so sanctioned. Nâttânmeikârans are not required to attend at the Tahsildar's Katchêri except upon receipt of a written order from the Tahsildar to do so: and Tahsildars are directed to abstain from requiring their attendance except when it may be indispensably necessary. Even at such times they are to be detained for as short a time as may be possible.

THE KARNAM is subordinate to the Nâttânmeikâran; but he is nevertheless primarily and almost solely responsible for the correct preparation of all the authorised accounts of the village, and for their punctual transmission to the Tâlûk Sheristadar. He has to write receipts for all instalments of rent paid by ryots, and to countersign them. He has to prepare and countersign the "Memorandum of Remittances," to be transmitted with the collections to the Tahsildar, and also the list of defaulting ryots. He reads out and takes charge of all orders sent to the Nâttânmeikâran, or to the village authorities collectively, or to himself: and he writes all official letters and reports sent from the village. He countersigns and registers all applications for the taking or giving up of lands for cultivation. He also keeps the Register of all transfers of lands duly effected by ryots before the Nâttânmeikâran and himself. The Karnam must submit all his Registers for the inspection of the Tahsildar or other authorised public officer, and obtain his countersignature at such times as may be ordered by the Collector or by the Tahsildar. He must accompany the Nâttânmeikâran when inspecting lands occupied by ryots, and duly enter all such in the public accounts; and jointly with the Nâttânmeikâran he is responsible for all cultivation not brought to account. He is always present at the attachment and sale of property of defaulting ryots, and writes out the list and

other documents connected with such proceedings, unless another official be specially deputed by the Tahsildar to take his place. He must never absent himself from his village for more than fifteen days; and need not attend at the Tâlûk Katchêri, unless specially ordered to do so by the Tahsildar in writing. And the Tahsildar has strict orders never to detain him unnecessarily.

The following is a list of the Registers and accounts now prepared by the Karnam, in accordance with the rules contained in the "Manual of Village Accounts" published in 1855 by the Board of Revenue:—

Permanent.

A.—Register of fields as per Survey or mamool account.
Enclosure 1 to A.—Abstract of Pymaish accounts.
Enclosure 2 to A—Abstract of Inâm lands.

B.—Register of annual cultivation and settlement in the Circar lands for a series of years.
Enclosure 1 to B.—Register showing the Annual Inâm cultivation for a series of years.

Annual.

No. 1—Statement showing the particulars of monthly cultivation.

No. 2.—Monthly Abstract Statement of cultivation.
Enclosure A in No. 2.—Monthly Abstract Statement of Kist, Collection, Balance.
Enclosure B in No. 2.—Memorandum showing the fall of rain in each month as well as the supply and distribution of water in the several tanks in the Village.
Enclosure C in No. 2.—Abstract showing monthly the number of tilling cattle deceased, as also the description of produce cultivated and harvested.

No. 3.—Statement of Kist and Collection individually.

No. 4.—Statement of Stallawâr cultivation with the necessary particulars.
Enclosure A in No. 4.—Extent of cultivation with certain special crops.
Enclosure B in No. 4.—List of Government plantations and of topes planted under the Rules of 1848.

No 5.—Statement showing the Settlement of each individual.

No. 6.—Statement showing the extent of Purambôk land newly cultivated.

No. 7.—Statement showing the particulars of Inâm cultivation individually.

No. 8.—Statement showing the particulars of the several kinds of remission.

Enclosure A in No. 8.—Statement showing the particulars of Shâvi individually.

No. 9.—Statement showing the particulars of Moturpha and Sundry Small Farms individually.

No. 10.—Chitta of daily collections.

No. 11.—Abstract of the daily Chitta of collections individually.

No. 12.—Remittance list to be sent to the Tâlûk with the remittance.

No. 13.—Abstract of the cultivation and settlement individually.

No. 14.—Comparative Statement of cultivation and Settlement for the whole village between the past and present years.

No. 15.—Statement of lands held on progressive Cowle.

No. 16 —Statement of Sivây Jamâ.

No. 17.—Statement showing the general condition of ryots.

No. 18.—Form of Land Revenue Patta to be granted by the Collector.

Enclosure A in No. 18.—Form of Patta for Moturpha and Sundry Small Farms and Licenses.

No 19.—Form of Catchat or receipt to be given to the ryots.

No. 20.—Statement showing the cultivation of Circar and Inâm lands under different sources of irrigation.

Quinquennial.

No 21.—Statement showing the Circar and Inâm Ayakat and cultivation.

Enclosure A in No. 21.—Statement showing the particulars of Irrigation.

Enclosure B in No. 21.—Rent-Roll.

No. 22.—Return of population.

THE THANDALKÂRAN has to collect the revenue from individual ryots, under the orders of the Nâttânmeikâran, and hands over all moneys collected to the Shroff for inspection.

THE NÔTTAKÂRAN or Shroff examines the coins handed to him by the Thandalkâran, and accounts for the same to the Nâttânmeikâran. He acts under the orders of the latter, and carries remittances to the Tâlûk Katchêri.

THE TÔTTI acts under the orders of the Nâttânmeikâran, and assists him if necessary in collecting the revenue from the ryots; carries messages for village officials and head ryots; carries the kist-remittances to the Tâlûk Treasury; helps the Police Kâvalkârans; and makes himself generally useful by doing many kinds of menial work, such as removing corpses, &c. He will also attend to the tanks and works of irrigation, and assist the Madeiyan.

THE MADEIYAN or Nîrgunti has to properly distribute the water of the tanks and other works of irrigation, under the orders of the Nâttânmeikâran. It is his business to watch the tanks and channels, and report to the Nâttânmeikâran all breaches and defects therein. He must see that the works of irrigation be not injured by men or cattle; and that water be never wasted. He will also assist the Tôtti when necessary, and attend to petty duties under the orders of the Nâttânmeikâran.

THE KÂVALKÂRAN is the village watchman, and his duty is to watch the crops when ripe and prevent them being injured by men or cattle. He is usually paid for his services privately by the ryots themselves; and as a Revenue official, is not in any way recognized by or placed under the orders of the Tahsildar or Collector.

TÂLÛK ESTABLISHMENTS.

The District of Madura has for Revenue purposes been divided into six Tâlûks, viz., Madura, Tirumangalam, Mêlûr, Periyakulam, Dindigul, and Palani. The first four of these compose the Principal Division, and the other two the Sub-Division which is presided over by the Sub-Collector.

Each Tâlûk is provided with the following staff of officers, salaried as hereinunder shown, namely :—

Designation of Officers.	Madura.		Tirumangalam.		Mêlûr.		Periyakulam		Dindigul		Palani	
	No	Pay	No	Pay	No	Pay.	No	Pay	No	Pay	No	Pay
Tahsildar	1	225	1	200	1	200	1	150	1	175	1	150
Sheristadar	1	60	1	60	1	60	1	60	1	60	1	60
Gumastahs at 20 Rupees	2	40	2	40	2	40	2	40	2	40	2	40
Do. at 15 Rupees	7	105	7	105	7	105	7	105	7	105	7	105
Shroff or money-tester	1	15	1	15	1	15	1	15	1	15	1	15
Deputy Shroff	0	0	1	10	0	0	0	0	1	10	0	0
Dufterbund	1	7	1	7	1	7	1	7	1	7	1	7
Duffadar	1	8	1	8	1	8	1	8	1	8	1	8
Peons at 6 Rupees	18	108	18	108	18	108	18	108	18	108	18	108
Lamp-lighter	1	5	1	5	1	5	1	5	1	5	1	5
Sweeper	1	5	1	5	1	5	1	5	1	5	1	5
1st Class Revenue Inspectors	1	30	1	30	1	30	1	30	1	30	1	30
2d do do do	1	25	1	25	1	25	1	25	1	25	1	25
3d do. do do at 20 Rs	2	40	2	40	1	20	1	20	2	40	1	20
Peons at 6 Rupees	4	24	4	24	3	18	3	18	4	24	3	18
Total	42	697	43	682	40	646	40	596	43	657	40	596

The Tahsildar or Officer in charge of a Tâlûk has the general control of the whole establishment: but should attend chiefly to the Correspondence branch, and see that all orders received from the Collector be attended to and carried out without delay. The village officials are all under his orders, and report to him all applications and complaints made to them by villagers. He also receives petitions from ryots, and recommends to the Collector methods of dealing with all such, if unable to dispose of them himself. Besides this, he is expected to be thoroughly well acquainted with all the Revenue details of his Tâlûk; and the Collector daily calls upon him for infor-

mation, and refers to him for report all kind of cases in which local knowledge or enquiry may be necessary

THE SHERISTADAR is the chief Accountant in the Tâlûk, and is held responsible for the correct preparation and punctual transmission of all the periodical Returns to be submitted to the Huzûr. He must see that the several Abstracts and Registers be properly kept, and that entries be duly made in them from time to time with reference to the village accounts. He must also take care that the Village Returns be punctually sent into his office; examine the accounts prepared in the Tâlûk; and sign all such Returns as are sent to the Deputy Collector in charge of the Huzûr Treasury.

THE NINE CLERKS.—The Head-Gumastah will himself prepare the Monthly Estimates, Pay Abstracts, Contingent Bills, &c, and the Monthly Account Current of Receipts and Disbursements, all of which go to the Huzûr, and will superintend the preparation of the other monthly accounts which are kept in the Tâlûk.

The second Gumastah will write up the Cash Chitta, or day-book of Receipts and Disbursements, and abstract the same every evening, in order that on the last day of the month the totals under each head may be readily added up, and the Abstracts delivered to the first Gumastah for immediate preparation of the Monthly Account Current.

The third Gumastah will keep the "Abstracts of Cultivation" and of prices, filling them up from the Village Returns, and will prepare the "Statement of Cultivation," the "Returns of Prices," and the Memorandum shewing the state of the season. He will also prepare the Village "Abstracts of Demand Collection and Balance," and prepare therefrom statements to be submitted to the Huzûr.

The fourth will prepare all "Annual Jamâbandi Accounts;" examine and compare the fair copies of Statements and Returns; keep accounts of Saderward and Contingent Charges; and attend generally to various miscellaneous duties.

The fifth will keep Registers of Tâkîds and Arzis, and despatch the latter with dockets showing the purport of their contents. He will also have charge of the Records of the Tâlûk Katchêri, and be responsible for their safe custody.

The remaining four will attend to the correspondence generally; take depositions, and prepare drafts of Arzis according to the instruc-

tions of the Tahsildar. During the time of Jamâbandi they and the fifth Gumastah together with the Sheristadar will have to attend to the preparation of the "Settlement Accounts," in addition to their ordinary duties.

The Revenue Inspectors are at the disposal of the Tahsildar for the special examination of cultivation or village accounts, or for any local Revenue enquiry that may be required. They are not to be retained at the Kasbâ, but sent out in the Tâlûk when required.

The following are the forms of Cultivation and Settlement Accounts to be kept in the Tâlûk —

Monthly.

No. 1.—Statement showing the extent of cultivation and assessment in each village.

No. 2.—Detailed Statement of supply and distribution of water in the Tâlûks

No 3—Statement showing the market prices of grain per garce of 3,200 measures, each weighing 150 Rupees

Annual.

No. 4.—Statement showing the cultivation and settlement of each village.

No. 5.—Statement of Shâvi remission

No 6.—Statement of lands given up, &c.

No. 7.—Statement of lands held on progressive Cowle.

No. 8.—Statement showing the cultivation of Sugar-cane, Cotton and Indigo.

No. 9.—Statement showing the particulars of Moturpha

No. 10.—Statement showing the particulars of Extra Revenue.

No. 11.—Statement showing the amount of Interest charged on the arrears of Muttahs, Polliputs, &c.

Quinquennial

No. 12.—Statement showing the number of Ryots, Pattas, &c.

No. 13.—Statement of Houses and Population

No. 14—Statement showing the different sources of Irrigation.

No. 15.—Statement showing the Rent-roll.

No. 16.—Statement showing the Circar and Inâm Ayakat and cultivation.

Statistical, &c., Registers

No. 17.—Register of cultivation and settlement in the Ryotwâri villages.

No. 18.—Register showing the Bêriz of all descriptions.

No. 19.—Register showing the Villagewâr Ayakat and cultivation, &c., under each source of Irrigation.

No. 20.—Register of Village servants and their yearly incomes, &c.

No. 21.—Register of Lapsed Inâms.

Special Accounts for Amâni Villages.

No. 22.—Statement showing the monthly cultivation of the different species of crops.

No. 23.—Statement showing the produce of the different species of crops as Azmaished.

No. 24.—Statement showing the cultivation and settlement of Amâni villages

No. 25.— Do. do. applicable to the Districts where there is a specific distinction of Dry, Wet and Garden.

Cash.

No. 1.—Cash Chitta of daily Receipts and Disbursements

No. 2.—Statement showing the different description of Coins received and disbursed daily.

No. 3.—Abstract of Daily Receipts.

Enclosure A.—Particulars of the Miscellaneous Items

No. 4.—Abstract Statement showing the daily disbursement under different heads.

Enclosure A —Particulars of the miscellaneous charges.

No. 5.—Statement shewing the Demand Collection and Balance.

No. 6.—Statement showing the amount of Collections on account of arrears.

No. 7.—Statement showing the particulars of Arrears outstanding at the time of settlement against the Ryots.

Ten Days.

No. 1.—Statement showing the Demand Collection and Balance.

Enclosure A in No. 1.—Statement showing the particulars of Cash remaining on hand.

Monthly

No. 1.—Comparative Firkawâr Abstract of Cultivation and Assessment.

No. 2.—Comparative Abstract of cultivation of Amâni villages.

No 3.—Abstract Statement showing the Kist, Collection and Balance.

No. 4.—Statement showing the quantity of Rain-fall at the Kâsba.

Enclosure A in No 4.—Quantity of Rain-fall in the villages

No. 5.—List showing the average prices of grain per Madras garce.

5 A.—Abstract Statement showing the average prices of Nanjey grain.

No. 6.—Season Report

No 7.—Statement showing the suspension and removal of the Village Officers.

No 8.—Estimate of the amount to be retained in the Treasury.

No. 9.—Statement showing the Demand, Collection and Balance.

Enclosure A.—Particulars of Balances against Muttas and Pâleiyams.

Enclosure B.—Abstract of Cultivation.

No. 10—Statement showing the Demand Collection and Balance on account of Revenue fines

No. 11—Account Current of Receipts and Disbursements.

No. 12.—Pay Abstract of the Establishment.

No. 13—List of Pensions

No. 14—List of Miscellaneous Items

No. 15.—List of Remittance to the Huzûr Treasury

Annual.

No. 16.—Statement showing the number of the different descriptions of Villages and Hamlets.

No. 17.—Comparative Statement showing the price of grain per Madras garce of 3,200 measures each.

No. 18.—Abstract Statement showing the Ryotwâri settlement.

Enclosure A—Abstract Statemant showing the Ryots' holdings at the commencement of the Fasli and the subsequent alterations

No. 18 A.—Abstract Statement showing the cultivation and settlement in the Amâni villages.

No. 18 B—Abstract Statement showing the settlement of Amâni villages.

No. 18 C.—Abstract statement showing Ulungu, &c, villages.

No. 18 D.—Statement showing the particulars of Amâni villages rented at a reduced grain amount.

No 18 E.—Comparative Abstract of Settlement.

No. 18 F.—Statement showing the particulars of Sundry Items entered in Statement No. 18 E.

No. 18 G.—Statement of Estates granted on Vaidâ or for bringing them up to the full assessment by instalments.

No. 18 H.—Statement showing the Hossagomy cultivation or land newly taken up, the assessment fixed on it, and the instalments by which this is brought up.

No 18 I.—Statement showing the cultivation and settlement of Land Revenue Bêriz.

No 19.—Comparative Statement of Remissions and Sundry Items.

Enclosure A in No 19—Particulars of Shâvi Remission.

No. 20—Statement showing the extent of cultivation and average Assessment per acre

No. 21.—Abstract Statement of Lands held on progressive Cowle.

No. 22.—Statement showing the lands Cultivated with Sugarcane, Cotton and Indigo.

No. 23.—Comparative Abstract Statement of Moturpha.

No. 24.—Comparative Abstract Statement of extra Revenue and Interest Account.

No. 25.—Comparative Abstract Statement of all sources of Revenue.

No. 26.—Memo. showing the extent to which coercive process was employed.

No. 27.—Statement showing the Fasliwâr Demand Collection and Balance of Muttas, Poliaputs, &c.

No. 28.—Abstract Statement showing the particulars of arrears outstanding at the time of settlement against each village.

No 29.—List of Governmant servants as they stood on the 30th April.

Quinquennial.

No. 30.—Abstract Statement showing the number of Ryots, Pattas, Ploughs, &c.

No. 31.—Statement of Houses and Population.

No. 32.—Abstract Statement showing the sources of Irrigation.

No. 33.—Statement showing the Rent-roll.

No. 34.—Abstract Statement showing the Circar and Inâm Ayakat and cultivation.

No. 1.—Register of Arzis despatched to the Huzûr.

No. 2.—List showing the number of Tâkîds remaining unanswered.

No. 3.—List of Petitions referred to the Tahsildar.

No. 4.—List of Petitions presented in the Tâlûk.

HUZÛR ESTABLISHMENT.

The Huzûr Establishment of the Collector of the District consists of the following five departments :—

1. The Sheristadar's and Native Correspondence Department.
2. The English Correspondence and General Account Department.
3. The Treasury and Stamp Department.
4. The Press Department.
5. The Miscellaneous Office Servants.

The Vernacular Correspondence Department and the Correspondence Branch of the English Department are under the general direction of the Sheristadar on Rupees 250 per mensem, and the General Account Branch of the English Department, the Treasury and Stamp Department, and the Press Department are under the "Deputy Collector in charge of the Treasury" on Rupees 250. The English Head Clerk on Rupees 150 has the immediate care of the English Department, subject always to the general supervision of the officers abovementioned, and matters are so arranged in it that the several hands attached thereto are available for general duties whenever any heavy work is to be done, whilst ordinarily each hand attends to the work specially allotted to him.

The *Sheristadar* or Collector's chief ministerial servant must himself attend to the Vernacular Correspondence Department. He must see that all arzis and petitions be disposed of without delay; look to the unanswered lists of correspondence in both the Vernacular and English Departments from time to time; and attend to the disposal of such papers and Revenue questions as may be specially referred to him by the Collector or Magistrate. He has to countersign all the tâkîds or orders prepared for the signature of the Collector or Magistrate; to transact business connected with orders from the Board of Revenue and referred for his disposal; and to examine all estimates and papers received from the Superintending Engineer for the countersignature of the Collector. It is also the duty of the Sheristadar to see that business generally be promptly and efficiently conducted. He has nothing to do with periodical returns furnished by the Deputy Collector: and prepares only such special returns as may be called for by the Collector or the Board of Revenue or Government. He accompanies the Collector on Jamâbandi circuits, and when the Jamâbandi returns are received from the Tâlûks, it is his business to scrutinize and forward them countersigned to the Account Department for the preparation of general returns. He has the immediate assistance of a Translator on Rupees 70, who prepares for him necessary translations and abstracts, and of one Vernacular Clerk on Rupees 25.

There are thirteen Vernacular Clerks to conduct the correspondence of the Revenue and Magisterial Departments, and their duties are as follows, viz:—

One Clerk on 70 *Rupees.*—The chief Native Correspondence Clerk, has to read Tahsildar's communications, petitions, &c. to the Collector and get his orders upon them. He also attends to any important correspondence in the Magistrate's Department which may be transferred to him, and any miscellaneous work the Collector may give him to do.

One Clerk on 60 *Rupees* performs duties of a like nature in the Magistrate's Office

One Clerk on 35 *Rupees* prepares drafts of Revenue (Vernacular) tâkîds under the immediate direction of the Head Clerk. After they have been approved of by the Head Clerk, he gets them copied fair, and after comparing them delivers them to the Head Clerk to be taken to the Collector for signature. He also drafts tâkîds in the Magistrate's Department, when the work may be heavy there

One Clerk on 30 *Rupees* should read to the Collector and Magistrate the Revenue and Magisterial Petitions, and endorse them according to the orders. He also keeps the Registers of such Petitions and Endorsements, and for this has the occasional aid of one of the other Clerks.

One Clerk on 25 *Rupees* assists the Head Clerk in his general duties, prepares tâkîds dictated by him; and corrects Vernacular proofs for the Press.

One Clerk on 25 *Rupees* keeps Registers of arzis and tâkîds, and despatches papers from the Office.

One Clerk on 20 *Rupees* attends on the Deputy Collector in charge of the Treasury. His chief business is to keep a list of all the periodical returns due from the Tâlûks and to prepare reminders touching such as may not be received in time. He also prepares all the tâkîds in the Account Department according to the instructions of the Deputy Collector. and attends upon him when engaged in Magisterial business.

One Clerk on 20 *Rupees* usually attends on the Assistant Collector. If there be no Assistant, he will perform general duties under the instructions of the Sheristadar.

One Clerk on 20 *Rupees* prepares short and routine tâkîds and orders in the Revenue and Magisterial Departments, and takes down depositions

Two Clerks on 15 *Rupees* are employed in fair copying tâkîds and enclosures for despatch. One of them will be available for taking down depositions or preparing drafts of tâkîds whenever required.

One Clerk on 15 *Rupees* is principally employed in referring to records and finding out papers required in the Revenue and Magisterial Departments; and assists generally the Clerk employed in registering arzis and tâkîds and despatching the latter

One Clerk on 15 *Rupees* has charge of the Current Records; pastes papers into Registers; collects and takes care of arzis and other communications received daily at the Katchêri; and assists generally the Clerk who has charge of Petitions.

One Record-keeper on 50 *Rupees* has charge of all the Vernacular Records and searches out papers required for reference. He also sees that the Current Records be kept in proper order: and is responsible generally for the safe custody of all papers.

The English Correspondence and General Account Department consists of two branches "Correspondence" and "Account." As explained above, both branches are under the immediate care of the Head Clerk, and the Clerks and Accountants attached to one branch are always at his disposal for work in the other or for general duties.

The English Head Clerk is responsible for the English correspondence. It is his duty to see that all papers be disposed of without delay; that all letters received and despatched be entered in the Register-books, and finally pasted into the File-books of the several Departments; that proper Index-books be kept; that letters despatched be neatly entered into the Copy-books; and that the Records of the Office be well arranged and kept. He drafts English letters, and corrects drafts prepared by his subordinates, and takes them to the Collector for approval and final correction. Any important Revenue letters which may not be drafted by the Sheristadar himself, the Head Clerk will draft under the orders of the Sheristadar: and he assists the Sheristadar in general duties.

There are eight Clerks allowed for the Correspondence Branch

One Clerk on 50 *Rupees* keeps Registers of Correspondence, and enters all the letters received and despatched every day He dockets letters and superintends the despatching of papers from the Office. He assists the Head Clerk in disposing of papers and prepares all ordinary routine drafts.

One Clerk on 45 *Rupees* is employed in preparing matter (in English) for the District Gazette, subject to the orders of the Deputy Collector; and he corrects all English proofs from the Press. And he attends to the examination of the fair copies of all letters and returns.

One Clerk on 35 *Rupees* has charge of the Magistrate's papers and disposes of all the ordinary papers; those of any importance being taken up by the Head Clerk. He assists also in entering letters in the Registers and despatching papers from the Office, examining fair copies of letters and correcting proofs for the Press.

One Clerk on 30 *Rupees* has charge of all the papers connected with the Public Works Correspondence, and attends to the disposal of all ordinary papers in that Department. He keeps Registers of Estimates received for the countersignature of the Collector, and attends to the preparation of the returns of Chattrams and Travel-

lers' Bungalows, and all periodical returns connected with the Department of Public Works. He also prepares all the Monthly Returns of fines, trials, and dismissals of public servants, Registers of Petitions, and all other returns of a similar description submitted to the Board of Revenue.

One Clerk on 25 *Rupees* has charge of all the papers connected with the Postal Department and Military Pensioners, and prepares the monthly accounts in those Departments He should keep Registers of Inâms, Yeomiahs, and other Pensions, and prepare such returns as are required to be submitted to the Board in connection therewith. He also prepares Quit-rent bills, advertisements for sales of land for arrears, Indents for Postage-labels, &c, and attends to many duties of a miscellaneous nature.

One Clerk on 20 *Rupees* has to collect and supply all "references" that may be required by the Collector, Sheristadar, Head Clerk and others, and to replace them in their proper places as soon as done with. He assists the Record-keeper in arranging records and pasting papers in volumes: and is available for other miscellaneous duties

Two Clerks on 15 *Rupees* are chiefly employed in fair copying letters and returns in the Correspondence Department, and in entering the correspondence in the letter Sections They are also available for miscellaneous duties.

One Record-keeper on 60 *Rupees* has charge of all English Records, and is responsible for their proper arrangement and safe custody. It is his duty to examine the letters entered in Sections, and see that in this matter no arrears accumulate. He also assists the Head Clerk generally in drafting correspondence, seeking references, &c.

The General Account Branch contains eight English and seven Vernacular Accountants whose several duties are as follows:—

One English Accountant on 85 *Rupees* is the head of the Account Department, and is placed under the immediate orders of the Deputy Collector. He is responsible for the correct and punctual preparation of all periodical Statements and Accounts to be sent to the Board of Revenue and Accountant General.

One Accountant on 45 *Rupees*, keeps Registers of all notices issued by him to the Cash-keeper for money receipts and disbursements.

makes up the Huzûr Cash Chitta or day-book, and makes a monthly abstract of it in which he posts the transactions of each day. He examines finally the Tâlûk Account Current with reference to his Register and other vouchers, and sees that the Tâlûk remittances correspond with the entries in the Huzûr Chitta. In these duties he is generally assisted by one Native Accountant.

One Accountant on 35 *Rupees* keeps Abstracts of the Tâlûk Monthly Accounts Current, Statements of Demand Collection and Balance, Returns of cultivation and prices, and posts entries in the Abstracts from time to time, as each return is received. He has the aid of one of the Vernacular Accountants.

One Accountant on 30 *Rupees* examines all the Accounts, rough and fair, prepared in the Office for transmission to the Board, &c. He also keeps Abstracts for all the Annual Accounts, in which he posts entries from time to time from the Monthly Accounts, as soon as despatched, so that they may be readily available for the preparation of Annual Accounts at the end of the year.

One Accountant on 25 *Rupees* prepares the Monthly and Annual financial Accounts from the general Abstracts kept in the Office relating to land Revenue, Salt or Sea-Customs, and delivers them to the Accountant mentioned in the previous paragraph for examination.

One Accountant on 20 *Rupees* has charge of the Stationery and all printed blank forms of bills, statements and returns, and keeps accounts of them He is in charge of small sums for contingent disbursements, and keeps accounts thereof He prepares the Pay Abstracts, and Contingent bills, and accounts of Saderward charges.

He keeps abstracts for the quarterly Statement of Demand Collection and Balance to be sent to the Accountant General, and a Register of all periodical Returns, to be submitted to the different authorities; notes down the dates of despatch, and brings arrears to the notice of the first Accountant.

One Accountant on 15 *Rupees* has charge of all Registers kept in the Account Department for Bills of Exchange, Letters of Advice, Interest orders on Promissory Notes, and transactions connected with the Government Savings' Bank and loans. He also prepares the Bills of Exchange, Letters of Advice, Interest orders, and other documents of a like nature.

One Accountant on 15 *Rupees* is generally available for duties of a miscellaneous kind, not specially provided for. His particular business is to copy fair all the statements and accounts prepared in the Office, and to attend to the preparation of the Annual Jamâbandi accounts, and such other accounts as may be given him by the 1st Accountant

One Vernacular Accountant on 45 *Rupees,* prepares all orders for payments to be made in the Huzûr or in the Tâlûks, and examines the Vernacular vouchers received for payments, and the monthly estimates received from the Tâlûks for reserving cash He also examines the Monthly Tâlûk Accounts in all their details with the assistance of one of the Accountants, and delivers them promptly to the 2nd English Accountant for final examination, and for the compilation of the general monthly accounts. He also superintends the preparation of the Jamâbandi Accounts.

One Accountant on 35 *Rupees* generally assists in the examination of all Tâlûk Accounts, and in the preparation of Jamâbandi and other Accounts. He also aids the 2nd English Accountant in the transaction of his duties

One Accountant on 30 *Rupees* is employed in reading off the Tâlûk Accounts for entry in the English General Abstracts, and in verifying the calculations and additions in the several statements received and prepared.

Two Accountants on 20 *Rupees,* ⎫ are available for all kinds of
Two do. do. 15 „ ⎭ miscellaneous work not specially provided for, and for the preparation of any special returns that may be required They accompany the Collector when he goes for Jamâbandi; examine the Settlement Accounts, and complete them by making additional entries when necessary, and aid the 1st Vernacular Accountant under the immediate orders of the Sheristadar. They are also chiefly employed in the preparation of the Annual Jamâbandi Accounts in the Huzûr Katchêri They likewise assist the other Accountants in the ordinary duty of examining additions and calculations, and dictating accounts to the English Accountants from the Vernacular Returns.

I have thus briefly described the several duties of these Clerks and Accountants, but it must be borne in mind that there is nothing to prevent any one of them from attending to any kind of

business that may be given him from time to time by the Head Clerk or English Accountant. For instance when the Annual Jamâbandi Accounts are prepared, the work is distributed amongst all the Clerks and Accountants who can be spared: and one or two statements fall to the share of each of them in addition to his usual work. The same course is adopted when the Annual and Periodical Accounts are prepared for submission to the Accountant General, and when Special Returns are called for; and if any of the servants are absent from illness or other cause, arrangements are always made by the Head Clerk for the duties allotted to them being performed by others.

When the Collector goes on Jamâbandi, the Vernacular Correspondence Department Clerks and the Sheristadar and Translator usually accompany him. but the Record-keeper and four Vernacular Clerks will stay at Head Quarters. Two of these Clerks being attached to the Deputy and Assistant Collectors' Offices, should attend on them; and the other two should be at hand to supply any papers that may be required by the Circuit Katchêri, and to attend to sundry miscellaneous duties. They have not much to do, and are sometimes employed under the Record-keeper in arranging old Records, &c. One or two English Clerks will also accompany the Collector to attend to the ordinary current duties of the English Department with the aid of the Translator. And four or five Vernacular Accountants will follow him to attend to the examination of the Settlement Accounts.

The Treasury and Stamp Department is under the immediate control of the Deputy Collector in charge of the Treasury. The Cash-keeper has charge of the Cash, Stamps and Postage-labels. He supplies them on Indents passed by the Deputy Collector, but cannot sell. He keeps the Accounts relating to them and is responsible for their correctness. He has two Accountants attached to him, one of whom prepares the Chitta for the Cash Receipts and Disbursements, whilst the other writes up the Accounts connected with Postage-labels and Stamps, and furnishes necessary information to the English Account Department for the preparation of general Returns to be submitted to the Superintendent of Stamps

The three Shroffs attend to the receipt and issue of Coins, Postage labels and Stamps. One of them also keeps the detailed statement of coins received and issued, and prepares the rough Chitta.

The three Gollahs watch the Treasury and carry Cash about, and take bags of money in and out of boxes, &c.

The Press Department does not require any particular notice. It consists altogether of four Compositors, two Pressmen, and two Ballmen. The Head Compositor is the Foreman, and attends to all difficult tasks. One of the Compositors on Rupees 25 is employed chiefly in printing the District Gazette, and is responsible for that work being done well and punctually. The Assistant Pressman and Ballman assist the Compositors in distributing type and setting up

Sixteen Attenders attend on the different Officers; carry messages; fetch papers and bundles; take care of the papers in the Office; and tie up bundles and Dufters and keep them in order; and do many petty offices. Those employed in the Vernacular Department are able to read the local language, and those employed in the English Department to read English. The two Attenders on ten Rupees each are attached to the Record Department, one for the Vernacular Records and the other for the English. The others are distributed as follows, viz.:—

Sheristadar	1	When the Katchêri goes on Circuit, one remains in the Huzûr and the rest go on Circuit.
Vernacular Revenue Clerk	1	
Do. Magistrate's Clerk	1	
Do. Petition Clerk	1	
Whole Vernacular Department generally	1	
Head English Clerk	1	One of them accompanies the Circuit Katchêri to attend on the English Clerk.
Clerk in charge of Current Records	1	
Whole Correspondence Department generally	1	
English Accountant	1	One of them accompanies the Native Accountant to the Circuit Katchêri.
Native do.	1	
Whole Account Department	1	
Deputy Collector	1	
Treasury Department	1	
Press Department	1	

The Muchis attend in the English Department generally, and one of them is chiefly employed in binding books.

One Duffadar attends on the Collector.

Of the 18 *Peons,* twelve wait on the Collector; three on the Assistant Collector; two on the Deputy Collector, and one on the Sheristadar.

The Lamp-lighters and Sweepers attend on all the Departments indifferently.

SUB-COLLECTOR'S ESTABLISHMENT.

The Sub-Collector is allowed a separate establishment. His seven Clerks are available for the performance of all duties, as he may arrange. His Head Clerk usually attends to the disposal of all important Revenue and Magisterial matters that may be referred to him, and assists in making the annual settlement. The 2nd Clerk reads Revenue Arzis and prepares Tâkîds. The 3rd attends to these duties in the Magistrate's Department, subject to the immediate supervision of the Head Clerk. The 4th will generally be employed in conducting the English Correspondence, keeping the papers connected therewith, and preparing the periodical Returns. The 5th keeps Registers of Arzis and Tâkîds and despatches the latter from the Office. The 6th and 7th Clerks are employed in drafting routine Tâkîds and collecting references. One of them has charge of the Records, and is responsible for their safe custody. During the time of Jamâbandi all the Clerks except the Revenue and Magistrate and English Clerks are available for the examination of Accounts

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MINOR ESTABLISHMENTS.

An establishment of 144 Rupees per mensem is allotted to the Head Assistant Collector. He is allowed only four Clerks, whose duties are very similar to those of the Sub-Collector's Establishment.

The Deputy Collector has a smaller establishment. Of his three Clerks, the 1st is employed in English business, and the 2nd and 3rd in Revenue and Magisterial duties, in keeping Registers of Correspondence, and despatching papers and attending to all miscellaneous duties. During the time of Jamâbandi all the three are available for the examination of Settlement Accounts.

Assistant Collectors are not allowed separate establishments: but are provided with such Clerks as may be necessary out of the Huzûr Establishment.

The Stations and charges of the Collector's Subordinates are as follows, viz:—

The Sub-Collector is entrusted with the administration of the Dindigul Subdivision, which consists of the Palani and Dindigul Tâlûks. He is usually permitted to manage his charge without interference from Head Quarters: but he is subordinate to and subject to the orders of the Collector in all matters, and is bound to consult his immediate superior whenever a critical state of things may arise. His station is Dindigul.

The Head Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of the District is entrusted with the Magisterial charge of the two great Zamindâris, and the Revenue charge of only three and three-quarter Amâni villages situated within the limits of the Râmnâd country. He is also in charge of the Branch Treasury at Râmnâd, and should watch to some extent the conduct of the Zamindârs or their ministers. His station is Râmnâd.

The Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate seldom has Revenue charge of any portion of the District, and no separate establishment is provided for him. He usually lives at Head Quarters learning his business, and preparing himself for examinations, under the eye of the Collector. If qualified, he will have Magisterial charge of a Tâlûk or of the town of Madura.

The Deputy Collectors will have different duties to perform according as there may be only two or more Officers of that grade posted in the District. If there be only two, one will always have charge of the Treasury alone: and the other of the Salt Department alone. If another be available for general duties, he will be placed in charge of one or two Tâlûks as Collector and Magistrate thereof, supposing always he be duly qualified.

CHAPTER III.

EXTRA ESTABLISHMENTS.

The Salt Department.—Salt Pans.—Amount of Salt manufactured.—Sea-Customs.—The Forests.—Rules.—The Public Works Establishment.

THE Revenue establishments described in the last Chapter are employed in the ordinary work of collecting the Land Revenue, and about the Abkâri, Stamps, &c, it now remains for me to exhibit the establishments employed about extra sources of Revenue.

THE SALT DEPARTMENT is under the immediate superintendence of a native Deputy Collector on Rupees 350 per mensem, stationed at Râmnâd; whose office consists of a Head Clerk on Rupees 45, a Clerk on Rupees 20, an Attender on Rupees 8, three Dalâyets on Rupees 7 each, and a Sweeper.

Each Salt Pan has a subordinate establishment, as will appear from the following:—

Statement showing the Salt Pans, quantity of Salt produced in each, and establishment maintained at each.

Names of Salt Pans.	Quantity of Salt produced in Fasli 1275	Establishment	Remarks
	Maunds.	Rs.	
Mutturag'hunât'hapattanam	89,897-0	Superintendent.........50 Assistant do. ... 20 Clerk ... ...15 Shroff .... 10 2 Peons, 6 Rs each . 12 2 Measurers, 6 Rs each.12 5 Vettiâns, 5 Rs each 25 Total......144	Permanent.
Morakkolam....	62,400-0	Superintendent ... 50 Assistant do. . 20 Clerk .. ..15 Shroff . ... 10 2 Measurers, 6 Rs each 12 2 Peons, 6 Rs each . .12 4 Vettiâns, 5 Rs each 20 Total . . 189	Do.

Statement showing the Salt Pans, quantity of Salt procured in each, and establishment maintained at each.

Names of Salt Pans	Quantity of Salt produced in Fasli 1275	Establishment		Remarks
	Maunds.		Rs.	
Âttânkarei	26,686-5	Superintendent	50	Permanent
		Assistant do	20	
		Clerk	15	
		Shroff	10	
		2 Measurers, 6 Rs each	12	
		2 Peons, 6 Rs each.	12	
		5 Vettiâns, 5 Rs each	25	
		Total	144	
Veiravanât'hapattanam .	55,330-37	Superintendent	50	Do
		Assistant do	20	
		Clerk.	15	
		Shroff	10	
		2 Measurers, 6 Rs. each	12	
		2 Peons, 6 Rs each	12	
		5 Vettiâns, 5 Rs. each	25	
		Total	144	
Vattânam........	63,600-0	Superintendent	50	
		Assistant do	20	
		Clerk	15	
		Shroff	10	
		2 Measurers, 6 Rs each	12	
		2 Peons, 6 Rs each.	12	
		4 Vettiâns, 5 Rs each	20	
		Total	139	
Sholiakkudi.	52,800-0	Superintendent	30	Temporary. To be abolished in 1867.
		Assistant do.	15	
		Clerk	14	
		2 Measurers, 6 Rs each.	12	
		2 Peons, 6 Rs. each	12	
		3 Vettiâns, 5 Rs each	15	
		Total	98	
Manakkudi..	55,200-0	Superintendent	30	Do do do.
		Assistant do	15	
		Clerk	14	
		2 Measurers, 6 Rs. each.	12	
		2 Peons, 6 Rs. each	12	
		3 Vettiâns, 5 Rs each.	15	
		Total	98	
		Grand Total Rs	906	

Formerly the Salt Department was under the immediate superintendence of the Collector, and necessarily had not that constant care and attention bestowed upon it which can alone insure good working. It was customary to send Assistants from time to time to the Pans, to measure Salt and check fraud: and as they had no special knowledge of the manners and customs of those who handle Salt, the result was far from satisfactory. Under the present system a competent officer is wholly occupied in watching the subordinates and preventing fraud, and the work is no doubt done well.

The Collector inspects the Pans once a year or so, and exercises a general control over the Deputy Collector in charge of them: but not in such a manner as to lower the dignity of his office or degrade him personally in the eyes of his inferiors.

The rules which govern the manufacture and sale of Salt will be found at length in Mr. Dalyell's Circular Orders.

THE SEA-CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT is under the immediate charge of the Head Assistant Collector, and probably requires somewhat more attention that it has received of late years. There are no good harbours in the District and the coasting trade is very limited: nevertheless it is difficult to believe that the Customs could not be made to yield more than Rupees 30,000 per annum, if those who collect them were sufficiently well watched.

The following is the establishment at present employed, viz:—

Divisions	Designation of office.	Salary.	Remarks
		Rs.	
Pâmbam.	Superintendent...	50	
	Clerk........................	20	
	Do.	15	
	4 Peons, 5 Rs each.........	20	
	1 Masâlchi or Sweeper....	5	
		110	
Kîlakarei.	Assistant Superintendent	30	
	Clerk.........................	15	
	Shroff........................	10	
	3 Peons, 5 Rs. each..	15	
		70	
Dêvipattanam.	Assistant Superintendent.	20	
	3 Peons, 5 Rs. each.........	15	
		35	
Tondi.	Assistant Superintendent.	20	This Port belongs to the Sivagangei Zamindâri See Part IV, p 166.
	Shroff........................	10	
	3 Peons, 5 Rs. each.........	15	
		45	
	Total......	260	

THE FOREST DEPARTMENT which is still in its infancy but promises highly important results, consists of a Sub-Assistant Conservator, Mr. Turnbull, a Writer, three Dafêdârs and fifteen Peons.

The forests of Madura were not brought under regular conservancy until June 1862, and the staff employed about them would appear to be scarcely equal to the duty of effectively watching and protecting large tracts. The following are the forest tracts as distinguished by the Department, viz:—

1. North face of the Palani hills

2. South face of the Palani hills, including Muruga-malei and a portion of Alagar-malei

3. The East face of the Palani hills, south of the village of Palakanûth

4. The Plateau of the Upper and Lower Palanis

5. The North-West slopes of the Suruli hills

6. The Kambam and Gûdalûr valleys and the slopes of the Western Ghauts including the Kômbei range of hills.

7 The Karuntha-malei

The forests are technically divided into two classes :—

1st —Those worked immediately by the Department

2nd.—Those worked under the voucher and license system.

In the case of forests of the first class, the objects are twofold, to ensure strict conservancy, and to meet the timber requirements of the Public Works Department. The system is expensive and not very remunerative.

The license system is better in some respects. Under it all money is paid to the Revenue Department, while permission to fell timber is granted only by the Forest Officer. The "Forest Tannah Police" mark off the number of bandy loads to be cut on the back of each license and voucher, as the bandies pass through the village Tannah, and in this way the Department learns precisely what is being taken out of the forests. In carrying out this system all reserved timber trees are marked before they are permitted to be felled. By strict attention to this check, and allowing portions of the forest to rest from time to time, conservancy is fairly carried out.

The subjoined tabular statement shows the Forest Revenue under all heads since the organization of the Forest Department.

Year.	Detail of Seignorage																											Total			Remarks
	Timber.			Junglewood.			Firewood.			Bamboos			Charcoal			Depôt Timber.			Confiscated Timber			Fines realized by prosecuting offenders			Forest Produce.						
	RS.	A.	P	RS.	A.	P.	RS	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P	RS	A.	P	RS.	A	P	RS	A	P	RS.	A	P	RS	A	P	RS	A.	P	
1860-61	2,070	0	0	122	0	0	104	1	3	272	3	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2,568	5	1	
1861-62	5,186	12	0	444	0	0	242	1	7	653	10	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6,526	7	10	
1862-63	3,518	10	0	935	3	0	200	4	3	265	11	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4,919	12	5	
1863-64	1,473	7	0	155	0	0	55	13	2	148	13	6	0	0	0	132	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,965	6	8	
1864-65	1,623	0	9	220	0	0	229	4	7	71	10	4	6	0	0	4,232	11	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6,382	11	2	
1865-66	3,800	0	0	172	12	0	170	13	10	174	14	0	5	2	0	1,788	1	9	231	9	8	146	0	0	40	0	0	6,529	5	3	
1866-67	3,600	0	0	222	13	0	164	6	0	263	2	0	17	2	0	1,138	15	8	68	11	0	90	0	0	15	0	0	5,880	1	8	
Total...	21,271	13	9	2,271	12	0	1,166	12	8	1,850	1	1	28	4	0	7,292	1	11	300	4	0	236	0	0	55	0	0	34,472	2	1	

The following are the existing rates of Seignorage, viz:—

Name	Botanical name	Rate
Têkku	Tectona Grandis.	At 8 Rs. for a bandy load of worked timber: and 6 Rs. for rough.
Itti	Dalbergia latifolia.	
Angalli	Artocarpus hirsuta	
Vêngei	Pterocarpus marsupium.	At 6 Rs. for a bandy load of worked timber: and Rs. 5 for rough
Karungâli	Acacia sundra.	
Vekkâli	Conocarpus latifolius	At 4 Rs for a bandy load of worked timber: and Rs. 5 for rough.
Kastûri	Acacia farnesiana.	
Kangiliam		
Mâ-Maram	Mangifera Indica	
Agley	Chickrassia tabularis.	
Mala Vêmbu	Melia Asedarach.	
Vâghei	Acasia speciosa.	
Pulicchei	Schleichera trijuga	
Kadukkây	Terminalia chebula.	
Vellei Muradu	Terminalia arjuna	
Sandana Vemba	Cedrela toona	
Manji Kadambu	Nauclea cordefolia	
Nîr Kadâmbu	Nauclea parviflora	
Vel Vâghei.	Acacia odoratissima.	
Karu Maradu	Terminalia tomentosa.	

Junglewood at	1 Rupee for a bandy load		
Firewood	„	5 Annas for	do.
Bamboos	„	12 „ for	do.
Charcoal	„	1 Anna per parah or 6 marakâls.	

The Rules of the Department are as under :—

1. All parties found felling trees or removing timber or firewood from Government jungles and forests, in breach or disregard of the prescribed rules, will be liable to criminal prosecution for theft, mischief or trespass, as the case may be under the Penal Code, and to the confiscation of the timber, &c.

2. The trees and shrubs which fringe springs and mountains streams (to a distance of twenty yards from each bank) are not to be felled. Parties felling or recklessly injuring the same will be liable to criminal prosecution.

3. Charcoal-burners or others setting fire to any of the Government jungles or forests will be liable to be prosecuted for "mischief" under the Penal Code.

4. A list of the reserved timber and the seignorage to be paid thereon, as published in the Gazette of each District may be obtained by applying either at the Collector's Office or at the Office of the Forest Department. Copy will also be kept in each village of any consequence in the District.

5. None of the reserved timbers (except Satinwood, Red sanders, and Sandalwood) are ever to be felled when the tree is less than three feet in circumference at three feet from the base.

6. As one of the chief objects of conservancy is to preserve saplings and young trees and to restrict felling to such trees as have come to maturity, it is hereby ruled that when the reserved trees are found cut or being brought out of the forests of a less circumference than three feet, the license-holder shall be subject to the forfeiture of his license and to the confiscation of the timber.

7. All trees felled must be cut within three feet from the base.

8. All applications for licenses must state whether the timber required is to be brought out of the forests in the rough or worked up, as the latter pays a higher seignorage.

9. All timbers not included in the published list as reserved and bearing a fixed seignorage will be charged with a seignorage of one Rupee per (two bullocks) bandy load.

10. Ryots are allowed to cut the unreserved kinds of timber free of charge for agricultural purposes within their village boundaries, but if they require the reserved kinds of timber they must pay the fixed seignorage.

11. Villagers are in all cases allowed to cut firewood from low scrub jungle for their own use free of taxation.

12. Where firewood is liable to taxation the seignorage payable thereon shall be notified in the District Gazette and in the villages to which the rules may be applicable.

13. The preservation of village topes devolves upon the village authorities subject to the orders of the Revenue Department.

14. For the convenience of parties not entitled to the right of cutting timber and firewood, and who may require less than one

bandy load, tickets will be used for bullock, donkey, or head loads of the unreserved sorts of timber. The seignorage will be four Annas for the bullock load, three Annas for the donkey load, and two Annas for the head load. The reserved timber can only be felled by parties taking out a voucher and license.

15. The seignorage upon bamboos shall be levied at the rate published in the Gazette of each District. Ryots are allowed to cut bamboos for agricultural purposes or for the *bonâ fide* erection of their houses free of any taxation.

16. Charcoal-burners shall not fell the reserved timbers, and may only fell unreserved timbers in such localities as shall be assigned to them by the Forest Department. In cases where seignorage is payable upon charcoal, it will be published in the District Gazette.

17. Parties wishing to fell timber in Government forests shall pay the seignorage for the number of bandy loads required in advance into one of the Tâlûk Treasuries and shall receive from the Tahsildar a numbered voucher (in duplicate) from the voucher cheque book for the same. The Forest Department, on receipt of the voucher, shall grant a printed license for the number of bandy loads paid for, and shall attach thereto the duplicate voucher, the name of the wood being specified, or (if not one of the reserved kinds) the same being entered as jungle wood. The number of bandy loads shall be checked off on the back of the license as the loaded bandies pass through the first village, either by the village authorities or by the Forest Peon or Duffadar. When the full number of bandies specified in the license has been checked off on the back of the license, the document shall be detained and forwarded to the Tahsildar, who shall submit them to the Collector in due course.

18. The portion of the forest in which the felling is to take place shall be specified in each license, as well as the Tannah station or village through which the timber is to pass.

19. The time allowed for licenses to run shall not exceed three months.

20. Any one felling trees in the forests or removing the same within the limits of the Tannah stations, must be ready to produce both his voucher and license when required

21. Time-expired licenses must be given up, even though the timber paid for has not been removed.

22. All confiscated timbers shall be arranged and numbered off into lots by the Forest Officer, and shall be sold by public auction after due notice shall have been given in the District Gazette, and also if the timber is of much value, in the *Fort Saint George Gazette.* All purchasers will be required to pay the price of the timber purchased into the Tâlûk Treasury, and to produce the Tahsildar's voucher for the same before they remove the timber

23. In the event of confiscated timber being sold by auction, fifty per cent of the net profits will be paid to the informer, whether he belongs to the Forest Department or not

For the regulation of timber free of tax to ryots, the following rules are in force —

1 Tahsildars shall have authority to give a free license for timber required by any ryot for the construction of ploughs and other agricultural implements—such license shall be granted for all unreserved timbers and bamboos Carts are not included in agricultural implements.

2. Officers invested with the Collector's authority in a Tâlûk, may grant a free license for unreserved timbers to ryots, whose houses have been destroyed by fire, for their reconstruction.

3. Such free licenses shall be taken to the Sub-Assistant Conservator of Forests, who will countersign the same for felling and removing the timbers within a stipulated period The locality in which the timber is permitted to be felled will be fixed by the Sub-Assistant Conservator, who will as far as possible consult the convenience of the applicant

4. The same checks that are in force for the grant of timber on payment must be maintained on that free of tax, and the issue of these free licenses will greatly facilitate conservancy

THE PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT is under the charge of the Superintending Engineer of the 8th Division, which consists of the Collectorates of Madura and Tinnevelly. The executive duties are performed by that Officer and his subordinates without interference on the part of the Collector, but the latter is responsible to some extent for the general working of the Department and the control of its expenditure.

The following is a correct list of the P W Establishment in 1867, viz:—

Name	Description of Service	Salary. RS.	A	P
Captain H L. Prendergast, R E.	Offg Suptg. Engineer, 2nd Class..	700	0	0
	Military allowance.	293	10	0
Mr J. E. Shutie ..	Manager	200	0	0
P. Parânkusam Nâyudu.	Draughtsman.	60	0	0
R. Nâgalingam Pillei	Estimate-maker	60	0	0
Mutthukumârusâmi Pillei	Do	60	0	0
P. Perumâl Nâyudu	Clerk and Examiner..	70	0	0
R. Muttheiya Pillei	Clerk to keep Register	40	0	0
M. Sarverâlam Sheriff Sahêb	Copyist	30	0	0
G. Mîr Rahamathula Sahêb..	Do	25	0	0
J Gôpâlu Ayyar	Storekeeper.	50	0	0
Mr. W. Clarke	Record-keeper	30	0	0
	1 Muchi	8	0	0
	2 Peons at 7 Rupees each	14	0	0
	6 Lascars at 6 Rupees each	36	0	0
	1 Sweeper	5	0	0
Captain G M Payne	Exec Engineer on special duty ..	600	0	0
	Military pay and allowance.	374	1	0
Mr. A. Colquhoun	Sub-Engineer, 2nd Class, in charge of 1st Range	300	0	0
C Vîrâsâmi Nâyudu	Accountant	60	0	0
T. R Sêshagiri Râu	Draughtsman and Estimator.	40	0	0
Nâgalingam Pillei	Assistant Accountant and Writer.	30	0	0
R. M. Mutthulingam Pillei	Do do	20	0	0
	3 Lascars at 7 Rupees each	21	0	0
Dêvasâgami Muthali	Tâlûk Overseer on special duty	60	0	0
Krishnasâmi Muthali	Tâlûk Overseer, Madura	60	0	0
Sonâchalam Pillei.	Writer and Accountant	15	0	0
	2 Lascars at 6 Rupees each	12	0	0
Bâlakrishna Muthali..	Tâlûk Overseer, Mêlûr	60	0	0
Râmasâmi Ayyangâr.	Writer and Accountant	15	0	0
	2 Lascars at 6 Rupees each	12	0	0
C M. Muttusâmi Pillei..	Tâlûk Overseer, Tirumangalum...	60	0	0
Subbusâmi Ayyan	Writer and Accountant	15	0	0
	2 Lascars at 6 Rupees each	12	0	0
P. O'Ratigan, Esq	Assistant Engineer, 2nd Grade, in charge of 2nd Range	300	0	0
M. Venkatâchalam Pillei...	Accountant	50	0	0
J. Pâkkiyanâtha Pillei.	Draughtsman and Estimator.	40	0	0
C. Râmasâmi Pillei ..	Assistant Accountant and Writer..	25	0	0
	3 Lascars at 7 Rupees each	21	0	0
Chokkalingam Pillei	Tâlûk Overseer, Dindigul ..	60	0	0
M. V. Chokkalingam Pillei	Writer and Accountant	15	0	0
	2 Lascars at 6 Rupees each	12	0	0
Chinnasâmi Pillei	Tâlûk Overseer, Periyakulam ..	60	0	0
Kalliyânasundaram Muthali.	Writer and Accountant	15	0	0
	2 Lascars at 6 Rupees each	12	0	0
Vêlâyutham Pillei	Tâlûk Overseer, Palani	60	0	0
T. Arunâchalam Pillei	Writer and Accountant	15	0	0
	2 Lascars at 6 Rupees each..	12	0	0
Mr J. P. Martin.	Supervisor, 3rd Range	150	0	0
V. Râmasâmi Nâyudu	Accountant	40	0	0

Name.	Description of Service.	Salary. RS.	A.	P.
Vâlavandân Pillei	Assistant Accountant and Writer	20	0	0
T. Mânikkam Pillei.	Do. do.	15	0	0
	3 Lascars at 7 Rupees each	21	0	0
Corporal J B Sanderson	Supt. of Operation, Pambam.	60	0	0
	Military pay and allowance	25	15	3
A. Mâsilâmani Pillei	Writer and Accountant	30	0	0
A. Selvanayagam Pillei	Gumastah	15	0	0
Rangasâmi Nâyudu	Storekeeper	15	0	0
	1 Lascar at 7 Rupees	7	0	0
Boat Lascars				
1 Tindal		9	0	0
3 Lascars at 7 Rupees each		21	0	0
2 Do at 6 do		12	0	0
1 Carpenter		15	0	0
1 Smith		15	0	0
1 Hammerman		11	0	0
1 Bellows boy		5	0	0

CHAPTER IV.

PUBLIC WORKS.

Four classes of works.—Irrigational works.—Little left to be done under this head—Dams across the Veigei.—Tanks.—The Zamindâris.—The Periyâr project.—Roads, Bridges, &c—Public buildings few and poor.—Miscellaneous works.—Kodikânal.—The Water Project.—The Pâmbam Pass.—The Light-house.

THE attention of the Department of Public Works is directed in the Madura District to the erection and maintenance of four classes of works, viz —

1 Irrigational works
2 Roads, bridges, passes, &c.
3 Public buildings
4 Miscellaneous works

IRRIGATIONAL WORKS.—Those now in existence were almost all of them constructed under Native Governments, and officers of the British Government have done but little in this direction beyond repairing and restoring some of the channels, tanks, sluices and dams, which have for centuries abounded in most parts of the country. The expense of conservancy is very great, and so much has been done already that there are very few openings left for new undertakings In the report of the Civil Engineer dated 18th October 1855, will be found a passage which authorises this statement :—

" As regards new works or important improvements to old ones " connected with irrigation, I do not see that there is much room for " such in Madura, except it be by damming up some of the moun- " tain streams flowing from the Pulney range of mountains so as to " form extensive reservoirs at their foot If this could be effected, " there is no doubt the wet crop dependent upon these streams " would be rendered more secure, and probably a greater extent of " land might be brought under cultivation."

The principal works of irrigation according to the abovementioned report are to be found in and near the river Veigei and its feeders. The Suruli and Varâha-nadi are crossed by numerous anicuts or dams, formed of large square blocks of stone laid in steps, with a front wall of brick in chunam. The Veigei itself is crossed by four masonry anicuts, of which the first is situated about four miles south of Vallalandi in the Tenkarei country, and was re-built about the year 1848 by the G'hantappanâyakkanûr Poligar; the second is the Kunûr, restored in 1847-48; and the third and fourth are the Perranei and Chittanei dams, which have been already spoken of in the Geographical portion of this manual Below these, water is carried off from both sides of the river by means of temporary dams called *Kurumbus.*

The principal tanks are those supplied by channels from the Veigei, viz., the Vadagarei, Tenkarei, Mâdakolam, Kulliyagundu, Tenkâl, and Vandeyûr, all of which are situated in the Madura Tâlûk.

There are also a few large tanks in the Tirumangalam Tâlûk, of which the principal are the Tandali, Nayasanêri, Shevarakôttei, and Koreiyûr.

In the Mêlûr Tâlûk the tanks are mostly very small and shallow, rain-fed ponds There are only two large works, the Kunatûr and Angudi-mangalam, in the whole tract

In the Dindigul Subdivision the principal rivers are crossed by numerous anicuts, formed of large masses of stone packed together in layers with front walls of brick in chunam, and in some instances coated over the crown with jelly in chunam These works are very liable to get out of order, and therefore require constant attention and outlay.

With the Zamindâris the Department of Public Works has nothing to do; and consequently within their limits irrigational works have been allowed by the apathy and indifference of the proprietors to fall into a ruinous state However during the last year or two the lessee of Sivagangei has expended large sums on repairs and conservancy, and if he continue in occupancy of the estate a few years longer, there will no doubt be a wonderful improvement in its appearance. In Râmnâd the tanks are numerous, and some of them were originally very large but the occurrence of successive breaches, which are seldom or never properly repaired, and the constant silting up of mud in their beds, have so considerably reduced their size that

many of them cannot now fully supply a tenth or twentieth part of the rice-lands lying under them

The irrigation statement in Appendix C. will show the number of tanks and channels in each Tâlûk, and the acreage which each is capable of supplying

As has been shown before, the irrigation of the District depends mainly on the amount of water which comes down the Veigei, and probably the only kind of work by which it would be possible to greatly advance the agricultural interests of the country would be one planned to make the Veigei more useful than it is. Such a work is now under consideration, and its objects and plan must be briefly described

THE PERIYÂR SCHEME has for its object the diverting of a portion of a certain river in the Travancore country called the Periyâr into the bed of the Veigei river and thereby supplying the lands irrigated from the latter with a plentiful and never-failing amount of water Both the history of ancient and the constant experience of modern times show in the clearest possible manner, that the principal river of the Madura District, even in favorable seasons, is inadequately filled by the periodical rains and is always liable to fail at the moment of the ryots' greatest need On the other hand, the Collector's annual reports show with equal clearness that the Veigei has many times saved the District from grave distress There can be no question therefore but that the securing of a constant supply of water in this river would be of very great value to all classes of the people, directly to very many, indirectly to the majority

And it so happens that to do this is possible. Two or three perennial streams take their rise in the Travancore hills, and flow for some distance at higher elevations than that at which the sources of the Veigei spring into existence And either by cutting through the mural precipices which shut in the Kambam and Gûdalûr country on the west, or by damming up those streams with dykes of sufficient height, the channels of the Veigei and Suruli might be made to receive considerable quantities of water which at present flow for the most part quite uselessly into the sea on the Western Coast.

This possibility is said, I know not upon what authority or to what extent, to have been recognized no less than two centuries ago by Hindu rulers. And in the memorandum on Madura irrigation and the Periyâr project of Mr. C. R. Markham, dated December 1865,

it is stated, that in 1798 "Mutu-akula-allay, the energetic Pradâni "or minister of Râmnâd, whose name is still remembered by the "people, determined to renew the efforts made by former ministers; "and for this purpose sent some intelligent natives to examine the "practicability of opening a channel for turning the Periyâr into the "Kambam valley They reported that the construction of a dam "would secure an abundant supply of water to all the Districts "through which the Veigei flows, and the project continued to be "eagerly discussed, until two years afterwards the idea was taken "up by the then Collector of Madura"

I have not been able to ascertain whence this information, borrowed from Ward's survey report, was originally derived. I can find nothing in the records of that period which alludes to any attempt of the kind on the part of the then Râmnâd Pradâni: and I cannot help thinking that Mr. Markham accepted a trifle too readily an unsubstantial myth At the same time it is quite possible that the natives of the country may have attempted, perhaps more than once, to turn to some account the stores of water which nature lavishes on the Travancore hills: and the correspondence touching the cession of Kambam and Gûdalûr to the British Government in 1795 seems to point to a previous utilisation of these stores by landholders of the Kambam valley.

However this may have been, it is certain that in 1807 Mr Parish, the Collector of the Madura District, penetrated the then wild and dangerous country lying at the extreme end of the Kambam valley, with the view of satisfying himself as to the possibility of doing something on the Travancore hills for the lands dependent on the Veigei; and being prevented by an attack of jungle fever from surveying the hills himself, deputed the task to Captain Caldwell, the District Engineer. This Officer ascended the Travancore hills in 1808; and after hurriedly glancing at the country through which the Periyâr and its tributary streams flow, unhesitatingly pronounced the scheme of diverting any of them into the Veigei to be impossible. After this nothing was done until 1837, when Colonel Faber commenced some operations on a petty scale for the benefit of a small area of land immediately underlying the Travancore hills. These operations however were almost immediately discontinued: and nothing more was done until 1861, when the Periyâr scheme, as now understood, was for the first time brought into notice by Captain Ryves.

This able Engineer examined a portion of the course of the Periyâr with some exactness, and having taken some rough measurements came to the conclusion that its stream might probably be diverted into the bed of the Veigei at a reasonable cost, and that if this were done the happiest results would ensue He accordingly reported favorably touching the feasibility of the Periyâr scheme: and at the same time suggested the following plan of operations:—

A rough masonry dam, about sixty feet high, with wing-walls and earthen dykes, say ninety feet high, must be thrown across the bed of the Periyâr; and a cutting must be made through the rock which rises up between the river and the Madura plains, of a maximum depth of about 140 feet, and about 4½ miles in length. The dam and dykes would cause the gathering together of an immense body of water, and this would find its way through the cutting and so over the mural precipice into the plains below. The total cost of the work would be somewhere about 6½ or 7 lacs of Rupees. and the direct return to Government in the shape of increased revenue would be three lacs of Rupees per annum, at the rate of three Rupees per acre irrigated.

The attention of Government was greatly attracted by the calculations presented in this report: and in 1866 Captain Payne, the Executive Engineer of the District, was engaged for some weeks in surveying and measuring carefully the ground previously gone over by Captain Ryves

It appears from this Officer's report, dated Kodikânal, 22d January 1867, that the exact height of the crest of the rock which rises west of the Periyâr is 170 feet above the deepest part of the bed of the river; and that three modes of diverting the waters of the Periyâr as required, have been at various times suggested, viz:—

1. By means of a low ânicut or dam and a deep cutting;
2. By means of a low dam and a tunnel,
3. By a dam 108 feet high and a shallow cutting.

Of these three modes the first two were represented to be very expensive; and the third to be less expensive but more troublesome. The overfall of the river being so great, an apron strong enough to withstand its full force "would be not only a most difficult work to construct, but one liable to constant damage." Captain Payne was therefore disposed to reject all these three plans, and after consultation with Captain Ryves decided as follows:—

" We have both come to the conclusion that the most advisable
" and least expensive method of carrying out the project would be by
" damming up the river entirely, with a strong bund composed of
" stone and earth, of about one hundred and fifty feet in maximum
" height, turning the high flood waters over an escape weir, con-
" structed on the saddle between L and M (sheets Nos 1 and 2), and
" diverting the waters of the lake that would be thus formed by a
" cutting through the crest of a maximum depth of about forty feet."

The expense of such a work, together with that of improving the existing irrigational works in the Mêlûr and Tirumangalam Tâlûks in such a manner as to render them capable of acting in concert with the Periyâr project, was roughly estimated at £150,000 or fifteen lacs of Rupees. But the data on which this calculation was based had not been fully and satisfactorily determined: and further investigation of the project would be necessary before a final and complete estimate of its expense could be framed.

The plan submitted by Captain Payne was approved of by the officiating Superintending Engineer of the 8th Division, Captain Prendergast, and Government thereupon specially deputed Captain Ryves to prepare a final report on the whole matter

On the 7th August 1867, Captain Ryves sent in a long report from which the following facts appear, viz:—

1. The proposed works are two, an extraordinarily high earthen bund or dam across the Periyâr valley and a cutting through the water-shed.

2. The erection of the dam will lead to the formation of an extensive lake, from which the water should be allowed to escape at a point 133 feet above the bed.

3. The rate of delivery of Periyâr water into the Suruli river should not exceed 750,000 cubic yards per hour: an amount which would raise the flood level at the Perranei dam about five inches.

4. This increase of flood will make it necessary to strengthen and improve the old anicuts now in existence.

5. The rain-fall in the catchment basin cannot be less than 79 inches per annum.

6. The total loss of water by evaporation will be about 66 millions of cubic yards.

7. The Periyâr will yield a supply sufficient for the growth of

149,000 acres of rice, in addition to the amount already grown, in two crops

8. Great modifications of the existing system of management of irrigation will be rendered necessary

9. The total estimated cost is Rupees 17,49,000 : or including a reserve fund to meet exigencies, Rupees 21,00,000.

10. Repairs and management will cost Rs. 50,000 per annum.

11. The net profit in the shape of increased land revenue will be eventually Rs. 5,00,000 per annum; or 23¾ per cent. on the gross outlay.

On the 14th November 1867, Government passed an order (Irrigation No. 14) upon the above report, in which it was found that the information supplied was by no means complete enough to warrant Government in sending up the scheme for approval and sanction by the Government of India: and Captain Ryves was accordingly directed to go over the ground afresh more carefully and thoroughly; take many additional levels; reconsider the practicability of successfully erecting a bund 150 feet high; and in a word, re-submit his proposal in a more satisfactory, and if possible more simple form.

ROADS, BRIDGES, &c.—The roads of the District are twenty-four in number. Their directions, lengths, and other particulars are shown in Appendix D. Only one of them, No. 4, is a really fine road and preserved in good order throughout the greater part of its length, which is sixty-four miles. It leads through Madura from the Trichinopoly District to the Tinnevelly, and is therefore by far the most important route of all. It crosses the bed of the Veigei just north of the town of Madura, and during the rainy season the passage is often very dangerous, and sometimes utterly impracticable for days together. A bridge is sadly needed: but it is very doubtful whether the necessary funds for its construction will ever be forthcoming. In 1855 Captain Horsley estimated the cost of a bridge of 25 arches at Rs. 41,600 : and at the present time the cost would probably be nearly double that amount.

Next in importance is road No. 15 from Dindigul to Pâmbam viâ Madura, which owing partly to want of funds partly to neglect is for the most part in a very ruinous state. Its total length is 130 miles, and a very large amount of traffic is carried on by its means.

Nothing particular needs to be said about other roads. They are

all in a more or less unsatisfactory condition principally owing to the want of funds.

The bridges are all small and insignificant, with the exception of one of 11 arches of 40 feet span constructed across the Amarâvathi river on road No. 2 between Dindigul and Palghaut; and another of 6 arches of 40 feet span across the Shanmuganadi near Palani on the same road.

The hill passes are works on a very small scale. One leads through a break in the Ândipatti range, on road No. 20; another leads over the Travancore hills above Gûdalûr.

A narrow and difficult Ghaut leads from near Periyakulam to the settlement on the Palani Hills. Its average width in 1855 was 2¼ yards; but it has been improved since then and is now somewhat wider. The slope is about 1 and 12, and the length from Krishnappanâyakkan's tope to the summit 10 miles 3 furlongs. The road from Periyakulam to Madura is in fair order.

Public Buildings.—These are by no means numerous, and are most of them relics of a by-gone age adapted as well as may be to the necessities of the present

In Madura town both the Civil and Session Court and the Court of the Principal Sudder Amîn are accommodated in different parts of the ruins of Tirumalei Nâyakkan's Palace, now in a highly dangerous state; the Collector's office is held in one of the less dilapidated outworks so to speak of the same building; the office of the Superintendent of Police in another; the Criminal and Civil Jail is a modification of a third; the Post Office a dark and dreary hole forming a portion of a fourth; the Civil Hospital is established on a small platform over a ruined gateway; and the Department of Public Works has no office of its own but hires a bungalow.

The only new public buildings of which the town can boast are the District school, a fine well-ventilated construction, which accommodates some 300 non-resident scholars; and a small Lying-in-hospital. Of the new Police huts and other temporary erections it is unnecessary to say anything.

In the District generally there is the same dearth of commodious public buildings, owing of course to the want of funds for their construction. There is a tolerable Jail at Pâmbam; each Tâlûk has a more or less convenient Tahsildar's Katchêri, and a lock-up for short-

sentence prisoners; and a few old buildings may be found here and there in the occupation of Government.

The old fortresses of the country have all been pulled down, as in the case of the old fort of Madura, or rendered useless, as in the case of the strong works of Dindigul. Many of the old Palaces of the Poligars and those of the Râjas of Râmnâd and Sivagangei still remain in a habitable state. but with them the Department of Public Works has nothing to do, and therefore nothing needs to be said about them.

A large Jail is now being built near Madura: and near the Palace a Court-house for the use of the Small Cause Court and that of the Principal Sudder Amîn.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.—Under this head it is necessary to speak of only two or three works.

On the Palani Hills a morass lying just below the settlement has been dammed up and converted into an ornamental lake, which is being enlarged; and the upper portion of the Ghaut leading up from the plains is being widened and improved.

In Madura town a work is slowly going on which deserves notice.

THE MADURA TOWN WATER PROJECT.—This project was brought forward in 1851 by the Civil Engineer, Captain Horsley, and the Collector, Mr. Parker, with the design of bringing fresh water into the town from the river Veigei in order to scour out the deep drains from time to time.

In his letter to the Board dated the 25th February 1851, Mr. Parker observed, "the chief object is to cleanse the deep drains of "the town during the period of high freshes in the river. Owing to "the low and flat situation of the town, the drains have but little "slope, and the filth therefore issuing from the houses (which from "cattle being kept in the yards is particularly thick) instead of running off to the minor sewers stagnates to the great discomfort of "the inhabitants and passengers. No remedy for this evil has "occurred to me, except by occasionally throwing in a jet of water "from the river, and the Civil Engineer concurring in the view has "prepared the estimate now submitted. It is possible that a further "advantage may be gained in the occasional supply of drinking "water near their houses to the inhabitants of the central parts of "the town."

The plan proposed was to take off a channel from the Veigei at a point a few miles west of Madura town, and cause the water so obtained to flow along a high embankment of earth into the old masonry-built reservoir in the Hay-market. Thence the water was to be thrown into the main drains, and from them into the minor sewers: and the estimated cost was Rupees 28,606. The scheme was sanctioned in the same year: and the work was after some delay commenced.

In 1859 the work had not reached a very advanced stage, in spite of repeated orders issued to the District Engineer by the Chief Engineer: and had come to a standstill. In August of that year Government came to the conclusion (see their Order No. 2,028) that "the "only obstacle to the resumption and prosecution of the work was the insufficiency of the estimate." And they directed the then Collector, Mr. Clarke, to report on the progress of the work.

Accordingly on the 7th November 1859, Mr. Clarke reported to Government to the effect, that the portion of the embankment already completed had suffered considerably from the action of the weather, and needed repair; compensation must be made for land spoiled, trees cut down, &c, &c ; and that an outlay of Rupees 18,785 odd would be necessary in excess of the sum originally estimated and sanctioned. This expenditure would suffice to bring the water into the town: but the drains were constructed on improper levels, and it would be necessary to improve their levels at a further cost of Rupees 6,540, or flushing them would be an impossibility. The Collector doubted whether the water brought into the reservoir would ever be used for drinking or domestic purposes, and the small size of the reservoir woud preclude it from being used for washing. A meeting of the towns-people had been held: and they had promised to subscribe the sum necessaryfor the rectification of the levels of the drains.

Another report was sometime afterwards submitted to Government by the Chief Engineer, and on the 1st April 1862 Government sanctioned a revised estimate for Rupees 23,000 for the completion of the work: and directed that steps should be taken to raise by subscriptions the sum necessary for the improvement of the town drains. Government also urged on those concerned the importance of pushing on the work as rapidly as possible.

On the 8th December 1862, the District Engineer, Captain Payne, reported to the Deputy Chief Engineer that the revised estimate had

not provided for two masonry works, connected with the scheme, the construction of which was absolutely necessary: and submitted a supplemental estimate for Rupees 6,000, which was sanctioned by Government on the 20th February 1863.

But nothing has been done lately: and it is impossible to say, when the project will be completed. Non-professional minds can neither conceive the possibility of bringing a large supply of water into the town on more than twenty, or at the most forty days in each year: nor understand the utility of bringing in water, when practicable. For that the solid animal and vegetable matter which now fills the drains and pollutes the whole town, can be even partially removed by an occasional gentle flow of water down gradually sinking levels, it is almost impossible to believe. And perhaps the incredulity of outsiders is shared in, to some extent, by the officers engaged in carrying the work into execution: and prevents them from pushing it on with real energy and vigour.

Besides these I have only one other work to notice, which however is one of great importance, and on a large scale. This is called

THE PÂMBAM PASS.—The narrow artificial channel known by this name separates the Râmnâd Zamindari from the island of Pâmbam and running north and south connects Palk's Straits with the Gulf of Manâar. A glance at a map will show at once the great advantages, that would likely accrue from widening and deepening this channel to such an extent as to enable vessels of all sizes to pass through it safely and rapidly on their way from Suez to Madras or Calcutta, instead of as now going round the Island of Ceylon. And many years ago it was resolved that steps should be taken to test the feasibility of such a work Operations had been commenced on a small scale as far back as 1838; and on the 23d of January 1854 Lieutenant Colonel Cotton reported at length on the then state of the Pass, and its future prospects.

The facts he was able to show were as follows:—

1st.—The Pass had been gradually deepened until it had a uniform depth of 10½ feet: and it had been so straightened that keeled vessels could pass through it, in either direction, without delay and without discharging cargo. Vessels of 200 tons and small steamers had actually passed through. The trade carried on by means of it had increased from 17,000 tons in 1822 to nearly 1,60,000 tons in 1853. And the freight had been reduced by about six Rupees a ton, or

more than one-half, between Colombo and Negapatam; that is to say, there had been a saving of at least five lacs of Rupees a year on the whole trade brought about by a total expenditure of only about three and one quarter lacs. Moreover, the trade was rapidly increasing: and there could be very little doubt but that within a short time the gain to the country would be 200 per cent. on the outlay.

2dly.—All the supposed obstacles in the way of completing the work on the largest scale had been proved to be merely imaginary: and the only question that now remained to be considered was the cost of removing a certain known quantity of material by blasting and dredging. It would not be difficult to calculate that cost. Probably 15 lacs would suffice to render the Pass available for all kinds of vessels. Supposing then that the work were carried out, the expenditure on it would be equivalent to an annual charge on the Treasury of only 60,000 Rupees, a sum altogether insignificant in comparison with the enormous gain to the country of receiving its mails from Europe thirty-six hours sooner. But the charge might very easily be met by imposing tolls at the following rates, viz :—

200,000 tons of steam shipping at 4 Annas,	Rs. 50,000
300,000 tons sailing vessel at 1 Anna,	Rs. 20,000
Total Rupees......	70,000

He felt certain, that he had not over-estimated the tonnage of steam shipping. That of the Suez steamers then running amounted to about 90,000 tons a year; and, so soon as they began to run weekly, it would amount to 180,000 tons, even if (as was unlikely) they were not built of a larger size. The toll payable by each large steamer would only be Rs. 450, while the saving in Coal alone would be perhaps Rs. 1,000. He could see nothing to prevent large steamers using the Pass, and he took it for granted that they would use it. With regard to his estimate of the cost of the work, he would observe that, if Government once decided upon opening the Pass to its fullest extent, the cost would thenceforth be much less in proportion, than had been the cost of the work already done. Hitherto the work had been going on in the current, which greatly hindered it, and during a great portion of the year stopped it altogether. And it had gone on in a very desultory way and only upon a very paltry scale. The steam-dredge had been used only for a few months. With proper appliances, and upon a new and better line,

and profiting by the experience now gained, it might reasonably be hoped that the Engineer in charge would carry on the work far more cheaply than heretofore. A breakwater would have to be constructed at a cost of about 20,000 Rs., in order to protect vessels anchoring near the northern end of the channel. And the establishment of a coaling Depôt would be exceedingly convenient to steamers passing through. When everything necessary had been done, and the channel opened to all vessels, the actual money value of the work might be calculated as follows, viz:—

300,000 tons of sailing vessels, saved 350 miles of distance at an average of 2 pice per ton per mile	10	Lacs
200,000 tons steamers, do. at 3 pice per ton per mile..	10½	„
Total saving ..	20½	Lacs.

As for the dangers of the channel, Colonel Cotton believed that they had been greatly overrated, but naval men would of course determine, how far their existence ought to weigh against the obvious advantages of a short passage. The three principal objections urged against the establishment of the new route were, he understood:—

1st.—Ceylon would lose the advantage of having her mails landed near Colombo.

2ndly.—Vessels could not pass through the channel at night.

3rdly.—The channel would have to be at least half a mile broad.

He would shortly answer these objections by observing, that it had been already determined to give up Galle and land the mails at Trincomallee. As it was, vessels could not make Galle at night, but were compelled to remain outside, exposed in the south-west monsoon to a tremendous sea. And it would be far better for them to anchor in the smooth waters of the channel than off Galle. And as for the half a mile width, the idea was preposterous. What would be thought of a man, who should propose to make the Panama canal half a mile broad? The present pass was only 90 feet broad, and yet several steamers had gone through it. The proposed width was one hundred yards, and the channel could be completely sheltered by break waters. The objections were invalid and needed not to be considered.

Soon after this very sanguine report had been sent in, Government received certain information which showed once for all,

that any scheme having for its object the alteration of the great route for European steamers must necessarily fail. The Master Attendant, in his very able report dated the 20th May 1854, proved most satisfactorily that an enormous outlay would be necessary to render the channel perfectly safe for large steamers The channel would have to be at least 300 yards wide, instead of 100 yards, as proposed by Colonel Cotton; extensive and expensive breakwaters must be constructed; bulwarks must be built along the banks of the channel; lighthouses must be set up at several points; and buoys, hulks for coaling, warping-pcsts, and divers other appliances would have to be supplied. For the Nort-East Monsoon was often extremely severe, and brought up heavy seas into Palk's Strait, and in a less degree into the Gulf of Manâar, whilst the South-West monsoon sometimes blew up this Gulf with the greatest fury Colonel Cotton was quite mistaken in supposing that the sea on either side of the channel was only in a slight degree disturbed by the monsoons. And again, the passage either way would be always so exceedingly intricate, that vessels of all kinds would be compelled, if of any size, to make it slowly and cautiously and by day only. Captain Biden doubted much whether on the whole any great saving of time would be effected, even if the channel itself were made perfect of its kind In short, the advantages of the proposed work were not so obvious to a naval man as to a landsman; whilst the expense of doing it would be simply enormous This was very discouraging; but Mr. Franklin, Secretary to the Marine Board, went much further than this. He was of opinion that, if the channel were made in the most perfect manner, big ships would never use it, but would continue to run round Ceylon His reasons seem so cogent, and are so tersely expressed, that I insert the following extract from his letter to Government, dated May 12th, 1854.—

"The improvement of the Paumban Channels has been the means "of promoting a very active trade between the South-Eastern Coast "of India and the South-Western Coast of Ceylon, carried on by small "craft adapted to the navigation of the adjoining seas; but from the "difficulty and intricacy of the approaches, as well from the north "as from the South, I am fully of opinion that no large ships or even "steamers would attempt the passage, notwithstanding that the "channels themselves offered no impediment. I have heard it urged "that vessels voluntarily encounter much more difficult navigation "than this, and no doubt such is the case in the Hoogly, the Thames,

"and elsewhere · but it is because they have either no alternative, "or that the inducements are greater The only advantage gained "by steamers proceeding through these channels would be a saving "of about 350 miles, if the Ceylon mails were landed at Paumban, "which the Imperial Government would probably not consent to, "or about 170 miles if the mails were dropped at Colombo. Taking "the average steaming at 10 knots, this would be a saving in time "of 35 and 17 hours respectively; but as there would be two stoppages "for daylight, one in passing Paumban, the other in rounding the "middle banks extending from Point Calimere to the North Coast of "Ceylon, which I have reason to believe are shifting, the advantage "gained would not be much, while the risk would be considerably "augmented. This is also the opinion of the Commanders of steamers "with whom I have conversed on the subject.

"So long as the steamers employed in the Indian seas were small "and of low power, and were consequently unable to be sure of their "passage round Ceylon, at certain seasons, the opening of the Paum-"ban Pass to them was a matter of vital importance; but now that "a larger class has been introduced capable of making head against "the heaviest of our monsoons the case is materially altered. At first "the question was one affecting the possibility of making the passage "at all seasons, now it is only one of time, and as before stated the "impediments are such that it is doubtful whether any saving would "be effected.

"The only steamers that could be benefited are those running "between Calcutta and Suez, those from the Cape could gain nothing, "while those between Bombay and China would go out of their way "by proceeding through the channels."

Accordingly the idea of making a new sea-route to Madras was abandoned, presumably for ever. and the Pâmbam channel has been only slowly and gradually deepened, until it has attained a depth of rather more than twelve feet. The final order of Government on the subject (of the 2nd March 1866) is to the effect, that the channel shall be cleared out to a uniform depth of 14 feet, and maintained at that depth at an annual cost of Rs. 7,000. The breadth at bottom is to remain, as it is now, 80 feet Some idea of the utility of the work already done may be formed from a consideration of the following facts. The total expenditure up to the end of the official year 1865–66 was only Rs. 76,536, 2 As. 10 Ps. Add to this Rs 22,810, sanctioned

on the 2nd March 1866 for the completion of the proposed work, and the total expenditure will be Rs 99,346, 2 As. 10 Ps., representing an annual charge on the Imperial Treasury of a fraction under Rs. 5,000. Add to this Rs. 7,000 per annum for maintenance, and the annual charge will be Rs. 12,000. Now the actual saving in freight, &c, I will not attempt to estimate: but that it must be very great indeed is proved by the fact that the tonnage of the 2,162 vessels which passed through the channel in 1865–66, amounted to no less than 178,141 tons, as against 160,000 in Colonel Cotton's time, and 17,000 in 1822! The Pass is undoubtedly a great success, both financially and scientifically.

There is a fine circular Light-house at Pâmbam, built of sandstone, and resting on a square base of granite. It rises 95 feet above the level of the sea, and throws a light visible in every direction from a distance of fourteen miles. The lantern is dioptric.

There is also a Pilot establishment under the superintendence of a Government Head Pilot, M. Daviot, which gives assistance to vessels going through the pass.

CHAPTER V.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

Great changes effected by the British.—Civil judicatories.—Village and District Moonsiffs, Principal Sudder Ameens, the Civil Judge, the Court of Small Causes.—The location, jurisdiction, &c., &c., of each of the various Courts.—Criminal Courts.—Jurisdiction, &c., &c.—The New Police.—The Jails.

PROBABLY no branch of the administration of the country has been so completely altered by the British Government as the Judicial. It has been shown in Part III of this work that under the Nâyakkans justice in the usual sense of the word was practically denied to the people at large Under the Mahometan Governors of the latter half of the eighteenth century things were even worse: and the quotation given at p. 112 of Part IV seems to show pretty clearly that deceit and intrigue were the sole protection of the poor in the times of the Renters.

For some years after the British first took possession of the country, there were no regular Courts of Justice. The Collector appears to have decided in communication with the Board of Revenue all ordinary disputes and claims; and to have punished such criminals as came under his immediate notice Rebels and freebooters were generally dealt with by the Officers in command of bodies of troops sent to keep order in the country: and for some years martial law seems to have prevailed throughout the District.

In 1802 a Zillah Court was established at Râmnâd under the provisions of Regulations II and III of 1802 with very limited powers. and the judicial powers of the Collector were abolished.

The appeal from the decrees and sentences of the Zillah Court lay to the Provincial Court at Trichinopoly. The Judge of the Zillah Court was assisted to some extent by Native Commissioners. What was the precise nature of the duties of these Officers, I have been

unable to discover; but they appear to have exercised functions somewhat similar to those of District Moonsiffs though limited in extent, and commissions were granted to natives authorising them as referees and arbitrators to hear and determine particular suits. These offices were abolished in 1816 and in their place the office of the District Moonsiff was established with additional powers.

The Zillah Court at Râmnâd was abolished in the course of a few years and replaced by one at Madura

In 1816 District Moonsiffs' Courts were established at two or three places.

In 1843 the Provincial Courts were abolished, and in their places the new Zillah Courts were established under the designation of "Civil Courts," and vested with very considerable powers which will presently be described. And a Subordinate Court was created, to be presided over by a European Judge Other changes took place subsequently which need not be noticed here.

CIVIL JUSTICE.—At the present time the ordinary Civil Courts of the District are of four grades, viz.—

1. Courts of Village Moonsiffs.
2. Do. of District Moonsiffs.
3. Do. of Principal Sudder Ameens.
4. The Civil Court of the District.

And there is one extraordinary Court styled the Court of Small Causes.

It will be convenient to describe these institutions in order, beginning with those of the lowest grade.

VILLAGE MOONSIFFS' COURTS.—There are in all 201 petty Courts presided over by Judicial Officers styled Village Moonsiffs in the District of Madura. The District is for Judicial purposes divided into four divisions, namely, the Madura, Dindigul, Sivagangei and Paramakudi. and in the first of these there are 55 Village Moonsiffs, in the second 80, in the third 21, and in the fourth 45.

Village Moonsiffs are appointed by the Collector, and are all empowered by Regulation IV of 1816 to hear, try and determine such suits as may be brought before them for the recovery of sums of money and other kinds of personal property, the amount or value of which shall not exceed ten Rupees. but they may not take cognizance of any suit for damages on account of personal injury

and the like, or of suits in the results of which their immediate servants or dependents are personally interested, or in which the defendants are not actually resident within the limits of their jurisdiction.

Practically however most of the Village Moonsiffs wholly decline jurisdiction, and hear no suits of any kind. Why this is permitted, is difficult to understand: but there can be no doubt about the fact.

The decrees passed by Village Moonsiffs are final, and no appeal lies therefrom.

Village Moonsiffs are not liable in any case to be called before the District Moonsiff to answer for their conduct as Judicial Officers: and are liable to be called before the Zillah Judge only when charged with corruption, or with having exceeded their powers. In such cases they are liable to be prosecuted by either party before the Zillah Court, or before that of the Principal Sudder Ameen, if there be one, within three months from the date of the act complained of, and the Court may, if the offence be proved to its satisfaction, order the offender to pay to the prosecutor three times the amount or value of any money or property corruptly received.

Village Moonsiffs are empowered in execution of their decrees to attach the property of judgment debtors, after giving immediate notice of the same and of the day fixed for the sale to the District Moonsiff, who will send a Peon to sell the property by public auction.

Village Moonsiffs are also authorized under Regulation V of 1816, to summon Panchayets or juries of arbitrators within their respective villages for the adjudication of suits for sums of money or personal property without limitation as to amount or value in two cases, namely, 1, where both parties come forward and pray that the matters in issue shall be determined by a Village Panchayet without appeal; and 2, where a plaintiff asks for a Panchayet and the defendant agrees to submit to its award. The Panchayet system however is but little resorted to. It is difficult in most villages to find a number of respectable men competent to sit as arbitrators; and Indians like other men, are not very willing to do anything troublesome without being paid for it.

District Moonsiffs' Courts.—These were constituted under Regulation VI of 1816. Formerly, the nomination of District Moonsiffs rested with the Provincial Court. but since the abolition

of that tribunal it has rested with the Civil Judge under the provisions of Act VII of 1843, and they must now be selected from the number of those who have passed the prescribed Special Test Examination.

District Moonsiffs were for some time allowed a monthly salary of Rupees seventy, and a fee of one Anna in the Rupee on the value of each claim brought before them; and paid out of their pockets the costs of their establishments. This practice was altered by Regulation II of 1834, and a fixed salary was allowed thenceforth both to the Moonsiffs and their establishments.

At present there are four District Moonsiffs' Courts in this District, one at Madura, one at Dindigul, one at Mânamadura (known as the Sivagangei Moonsiff's Court); and the fourth at Paramakudi. In 1866, the incumbents were all of the 3rd Grade on a monthly salary of 200 Rupees each: and each was allowed a fixed establishment at a cost of Rupees 116, consisting of nine Gumastahs or Clerks, of whom the Head Gumastah was drawing 20 Rupees a month, the second 14 Rupees, the third and fourth 11 Rupees, and the rest 10 Rupees each; and two Peons on a salary of 5 Rupees each.

The Tâlûks of Madura, Tirumangalam and Mêlûr are assigned to the Madura Moonsiff; those of Dindigul, Periyakulam and Palani to the Dindigul Moonsiff: the Zamindâri of Sivagangei to the Mânamadura Moonsiff: and Râmnâd to that of Paramakudi.

The Moonsiffs are empowered to take cognizance of suits preferred against any person residing within the limits of their respective jurisdictions for lands of which the market value does not exceed 1,000 Rupees, and for money or other personal property of which the amount or value is above 500, and not more than 1,000 Rupees. They are further vested with Small Cause jurisdiction over claims for money and personal property the value of which does not exceed Rupees 50; and their decisions in such suits cannot be appealed from.

In regular suits before them all decisions and orders in the nature of decrees, or passed in execution, all attachments and orders to arrest before judgment, and all injunctions are open to appeal before the Civil Judge.

They are empowered to execute the decrees of the Village Moonsiffs attached to their divisions. They are also authorised under Section II, Regulation VII of 1816, to summon Panchayets within the

limits of their respective jurisdictions for the decision of suits for real and personal property without limitation as to amount or value,—1, where both parties may jointly agree that the matter at issue shall be determined by a District Panchayet without appeal, and may make a written request to the District Moonsiff to summon such Panchayet, whether he be Moonsiff of the District in which the parties reside or of any other District; 2, where one party having preferred a request to the District Moonsiff to summon a Panchayet, the other party being an inhabitant of the same District on being summoned shall attend and voluntarily give his assent to that mode of trial

Before the passing of Act I of 1846, all persons were allowed to practice as Vakîls in the District Moonsiffs' Courts, but since the introduction of that Act duly qualified Pleaders, who have passed a certain test, are alone allowed to practise.

District Moonsiffs are required to pass twenty decrees per mensem on the merits in regular suits, without reference to the number of decrees they may pass in small causes.

PRINCIPAL SUDDER AMEENS' COURTS.—There was formerly a Court styled the Subordinate Court, constituted under Act VII of 1843, and presided over by an European Judge. This was abolished in July 1862, and replaced by a Principal Sudder Ameen's Court established in the town of Madura and presided over by a native, whose nomination and appointment rest with Government. He draws a salary of Rupees 500 a month: and his establishment is as follows:—

	RS.	A.	P.
1 Sheristadar	90	0	0
1 Nazir	45	0	0
1 Civil Record-keeper	30	0	0
1 Criminal Do.	17	8	0
1 Javabnaviss	24	8	0
1 Head Writer	50	0	0
1 Writer	31	8	0
1 Head Goomastah	21	0	0
1 Writer	21	0	0
1 Do.	14	0	0
1 Goomastah	17	8	0
1 Writer	10	8	0

	RS.	A.	P.
1 Goomastah	10	8	0
1 Do.	10	8	0
1 Do.	10	0	0
1 Moochee	7	0	0
1 Shroff	10	0	0
1 Messenger	7	0	0
Peons	18	0	0
1 Mussalchee	4	0	0
1 Sweeper	3	8	0
Total	453	0	0

The Principal Sudder Ameen is empowered to hear, try and determine suits for real and personal property of the value of from above 1,000 to 10,000 Rupees. He is further empowered to dispose of such regular appeals from the decisions of District Moonsiffs as may be referred to him for disposal by the Civil Judge Appeals from his judgments and orders passed in original suits are heard by the Civil Judge; and special appeals from his judgments in appeal by the High Court

He is required to pass thirty decrees per month on the merits

He is also invested with the punitive powers of a District Magistrate in criminal cases committed to him by Subordinate Magistrates: but at present is not required to exercise these powers.

The Sheristadar is the head ministerial servant of the Court, whose duty chiefly consists in keeping the accounts and generally superintending the work of the office. The Nazir or Sheriff is the Officer to whom all processes are addressed for service and execution through the Batta Ameens and Peons.

THE CIVIL COURT.—The Civil Court is the principal Court of the District. Its establishment is as under, viz —

	RS.	A	P		RS.	A.	P.
1 Sheristadar..	100	0	0	1 Goomastah	12	0	0
1 Nazir	45	0	0	1 Do.	10	0	0
1 Civil Record-keeper	35	0	0	1 Do.	10	0	0
1 Criminal Do. ...	30	0	0	1 Do	10	0	0
1 Translator....	50	0	0	1 Govt. Vakeel...	21	0	0
1 Head Writer.........	70	0	0	1 Shroff	10	0	0
1 Writer	35	0	0	1 Moochee	7	0	0
1 Javabnaviss	28	0	0	1 Head Messenger. ...	10	8	0
1 Head Goomastah..	21	0	0	1 Messenger..	7	0	0
1 Writer............	24	8	0	Peons	24	0	0
1 Do.	20	0	0	1 Mussalchee	4	0	0
1 Goomastah.....	17	8	0	1 Sweeper...	3	8	0
1 Writer	17	0	0	Total...	637	0	0
1 Goomastah..	15	0	0				

It is the Court to which lie appeals from the decisions and orders of Principal Sudder Ameens and District Moonsiffs, and from certain quasi-judicial decisions passed by the Collector and it has original jurisdiction in all suits brought for the recovery of real and personal property of a greater value than 10,000 Rupees.

It has also the power to withdraw original suits from the files of Subordinate Courts, and try the same or refer them to other Subordinate Courts competent in point of jurisdiction to hear such suits.

The Civil Judge is required to pass twelve decrees a month on the merits.

The Civil Judge is empowered under Act XXVII of 1860, to grant certificates to the representatives of deceased persons, to enable them to collect debts due to estates

He is also empowered under Act XIX of 1841, to decide summary suits brought by parties claiming to be the heirs of deceased persons for the recovery of possession of estates, when there are grounds to apprehend that possession has been illegally taken by others upon pretended claims, and further to appoint curators to take charge of such estates pending decision as to possession

The Civil Judge is empowered under Regulation X of 1831 to take charge of estates of minors not coming within the jurisdiction of the Court of Wards ; and under Act XIV of 1858, to have the general superintendence and control of the education of such minors, to appoint Guardians and to exercise generally the powers conferred on Collectors by Act XXI of 1855 in respect of minors placed under the charge of the Court of Wards.

The Civil Judge has power under Act IX of 1861 to entertain suits relative to the custody and guardianship of minors and pass orders thereon

The administration of the estates of Lunatics not subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme (now the High Court) is vested in the Civil Judge by XXXV of 1858 ; and the Civil Judge is authorised under XXXVI of 1858 to direct the reception of a Lunatic into a Lunatic Asylum.

The Civil Judge is empowered under Act XX of 1863 to fill up any vacancy which may occur among the members of a Committee or Managers appointed for the management of Hindû Temples, &c and also to give permission to parties interested, to file regular suits against the said members and Managers for certain breaches of duty

The Civil Court is empowered under Act XX of 1866 to enforce the registration of documents affecting immoveable property which a Sub-Registrar may have refused to register.

SMALL CAUSE COURT.—A Court of Small Causes was established in the town of Madura in June 1862

Towards the end of the year 1861 the files of several of the District Moonsiffs were found to have grown so hopelessly overloaded with arrears, that Government deemed it necessary to relieve them as far as possible by at once establishing a few Courts of Small Causes under the provisions of Act XIII of 1860 Accordingly a Court of the kind above described was established at Madura

It was originally intended by Government that the Courts of Small Causes should "partake of the nature of a Circuit Court holding its sittings where best adapted to suit the convenience of the people," and accordingly certain of the Judges were at various times authorised to sit for certain periods in each year at various sub-stations.

But the circuit system does not seem to have worked well and at present most of the Courts are stationary. The Judge of the Court at Madura is authorised to move his Court every year to Dindigul and Râmnâd, and there sit for periods not exceeding four months in all; but practically sits at Madura alone.

The Courts of Small Causes are empowered by the provisions of Section 6 of Act XI of 1865, to take cognizance of suits of the following descriptions only, namely —

"Claims for money due on a bond or other contract or for rents or for personal property or for the value of such property or for damages, when the debt, damage or demand does not exceed in amount or value the sum of 500 Rupees, whether on balance of account or otherwise: Provided that no action shall lie in any such Court —

"On a balance of partnership account unless the balance shall have been struck by the parties or their agents.

"For a share or part of a share under an intestacy or for a legacy or part of a legacy under a will

"For the recovery of damages on account of an alleged personal injury, unless actual pecuniary damages shall have resulted from the injury

"For any claim for the rent of land or other claim for which a suit may now be-brought before a Revenue Officer, unless as regards arrears of rent for which such suit may be brought the Judge of the Court of Small Causes shall have been expressly invested by the Local Government with jurisdiction over claims to such arrears"

Madras Act IV of 1863, which came into operation on the 1st July 1863, vested District Moonsiffs with Small Cause jurisdiction in suits cognizable by Courts of Small Causes and not exceeding in value the sum of fifty Rupees: and consequently the Small Cause Court does not entertain such suits

The Court of Small Causes is not subordinate to the Civil Court. and its judgments and orders are not appealable. But any question of law or as to the construction of a document or the like may be stated in a case if necessary and referred for the opinion of the High Court

The average delay in the determination of suits is only about fifteen days

In executing its decrees, the Court of Small Causes can attach and imprison the person and attach and sell the moveable property of judgment debtors; but cannot touch their immoveable property. If a decree-holder fail in having execution by the attachment and sale of the moveable property of his debtor, the Court if satisfied that he has done his best, will furnish him with a certificate of non-satisfaction of the decree. and on presentation thereof in the Moonsiff's Court, he will be entitled to have execution there by attachment and sale of immoveable property

Towards the end of the year 1866, the Original and Appellate files of the Civil Judge and Principal Sudder Ameen had grown so heavy that it was found necessary to relieve them to some extent by vesting the Judge of the Court of Small Causes with the powers of a Principal Sudder Ameen under Act XII of 1861, and on the 12th December 1866 the Court was opened on the Principal Sudder Ameen's side The arrangement was sanctioned however only on the understanding that the additional business to be assigned to the Judge of the Court of Small Causes was not to be more than he could perform without prejudice to his proper duties as a Judge of Small Causes

CRIMINAL JUSTICE—The Criminal Courts of the District are of five grades, namely:—

1. Courts of Village Moonsiffs
2. Courts of Subordinate Magistrates of the Second Class
3. Courts of Subordinate Magistrates of the First Class.
4. Courts of Magistrates exercising the full powers of a Magistrate.
5. The Court of Session.

The Principal Sudder Ameen is empowered, as has been shown above, to try certain cases committed to him by the Sub-Magistrates · but at present is exempted from criminal work

THE VILLAGE MOONSIFFS had power under the Regulations to punish certain very petty offences such as thefts and assaults: and as the power was not taken away from them by the Criminal Procedure Code, they still exercise it to some extent. But these Officers are far more useful as detectors and reporters of crimes than as Magistrates: and it would perhaps be well to take from them the power of tyrannizing over the more helpless inhabitants of their villages Their real position and powers are very imperfectly understood, and require to be accurately defined by a new Legislative enactment.

THE SUBORDINATE MAGISTRATES of the First and Second Classes exercise in all parts of the District the powers given them by the Criminal Procedure Code and certain special and local laws. The Tahsildars always act as Sub-Magistrates as well as Revenue Officers within the limits of their Divisions and their Sheristadars are usually vested with the powers of a second class Sub-Magistrate for the purpose of arresting, holding to bail, making preliminary enquiries, &c, &c, in emergent cases arising in their absence. There is always a Town Sub-Magistrate entrusted with the charge of the town of Madura: and Sub-Magistrates are specially appointed to towns situated in the Zamindâris and Pâleiyams where there are no Revenue Officers.

THE MAGISTRATES WITH FULL POWERS are :—

1. The Magistrate of the District who is always the Collector of the District; 2, the Joint Magistrate who is always the Sub-Collector; 3, the Head Assistant to the Collector; 4, such Assistant and Deputy Collectors as have passed the prescribed tests, and been vested with the full powers of a Magistrate.

The original and appellate jurisdiction of the Magistrate of the District extends over every part of the District: and he is primarily responsible to Government for the due preservation of the Queen's peace and the repression of crime in every town, village and hamlet in the country.

The other Magistrates of this grade are ordinarily placed each in charge of a portion of the District, and within its limits exercise the powers which the Magistrate of the District exercises throughout the

District Thus the Joint Magistrate is in Magisterial charge of the Sub-division, the Head Assistant Collector of the Zamindâris; the Salt Deputy Collector of the Salt Pans, &c.; and sometimes a full-power Magistrate is placed in charge of the Island of Pâmbam and its Jail.

THE COURT OF SESSION is presided over by the Civil and Session Judge, and exercises the jurisdiction given to it by the Criminal Procedure Code and certain special and local laws.

The Judge tries and determines only such cases as may be committed for trial by the Magistracy. and cannot take the initiative in bringing offenders to justice. He is empowered however to order in some cases the committal of accused persons who have been improperly discharged from custody, and the enquiry into offences which have been improperly disregarded.

The Session Judge hears appeals from the sentences passed by Magistrates of full powers: and an appeal from his sentences lies to the High Court.

It is also his duty to scrutinize and check the proceedings of the Magistracy generally, so far as they come under his notice: and to insure to the best of his ability uniformity of Criminal Procedure throughout the District

A Session is held on the first Monday in every month, and immediately before the annual recess: which is accompanied by a general Jail delivery of all prisoners committed for and awaiting trial by the Judge

The system of trial by Jury has not yet been introduced into Madura: and it is to be hoped that it will not for another ten years or so at the very least

THE NEW POLICE has been in existence for some seven years, and after undergoing a considerable amount of obloquy and misrepresentation, has succeeded at length in winning for itself a sufficiently good name It is still deficient in detective ability, and is perhaps somewhat more corrupt as a whole than it ought to be considering its composition and emoluments: but there can be no question, I believe, that it works well and efficiently in deterring and hunting down criminals. It has almost put down robbery by torch-light and highway-robbery. and cattle-lifting is gradually diminishing

The force consists of some 1,300 men, and is officered by a European Superintendent and his Assistants, who also are Europeans, and by Inspectors and Head and Deputy Head Constables of various races, very much on the system adopted in England.

The statistics of detection, &c, available are insufficient for a detailed review of the work done by the force · but such as they are, will be found in Appendix D.

THE JAILS are:—

1. The old Jail at Madura.
2. The branch-Jail in Pâmbam.
3. The Subsidiary Jails or lock-ups

The old jail at Madura has long ago been condemned as uninhabitable: and a fine new building is being raised in its place, which will be furnished with all kinds of the most approved appliances, and cost a very large sum of money

Some particulars regarding the mortality in the old Jail will be found in Appendix D.

The Branch-Jail in Pâmbam is a commodious and healthy building, to which prisoners in various Districts are from time to time drafted. I have no information touching the rate of mortality in it, &c

The Subsidiary Jails are merely rooms or buildings attached to the buildings occupied by Tahsildars and other Subordinate Magistrates, in which prisoners are incarcerated for short periods after conviction of petty offences.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CIVIL HOSPITAL.

Its origin and progress.—Establishment.—Funds.—Lying-in-Hospital.

THE CIVIL HOSPITAL AND DISPENSARY consisting of a few small and plainly built wards, is situated on a platform raised over an old gateway, which was saved from destruction at the time when the Fort of Madura was pulled down. It was opened by Assistant Surgeon Gill on the 9th May 1842 with a very modest staff of officers, consisting of a 2nd Dresser on 24½ Rupees per mensem, a Cook, a Ward Cooly and a Sweeper. In the first eight months of its existence only 46 in and 228 out-patients were treated: and only nine operations were performed. The natives objected strongly to being bled from the arm, and were very unwilling at first to put themselves under European treatment But the Civil Surgeon felt confident that this prejudice would die out in time; and his belief has been proved to have been well founded. In the very next year the total number of patients amounted to 581; in 1845 it amounted to 732; in 1846 to 1,053; in 1848 to 1,416; and in 1850 to 2,199. Since then the numbers have constantly increased, and in 1865-66 no less than 403 in-patients and 7,469 out-patients were admitted and treated; and 57 surgical operations performed, of which ten were capital. And forty-two women were brought to bed in the Lying-in-hospital.

The establishment which has to cope with so large an amount of sickness is a very different one from that originally fixed, and consists of the following, viz:—

1 Medical Officer (the Zillah Surgeon) at	Rs.	50	0	per mensem.
1 Native Surgeon.............................at	„	100	0	„
2 2nd Dressers...............................at	„	24	8	„
1 3rd Class Hospital Assistant..........at	„	20	0	„

1 Writer		at Rs.	10	0	per mensem
1 Apprentice		at „	7	0	„
Servants, Miscellaneous		at „	26	0	„
For the Lying-in-hospital	1 Midwife	at „	50	0	„
	Servants	at „	13	8	„

The expenditure of 1865-66 on establishment and on medicines, diet, repairs, &c., amounted in all to Rupees 6,752-3-1; of which Government paid Rupees 3,173, and the Hospital the remainder

The property of the Hospital consists of a large dwelling house, which is rented for Rupees 115 per month, and Rupees 50,000 lent out at interest; it was acquired by means of a general subscription set on foot by the Collector of Madura in the year 1862 and supported very liberally by the wealthy natives of the District. It is managed by a Committee, of which the Collector and Civil Surgeon are ex-officio members. As the native community have subscribed so largely with a view to the more efficient maintenance of the institution, they must naturally take some interest in it; and there can be but little doubt but that its usefulness, already very great, will steadily increase year by year.

The Lying-in-hospital was completed and opened in 1863. It is a detached building, consisting of three wards and a small house for the accommodation of the matron in charge Women of all castes are admitted into it during or after the 8th month of pregnancy, and receive batta or subsistence money, at the rate of two Annas per diem, up to the time of their confinement, when food is given them in lieu of money. The matron is permitted, when not engaged in attending to her patients, to attend women confined in private houses; and it is to be hoped that the use of this privilege will lead in time to very beneficial results For the native treatment of women in labor is inconceivably barbarous; and a host of young mothers are every year killed, or maimed for life, by the ignorant midwives of Madura.

CHAPTER VII.

EDUCATION, MISSIONS.

Education a new thing.—The Zillah Schools.—Tâlûk, Grant-in-aid, and Village Schools.—The Roman Catholic Missions.—The American Mission.

EDUCATION in the ordinary sense of the word may be said to be a new thing in Madura. It has been shown in Part III how munificently in old times the State maintained institutions designed solely for the instruction of Brâhmans in religious and philosophic truths The fall of the Nâyakkan dynasty was necessarily accompanied by the ruin of those institutions, and during the last half of the eighteenth century, the condition of the country was so disturbed and anarchical that in all probability nothing in the shape of a school could be found within its limits. The commencement of British rule was marked, as it always is in India, by the introduction of peace order and stability; and if a series of moderately good seasons had brought something of wealth and prosperity, possibly education of a certain sort would have been attended to and maintained at all events in the larger villages by the richer and more influential natives But unhappily the first few years of this century were years of exceptional scarcity and adversity throughout all parts of the District The great fever raged during a considerable period, slaying its thousands and destroying the health and energy of multitudes whom it attacked but did not kill; long droughts and virulent cattle-diseases drained the country of its capital and resources; and for thirty years Madura was almost as poor and backward under British domination, as she had been under Mahometan A natural consequence of this was complete neglect of the very first beginnings of learning In considerable villages none but a very few members of certain families of hereditary Kanakkupilleis and Nâttânmeikârans could even so much as read and write Tamil. In the town of Madura itself Brâhmans were so ignorant

that Government was unable to give them employment and Collectors were forced to call in to their assistance Mahratta and other foreign Brâhmans who were unacquainted for the most part with the manners, customs and institutions of the country. For many years accounts were kept exclusively in Mahratta, and business was conducted partly in Mahratta partly in Hindustâni partly in other northern vernaculars. Gradually however a better state of things came about. Mahratta and Hindustâni gave place to Tamil and English. The American Missionaries opened schools here and there in which a good rudimentary education was obtainable And at last to the great comfort of all who felt an interest in the well being of Madura, the Zillah School was established by Government on the 2nd of June 1856. Two or three smaller Govermental schools were opened about the same time. and since then considerable progress has been made in rendering education possible to all classes in all parts of the country

At present there are ninety-nine schools in the District which are more or less assisted and supervised by Government. The number of pupils on the rolls in March 1867 was 2,276, and the daily attendance 2,013; and the total receipts Rupees 23,325, of which Government granted 11,858.

The largest and most important school is the Zillah school in the town of Madura, with 279 boys on its rolls and an average daily attendance of 253. Its yearly cost is upwards of 7,000 Rupees, and its receipts amount to 9,251, of which Government contributes 5,891 and the pupils 3,360.

Next in importance is the Grant-in-aid Anglo-Vernacular school at Madura with a daily attendance of 182, and an income of Rupees, 1,814 per annum.

The Gospel Society's Anglo-Vernacular school at Râmnâd has daily attendance of ninety-three, and an income of Rupees 3,335 per annum.

In the remaining schools the average daily attendance is generally under fifty, and the income very small indeed.

Forty-two village schools in the Tâlûks of Madura and Tirumangalam have a total daily attendance of 882, and a total income of Rupees 873 granted by Government.

There are two small girl's schools in the town of Madura, with an average daily attendance of twenty-one, and an income of Rupees 332.

The monthly schooling fees payable by pupils vary from Rupees one and a half and one in the Zillah school, to one anna in some of the Mission schools. And the total cost of educating each pupil varies from over twenty-five Rupees per annum in the Zillah school, to three or four Rupees and less in inferior schools.

The subjects taught in these schools vary considerably. In the Zillah school English is taught in every class : and in the sixth or highest class the boys read the following books :—

1 The text books for the Madras University Matriculation.
2. Sullivan's Grammar
3. Barnard Smith's Arithmetic, the whole
4 Euclid, Books IV and VI.
5. Colenso's Algebra, the whole.
6 Hall's Outlines of Astronomy.
7 Tate's Mechanics
8. Geography.
9. History of India and of England.

In the Tâlûk and Grant-in-aid schools generally the subjects are of a more elementary character English is taught to only a portion of the pupils: and instruction in Mathematics, History, &c., is conveyed principally through the medium of the Vernacular. In the village schools Tamil alone is taught, and to a very limited extent.

Further information touching the Governmental and Grant-in-aid schools in Madura will be found in Appendix D

MISSIONS.

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS in the Madura District are supported by two Societies.

The more important of these two is the "Company of Jesus;" which maintains in the field a staff of fifteen European Missionaries assisted by three European lay-brothers, eighteen catechists for high-caste natives, fifteen catechists for Pariahs and other low caste Christians, and a large number of native readers, whose principal duty is to perform divine service morning and evening in 302 Churches and Chapels scattered over the District.

Of these Churches and Chapels twenty-six are large and substantially built edifices; the rest are thatched buildings for the use of small and poor congregations.

The Mission supports entirely six large schools, and partially smaller schools for each of the principal congregations.

Two hospitals are maintained, one in Madura, the other in Sayaguni. in each of which not more than six poor invalids are attended to.

Orphanages are maintained at Dindigul, Madura and Sayaguni. In that at Dindigul about eighty orphans are fed, clothed and trained up as agricultural laborers. At Madura about seventy-five are taught various trades. At Sayaguni the number of orphans cared for is not so large.

Female orphans are sent to the female orphanage at Trichinopoly which is superintended by European Nuns belonging to the Society of Marie Réparatrice, and by native Nuns.

The total number of converts attached to this Mission, including from fifty to one hundred catechumens, is about 52,375.

The total expenditure incurred in maintaining the above establishment, Churches, Hospitals, &c., is not more than Rupees 25,000 per annum, and is met by contributions from the Parent Society, and

from that of "la propagation de la foi" and others in France Very little money is collected for general purposes from natives: but each congregation is encouraged to subscribe towards the erection and maintenance of Churches, Schools, &c, for its separate use

The Roman Catholic Mission is that of the Priests of Goa. It works on much the same principles as the Jesuit Mission but on a smaller scale. Its converts number about 9,400.

So much has been already said with regard to the noble and almost unparalleled efforts which have been made by the Roman Catholic Missionaries of Madura, that it is almost superfluous to remark here that their exertions have produced undoubtedly great results. It is doubtful however whether they will ever succeed in making converts of any very considerable portion of the population. Somehow the times would seem to have changed.

The Jesuits by no means neglect the lowest classes of Hindûs, but apparently devote themselves principally to the conversion and cure of well-to-do respectable ryots: and many of their congregations are composed for the most part of thriving farmers.

It will be gathered from the statistics above given that the work of evangelization is done almost entirely by the Missionaries themselves: and that the paid agency of Hindû converts is but sparingly made use of. The Priests spend the greater part of their lives in constant itineration: and many of them fall victims to the great hardships to which they are thereby exposed Cholera too is especially fatal amongst them, being brought on by excessive exertion coupled with abstinence from nutritious food and the habitual use of unwholesome water.

THE AMERICAN MISSION.—From the report of this Mission for the year 1865 it appears that it had in 1866 been in existence for more than thirty-one years. The first Missionary sent out by it, the Rev. H. R. Hoisington, arrived at Madura on the 30th July 1834, and successive laborers have constantly worked the ground first broken by him. The Mission numbered in 1866 twelve families, of whom ten were in the field and two absent. The work done by them was thus distributed. There were ten Mission stations situated in various parts of the District, each of which was under the management of a Missionary assisted usually by his wife. The principal of them was that at Madura presided over by the Rev. T. Rendall: and the second in

importance was the Kambam and Periyakulam, presided over by the Rev. J. T. Noyes. The others were —

The Vattilagundu presided over by the	Rev.	G T Washburn.
Dindigul - - - - - - - - - -	„	E. Chester
Mânamadura, &c - - - - - - -	„	W. B Capron.
Mantapasâlei - - - - - - - -		————
Mêlûr - - - - - - - - - - -	„	T. S. Burnell
Pasumalei - - - - - - - - - -	„	W. Tracy.
Palani - - - - - - - - - - -	„	C. T. White.
Tirumangalam, &c - - - - - -	„	J. E. Chandler.

To each station there were attached a number of villages containing Christian families, schools and churches; and the station with its dependencies formed the district of operations for the Missionary in charge.

The total number of natives under instruction was stated to be (including 2,636 children) 6,177. Of these 2,439 had been baptized and 1,164 were regular communicants The congregations were 159; the churches 30; and the schools 80. Six pastors, 83 catechists, 31 readers, 4 teachers in the seminary, 3 teachers in the girls' boarding school at Madura under Mrs. Rendall, 63 schoolmasters, and 16 schoolmistresses—in all 216 subordinates were assisting the Missionaries in their work of evangelizing and educating

A very useful Dispensary is attached to the Madura station under the charge of the Physician of the Mission; and another has been maintained for a few years at Dindigul by the Reverend E. Chester.

The hill-station Kodikânal is the sanitarium to which the members of the Mission take their families for change of air, and most of the bungalows which form it belong to them.

The Mission is in the enjoyment of very considerable resources, and expends annually from Rupees 60 to 70,000. The American war so far from crippling its resources tended to increase them: and there appears to be every prospect at present of this institution becoming even more valuable and more extensively useful than it is at present. Its funds are derived almost exclusively from purely American sources: the natives contributing hardly any thing to its support.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PALANIS.

Native name.—Derivation of name Palani.—Extent of range.—Eastern and Western ranges.—Natural divisions.—Climate.—Meteorology.—Nature of soil.—Principal products.—Observations on Tea, Coffee, and Chincona.—Plantain clearings.—Population.—Castes.—Labor.—Cattle.—History and Antiquities.—The ruined lake.—The Revenue History.—Ponikâdu.—The Renters.—Ryotwâri assessment.—Mr. Clarke's scheme of assessment.—Public Works.—Kodikânal.—Villages.—Extent of cultivation.—Rights of the Hill-men.—Remarks.—List of ferns.

H E Palani mountains, or hills as they are generally called, were so named by the English after the well-known town and district of Palani on their northern side. The native name is *Varâha-giri* or Pig-mountain: and this is the name used in the Madura Survey Report.

According to the Survey Report the origin of the name Palani is said to be the following. Once upon a time Siva called up before him his sons Subramanya and Vig'hnêshwara, and promised to bestow a beautiful fruit (Palam) on him who should first complete the circuit of the universe. Upon this Subramanya quickly set out upon his peacock *Vâhanam* or vehicle, whilst the other, knowing that Siva was himself the universe, simply walked round Siva's form and thereby obtained the prize After a while Subramanya returned from his journey round the world, and was much chagrined at finding himself the loser . and went and hid himself When his father found him he succeeded at last in putting him in good spirits by saying complimentarily, பழநீ (Palam nî) *i. e.*, "Thou art the

fruit," meaning that he was the choicest fruit or product of the world: and in commemoration of this saying, the place where it was said was called Palani

The position and lithology of the Palanis have been given before at page 3 of Part I. but little is known of the latter.

The length of the Palanis from east to west is said to be fifty-four miles, and their medium breadth fifteen. Their superficial area, including 231½ square miles constituting the Anjinâd or "Five Nâdus" on the western side which now belongs to Travancore, is supposed to be 798½ square miles, of which some 427 belongs to Government.

The range is commonly divided by the tribes which inhabit it into two portions, the eastern and western Of these the former is considerably the loftier. Its summit consists for the most part of undulating bleak, table lands some 7,000 feet high, which produce trees only in sheltered sholas or ravines, and are covered with a coarse grass Large spurs branch off in every direction from the main block, and throw out minor spurs which are torn and split up into innumerable hills and hillocks of every size and shape as they gradually sink into the plains Between the spurs lie rugged valleys clothed with thick forests and jungles; impassable gorges and ravines; vast precipices, chasms, and abysses; in a word all the most rough and primitive formations. Towards the east the plateaus fall rather suddenly to some 4,000 feet, and gradually slope down towards the plains, until they almost imperceptibly melt into them at a height of about 1,000 feet

The whole range may be divided, generally with reference to natural boundaries such as prominent ridges or rivers, into seven principal divisions, viz :—

1. The Ettûr or "eight villages," at the extreme west
2. Pûmbârei, also at the extreme west.
3. Vilpatti, east of No 2, and south of the Perumâl-malei.
4. Kôvanji, north of No. 3.
5. The Periyûr Hills.
6. The Pândi-malei, Andalûr and Manalûr Hills.
7. The Tandigudi Hills on the east.

Of these divisions the fourth and sixth belong to the Ayakudi and Kannivâdi Zamindâris; the first three form the upper range, the other two form the lower range.

The climate of the Palanis is thus described by Mr. Clarke in his elaborate report on them, dated the 10th May, 1853 .—

" January is uniformly fair, clear and dry. The nights are very " cold and attended with frost in the valleys The same remarks " will apply to February, except that frost is stronger, and in March " it disappears, when the weather becomes milder ; there are also a " few heavy showers Towards the close of April, the wind begins " to vary from the N E and finally settles in S W., the air is " mild and balmy May is the warmest month ; but the heat is " often relieved by the fall of rain in torrents, intermingled with hail, " ushering in the south-west monsoon, which occurs in the early part " of June and continues with greater or less constancy throughout " July and August, when the weather on the lower hills is compara- " tively dry and fine September and October are uncertain months, " depending on the state of the south-west monsoon, which, if begun " early and exhausted, renders the weather fine, warm and pleasant, " but if deficient in previous rain, a good deal of mist and drizzle " generally prevails Towards the end of September the wind again " begins to shift round to the north, when the weather becomes " suddenly colder. Mists and fogs are common throughout the year " Some gales of wind occur once or twice a year, generally about the " changes of season ; but thunder and storms are of rare occurrence. " The changes of temperature are sudden, but the higher hills are by " no means unhealthy. The inhabitants are decidedly a healthy " and robust people The most unhealthy season is reckoned to be " January and February and part of March, when colds and coughs " and occasional fevers from exposure are met with Small-pox of " a fatal character has of late years carried off several. The people " resist the introduction of vaccination, but through my Dressser, I " had a few vaccinated last year, and hope by degrees to overcome " the opposition of the people. Cholera attended with great morta- " lity visited the higher range some years back."

From the report of Colonel Hamilton written in 1864 it appears that from the 1st November 1861 to the 10th November 1862 the weather on the Palanis was of the following description, viz .—

In November and December the thermometer ranged at noon in an open verandah from 53½° to 65°, and generally showed about 60° of heat The days were usually fine throughout : but the sky was often cloudy, particularly in the afternoon ; and there was a consi-

derable amount of mist and fog in the morning and towards evening Rain fell from time to time, and a few days in November were wet throughout. At the beginning of November a strong wind blew for a few days, and increased at times to a gale It was accompanied by heavy rain. December was much brighter and pleasanter than the preceding month

In January and February the thermometer ranged at noon from 55° to 68°, and generally showed about 62° or 63° of heat There were fewer days fine throughout Damp, fog, mist, drizzle, and rain were common in the morning and afternoon and many days were cloudy. During the fine weather there was often frost at night: and the thermometer showed sometimes not more than 44° or 45° of heat at 6-30 A M Occasionally a strong wind blew and heavy rain fell once or twice.

In March and April the thermometer ranged at noon from 60½° to 77°; and generally showed about 70° of heat The fogs and mists disappeared. The days were generally fine with occasional frosts at night particularly in the valleys A little rain fell from time to time: and there was a good deal of thunder in the latter part of April. On the 24th .—"a tremendously heavy thunder-storm set in after dark with hailstones of great size—many animals killed" And on the 29th there was a heavy thunder-storm in the afternoon

In May and June the thermometer ranged at noon from 58° to 67½° and generally showed about 64½° of heat. Rain fell during a portion of nearly every day. and the sky was almost always more or less overcast. There was no thunder: and strong winds did not blow

In July and August the thermometer ranged at noon from 60° to 70°, and generally showed about 64° of heat July was very similar to May and June in respect of abundance of rain and clouds In August the weather was more changeable. Many days were rainy and cloudy and on some days there were wind and thunder The mornings were generally fine: the afternoons drizzly and cloudy

In September and October the thermometer ranged at noon from 60° to 68°; and generally showed about 63° of heat. Almost every day was cloudy and rainy during several hours. Usually the mornings were fine but cloudy: the noons and afternoons foggy and rainy. Very heavy rain fell occasionally, generally at night. There was not much wind. Once or twice there was heavy thunder.

This appears to have been an unusually cloudy and rainy year. and Colonel Hamilton's register is the more remarkable in that than was a great failure of rain in the plains in 1861-62.

The climate of the upper Palanis is considered to be exceedingly salubrious: and no sickness of any kind is known to be endemic or epidemic upon them They are too lofty to be visited by the ordinary malarious fever of India · too sparsely populated to be scourged by typhus and typhoids. And having a much drier air and more equable temperature than the Nîlagiris, they are said to be far better suited to children and invalids At present however but little is really known with regard to their meteorological peculiarities: and it would scarcely be prudent to say more than that whilst nothing is ever urged against Kodikânal as a Sanitarium, most Europeans who pay it a visit, have manifestly derived the greatest benefit from the change, and speak of the place in terms of the highest praise

"The climate of the lower Palanis," Colonel Hamilton writes, "is very similar to that of the Shevaroys, and were it not for the fever, would be a delightful mountain tract to reside in. The most unhealthy months are from March to July, but there appears to be no period of the year perfectly safe" Further on he says.—"These hills are much less affected by the south-west monsoon than the high range, the weather is often clear and bright at that period when heavy rains or dense fogs prevail to the westward, but the rains of the north-east monsoon are heavier on the lower than on the upper range"

Mr. Clarke says of the lower range that from March to July is the most unhealthy season of the year; that fever of remittent and intermittent types is then prevalent, and that enlargement of the spleen is common, and dropsy, small-pox and cholera are known.

The soil of the Palanis appears to be sufficiently fertile to produce in abundance the many vegetables to which their equable and genial climate is adapted But it has been found to be at a depth of a few inches exceedingly cold even in the hottest months. and it is questionable therefore whether delicate vegetables which send down long tap-roots would flourish in it, unless carefully tended and nursed. No doubt something might be done by judicious manuring and admixture of artificial soil. but the expense of such cultivation would stand in the way of realising large profits.

Ordinary European fruit trees and vegetables are said to thrive excellently well on the upper range: but so little attention is paid to horticulture by those who own houses at Kodikânal, that it is difficult to know whether this is a fact. That they grow freely, there can be no question. The doubt is whether their produce is usually tasty and nutritious. Judging from all I have heard and from my own experience, I am inclined to believe that fairly good fruits and vegetables have been produced in the Palanis by careful and clever gardeners, as they have in places like Trichinopoly and Arcot: but that really first-rate articles have never yet been raised there, and it remains to be seen whether it be possible to raise such.

The principal products grown on the higher range are rice, very poor kinds of wheat and barley, garlic, thinei, *vendiyam*, *vasambu* or sweet-flag and a few plantains. those grown on the lower are plantains, turmeric, ginger, *vendiyam*, mustard, and castor-oil seeds; and ordinary dry grains such as râgi, kambu, sâmei, varagu and thinei are grown for local consumption.

The nut-meg and cinnamon-tree and the pepper-vine grow wild; and jack-fruit, orange, lime, citron, sago-palm and many other fruit-trees are common enough, particularly on the lower range

A few tea-seeds were sown in Mr. Clarke's garden in 1859. and soon sprouted and took root The plants flowered in 1862, and in March 1864 were some three feet high, bushy and apparently tolerably vigorous and healthy: but it seemed to me that they were stunted and poor specimens, and would in all probability have been twice or thrice as big if raised at a much lower elevation Possibly the soil is too chilly for tea: and the bleak winds check its growth.

Coffee has been tried on the lower Palanis. and undoubtedly grows well there Whether their soil is likely to yield heavy crops of this valuable berry, it is impossible as yet to guess Experiments have been made only in a few places, and on a very small scale: and until thousands of acres of coffee have been in existence for many years in a particular locality, it is hard to say whether that locality certainly is or is not well-suited for its growth. Colonel Hamilton indeed says boldly that the soil of the lower Palanis is "far superior" to that of the Shevaroys: but he gives no authority and no reasons for the assertion, and seeing

the two coffee-gardens on the Shevaroys have soils even approximately similar, it cannot be allowed much weight by prudent men But the lower Palanis undoubtedly possess two great advantages which are in a measure denied to the Shevaroys, viz. an abundance of fine forest-lands and many running streams.

Chincona plants have been successfully raised in Mr. Levinge's garden at Kodikânal. It is not known whether Chincona cultivation is likely to be profitable on the Palanis generally.

Perhaps the same objections to attempting it on the upper range might be raised as in the case of tea and coffee: but no doubt many spots on the lower would suit the Chinconas admirably.

The plantains grown on the Palanis are of a peculiar species The fruit is very rich and aromatic in flavour, and therefore held in great esteem by natives. Unlike ordinary trees of the kind, they continue to bear fruit for twenty and even thirty years and are consequently exceedingly profitable, as they require no irrigation, and but little attention and outlay after once reaching maturity Formerly their cultivation was most wasteful and destructive, and caused annually the disappearance of whole tracts of forest Whoever felt inclined to make a plantain garden, walked into the nearest forest; cleared as large a space as he required by felling and burning every tree on it; and prepared the soil for his crop by ploughing in the ashes and so correcting the acidity of the over-rich virgin vegetable mould In the course of centuries many thousand acres of good land have been thus disforested. and it is supposed that there is something in this mode of cultivation which prevents nature from repairing injuries so occasioned, for apparently forest trees never spring up again in used-up and deserted plantain gardens. A few years ago the practice was strictly forbidden and under the present system of conservancy men will hardly dare to break through the prohibition.

The population of the upper range is said by Colonel Hamilton not to exceed 3,500. that of the lower 6,000. The inhabitants are members of the following castes, viz:—

1. Kunnuvans.
2. Kârakattu Vellâlans.
3. Vadukans
4. Maravans.
5. Telugu Chettis.
6. Poleiyans.
7. Pariahs.
8. Palliyans.

All that I have been able to gather with regard to the origins and customs of these castes, has been shown already in Part II. It only

remains for me to give a few hints touching the probability of planters who may resolve to try the Palanis, procuring labor near sites fixed upon for operations.

The Kunnuvans are the most numerous caste resident on the hills: and as they all or nearly all of them cultivate holdings of their own and live in tolerably easy circumstances, it is exceedingly unlikely that many of them will be tempted by ordinary wages to work for a master.

The Poleiyans are the hereditary prædial slaves of the Kunnuvans, and are not likely to leave old masters for new.

The Chettis are pretty numerous . but they will never work as out-door laborers, and besides their occupation is very profitable to them

The Pariahs and Palliyans are very few. so few that even if they all were willing to work, which is more than doubtful, they would hardly meet the wants of a single estate.

The Kârakattu Vellâlans are not numerous and the remarks made above about the Kunnuvans will apply equally well to them.

The Maravans and Vadukans are very few, and very unlikely indeed to condescend to work as coolies.

It is clear therefore, I think, that labor for the purposes of tea, coffee or Chincona planting is not procurable on the Palanis· and planters must seek for it in the villages situated round the bases of the hills. Whether they will there find it, I have no means of judging: but looking to the circumstances of the Palanis and the country surrounding them, I cannot but think that labor will be found to be very expensive if not scarce Probably six annas a day will be the lowest rate of pay for an intelligent able-bodied man. No doubt coolies may be engaged for much less than this at the present moment in Kodikânal itself, but the price of labor on the hills has risen most considerably in the last few years; and if a few planters come to settle on them, prices will at once rise to perhaps double their present height

The fauna of the Palanis have been described generally in Part II ante. It may be observed however that the hill cattle are of most miserable breeds The buffaloes are no better than those of the low-lands and in no way remind one of the fine animals bred by the Todas on the Nîlagiris It is stated in the Survey Report that the pasturage found on the Palanis is deficient in salt, and therefore

cattle do not thrive upon it: but that this idea is inaccurate is proved by the fact that cattle brought up by Europeans from the plains get on very well at Kodikânal.

The history and antiquities of the Palanis may be disposed of in a very few words Nothing I believe has yet been discovered which tends to show that they were inhabited in remote ages by races of which few or no representatives now exist. No "Scythian tombs and remains" or "Druidical temples" puzzle and delight antiquarians, as on the Nîlagiris and other Indian mountains, and the inhabitants are distinguished by no striking peculiarities of appearance, language or customs, as are the Todas and others.

The only curiosity I have heard of is the site of a large lake about twelve miles south-west of Kodikânal and nine miles from the Travancore boundary line. Whether this was a natural lake or an artificial reservoir, seems to be a matter of doubt: but I believe Engineers incline to the belief that it was the latter. The bank or bund which dammed up its waters, might easily be repaired at a very trifling cost: and in the course of two or three years a magnificent sheet of water some twelve or fifteen miles in circumference, would be formed at an elevation of about 7,000 feet above the level of the sea. Were this done, the natural beauty and splendid climate of the locality would soon attract visitors in numbers, and the Palanis might rival or even surpass the Nîlagiris in attractiveness. And no doubt it will be done in the course of a few years

The Revenue history of the Palanis is very meagre indeed Mr Hurdis did not survey and assess them at the beginning of this century, and says very little about them in his reports. He states (see Part IV, page 48, ante) "that the hill villages had never really formed part of any Poligar's possessions:" but in this I think he was wrong There can be no doubt that three or four hundred years ago colonies were planted on the Palanis by adventurous Poligars who lived in the plains round their bases, and there can be no reason to suppose that those Poligars omitted to levy contributions from their colonies It may well be that in the troublous times which preceded the occupation of the Dindigul country by the British, the Poligars were temporarily prevented from making their collections as usual on the hills, but that the hill villages were ever independent, I cannot see any reason to believe. However Mr Hurdis recommended that they should not be given up to the Poligars or Zamindârs. and the recommendation was carried into effect.

How the land-tax was collected on the hills in Mr. Hurdis' time, and on what principles it was calculated, there is hardly anything to show. It appears from his report on Dindigul (see ante Part IV, page 39) that one of the taxes payable in money which formed the Swarnâdâya of the Zamindârs was the Ponikâdu, and that this was a tax payable by cultivators of small parcels of land on the hills worked with hand-spades, pick-axes and bill-hooks: and perhaps this was the only land-tax at that time collected from the hill-men. Mr Clarke's report tells us that in old times a tax of from three to nine Rupees was assessed on each plough, and one of from eight Annas to three Rupees on each hatchet: and it may be inferred from this either that the old Ponikâdu system was extended during the times of Mr Hurdis' successors, or that Mr. Hurdis did not quite understand the nature of the term Ponikâdu.

In and after Mr. Hurdis' time the hill-men paid other taxes besides the Ponikâdu, *e.g*, one on wild honey, and one on dammer, ginger and other jungle products. These seem to have been calculated in the most arbitrary manner with reference to the amount of honey, &c which a man was supposed to be able to collect.

In Mr. Hurdis' time and for many years afterwards the hill villages were farmed out to renters, who lived on the plains for the most part, and only visited the hills for the purpose of levying contributions To what extent they bled the unfortunates committed to their tender mercies, there is no means of ascertaining. What they paid to Government as rent, will appear from the Statement in Appendix E which shows the collections under all heads from Mr. Hurdis' time.

The exactions of the renters were so intolerably great that the hill-men repeatedly petitioned the Collectors to bring the hills under the Ryotwâri system: and in 1837 the first step towards accomplishing this was taken by the appointment of a Karnam to each village, to enquire into the conduct of the renters and the modes of taxation in vogue. And in 1842 the system of renting was formally abandoned, in favor of the Ryotwâri And at the same time a Hukumnâmâ was prepared for the hills by Mr. Elliott which was sanctioned by the then Collector, Mr Blackburne.

The nature of the various modifications of this Hukumnâmâ which were in the course of time effected, and the results of the elaborate enquiry into the state of the assessment together with the

suggestions regarding its rectification made by the Sub-Collector, Mr. Clarke, are shown at length in that Officer's well-known report of the 10th May 1853, which is the grand repository of all Revenue information about the Palanis

When Mr Clarke wrote, the old practice of taxing produce rather than the land itself was in full force on the hills, and his main object was to abolish this impropriety and introduce uniform rates assessed with reference to the capabilities of various kinds of lands falling under only two heads, Nanjey and Punjey. His proposals were generally approved of and sanctioned . and attention having been at last drawn to the hills, their condition has been gradually improved, until at the present day it differs but little from that of ordinary Ryotwâri tracts in the plains.

But little has been done for the hills by the Department of Public Works. A decent ghaut has been made from a point some five miles west of the town of Periyakulam to the plateau in which is situated the Settlement of Kodikânal: but on all other sides the Palanis are inaccessible except on foot. There are five ancient tracks leading up to the upper range from the northern side and one on the western; and six passes lead up to the lower Palanis, three from the south, two from the north, one from the east · but none of them is a made road, and since the opening of the Periyakulam ghaut they have fallen into almost complete disuse. A small lake has been formed in the basin upon the side of which Kodikânal is built, principally I believe at the expense of the late Collector, Mr Levinge . and a road has been carried round it so as to afford a pleasant promenade for visitors With these exceptions the Palanis can boast of no public works of any description.

The Settlement of Kodikânal consists of a dozen or more small and ugly houses built by Europeans and Americans, principally by the latter; and a few huts which accommodate servants and others There is no native village in its neighbourhood. The situation is not well chosen in respect of beauty of scenery . and no stream flows near Kodikânal. Moreover the lake has not quite lost its ancient character of a swamp, and the soil is so loose and friable as to make walking rather unpleasant. On the whole, the Settlement has too many disadvantages. If the Palanis are ever to become popular, a pleasanter spot than Kodikânal, and there are hundreds available, must be chosen as the site of a new Settlement.

On the Upper Palanis the principal villages are—1, Manavanûr, 2, Pûmbârei, and 3, Vilpatti.

Manavanûr is the chief of the group of six villages which go by the name of the Ettûr, two of the original eight having been deserted, and the six contain in all it is said between 16 and 1,700 inhabitants

Pûmbârei, with its four hamlets, is said to contain 1,224 inhabitants.

Vilpatti with its hamlet Sembaganûr, contains under 400

On the lower Palanis the principal villages are—1, Tandigudi, 2, Kâmanûr; 3, Pulatûr and 4, Pannakâd with their seven hamlets, on the Tandigudi hills; and 5, Periyûr; 6, Pâcchalûr, 7, Vadakâdu, 8, Kannanûr, and 9, Vinnelli, with forty-eight hamlets, on the Periyûr range (of these last Periyûr is the most important, being the mother village of no less than thirty-four hamlets); and 10, Mannalûr; 11, Adalûr; 12, Thonimalei and 13, Pândimalei, with their twelve hamlets, in the Kannivâdi Zamindâri.

From the accounts furnished to Mr Clarke by the hill Karnams it appears that the following were the areas respectively cultivated and left waste in the several Circar hill villages, viz.—

In Ettûr,	cult	780 kânis;	waste	268
In Pûmbâvei,	do	652	,,	592
In Vilpatti,	do.	214	,,	199
In Tandigudi,	do.	1,736	,,	204
In Periyûr,	do.	1,114	,,	2,583
	Total..	4,496	,,	3,846

These accounts are not considered to be very reliable but nevertheless give at all events a rough idea of the extent of cultivation on the Palanis.

It is a circumstance of the highest importance to intending planters, that with the exception of the lands actually cultivated by the hill-men, the entire area of the Palanis in the possession of Government is available for outright sale, free of all objections, claims and hindrances.

In his report on the Palanis dated the 23rd March 1854, the Collector made the following observations in para. 6:—"I think it "necessary to observe that I see no reason for the acknowledgment "of any right whatever on the part of the villagers to lands at a

"distance from their villages, which they have never occupied. They "are not like the Todas of the Neilgherry Hills, who though few in "number require large tracts and at one time or another in the year "actually occupy them for the grazing of numerous herds of cattle "On the contrary these people have no herds beyond the ordinary "number of cows and buffaloes, but are agriculturists, and occupy "only such sites near the sides of the mountains as are favorable to "cultivation from possessing water, leaving large ranges of grass-"land wholly vacant. This fact I consider of great importance, as "these downs may in time become very desirable locations for Euro-"peans, either for the sake of simple residence or for grazing farms, "to which latter use they are admirably adapted, horned cattle "thriving remarkably well on the Pulnis This observation applies "more especially to the higher range included in the division of "Mel-malai."

Mr. Parker was not singular in holding this view of the rights of the hill-men: for Sir Charles Trevelyan, after visiting the Madura District, recorded the following observation in his Minute of February, 1860:—

"It is an important fact that as regards much of the largest por-"tion of this tract" (*i e* the upper plateau) "there is no claim to the soil which can interfere with the most absolute freehold; the villages are few and far between, and the rights of the inhabitants are confined to the land they cultivate."

Since 1860 several pieces of land have been sold on the upper range, and I believe no objection of any kind has been raised by the hill-men

Intending visitors and planters should bear in mind the fact that there are no markets on the Palanis Stores and provisions of all kinds must be brought up from the plains.

The requisite materials for brick-making have not yet been found in the neighbourhood of Kodikânal: and it seems to be doubtful whether they exist.

Peat and turf are procurable in abundance

The following list of ferns found chiefly on the Palanis was furnished to me by Mr. Turnbull:—

Ferns of the Madura District.

Name.	Locality.
1. Adianthum lunulatum	Base of hills to 3,000 feet.
2. Do caudatum	Pulanki.
3 Do. hispidulum	Pulanki.
4. Do. capillus veneris ... *Maiden's hair*	Cumbum hills.
5. Do. æthiopicum	Pumbārī
6. Alsophila latebrosa ... *Tree fern*	In all high sholas.
7. Angiopteris evecta	Sub-alpine jungles
8. Aspidium polymorphum	
9. Asplenium Wightianum	
10. Do. auritum	Shembaganūr ravine.
11. Do. resectum	All sholas
12. Do. multifugum	do.
13. Do. formosum	
14. Do. furcatum	do
15. Do. Braziliense	do
16. Athyrium gymnogrammoides	Kodikanel and Perambukanel sholas
17. Asplenium contiguum	Shembaganūr ravine
18. Do. trapeziforme	Parambukanel.

Ferns of the Madura District—continued.

Name.		Locality
19. Asplenium tenuifolium		Parambukanel.
20. Antrophyum plantagineum		do. and Shembaganūr ravine.
21. Athyrium pectinatum		Beside all streams.
22. Asplenium persicifolium		Glen falls, &c.
23. Do. planicaule		do.
24. Do. nitidum		In many sholas.
25. Athyrium macrocarpum		On streams from Kodikanel lake
26. Alsophila glabra	*Smooth Tree fern*	Serumalais.
27. Asplenium varians		do.
28. Acrophorus pulcher		Shembaganūr ravine.
29. Asplenium heterocarpum		
30. Alsophila crinita	*Hairy Tree fern*	Levinge's stream
31. Blechnum orientale		Serumalais
32. Botrychium virginicum	*Large Succulent fern*	Common in woods.
33. Ceratopteris thalictroides		Secunda-malay, near Madura
34. Cheilanthes tenuifolia		
35. Do. Mysorensis		
36. Do. farinosa	*Silver leaf*	In many sholas.

Ferns of the Madura District—continued.

	Name.	Locality.
37.	Cyrtomium caryotideum	Lower Pulneys
38.	Diplasium lasiopteris	By most streams
39.	Diplasium polypodioides	Lower Pulneys
40	Drynaria quercifolia	Vengai parah.
41	Diplazium sylvaticum	Lower Pulneys
42	Elaphoglossum laurifolium	Levinge's stream
43.	Do. conforme	Perambukanel.
44.	Do. viscosum	Shembaganūr ravine
45.	Gymnopteris Feei	Throughout the sholas
46.	Grammitis totta	Common beside streams
47.	Gleichenia dichotoma	Levinge's stream, Shembaganūr, &c.
48.	Gymnogramma leptophylla	Palanki.
49.	Hemionitis cordata	Up to 3,000 feet
50.	Hymenophyllum exsertum	Parambukanel
51.	Do. polyanthos	Glen falls.
52.	Do. crispatum	Perambukanel (low down.)
53.	Lindsæa cultrata	Beside all streams near Kodikanel
54.	Lastrea sparsa	do. do.

Ferns of the Madura District—continued.

	Name.	Locality.
55.	Loxogramma involuta	On rock banks and trees in sholas
56.	Lastræa hirtipes	Beside streams in sholas.
57.	Do. recedens	
58.	Do. aristata	In all sholas
59.	Do. amabilis	
60.	Do. octhodis	By streams: common
61	Lygodium scandens	Sirumullais
62.	Lastræa gracilescens	
63.	Do cochleata	Lower Pulneys.
64.	Do. faciloba	Tope, bottom of ghaut to Periacolum
65	Microlepia platyphylla	Ravine half-way down ghaut.
66.	Do polypodioides	Kodikanel, &c
67.	Marattia fraxinea	Perambukanel.
68.	Niphobolus adnascens	Near Vengai parah.
69.	Nephrodium molle	Streams in sholas.
70	Do extensum	
71	Do. arbuscula	By stream half way down ghaut to Periacolum.
72	Nephrolepis tuberosa	Shembaganūr.

Ferns of the Madura District—continued.

Name.	Locality.
73. Niphobolus porosus	...In most sholas.
74. Niphrolepis exaltata...	......At base of hills.
75. Osmunda regalis .. .. *Royal fern*	...Lake shores.
76. Do. javanica...	......
77. Platytonia falcatum	...Lower Pulneys.
78. Peraneina cyntheoides	......
79. Polystichum auriculatum...	...In all sholas.
80. Do. aculiatum	...... do.
81. Polypodium rugulosum...	... do.
82. Dó. nigrocarpum	......Kodikanel (only one root found.)
83. Pleopeltis Wrightiana	...Common on trees and banks.
84. Do. lepidota	......On trees (not so common)
85. Polybotrya appendiculata	...
86. Do asplenifolia	......
87. Pœcilopteris terminans	...
88 Do repanda	.. ...
89 Polypodium paludosum...	...By streams.
90. Pleopeltis oxyloba	......Bear glen, &c

Ferns of the Madura District—continued.

	Name.	Locality.
91	Pteris geraniifolia	Walls and banks to 6,000 feet
92	Do. quadriarata	In all sholas.
93	Do cretica	Bear glen: rare by streams
94	Do. aquilina	Common among grass, &c.
95.	Polypodium rufiscens	Rare, in sholas by Levinge's stream.
96	Platylonia falcatam	Lower Pulneys
97	Pteris pellucida.	
98	Polystichum angulare	In sholas
99	Pleopeltis oxyloba	Bear glen.
100	Sagenia gigantia	*Oak fern*
101.	Stenochlæna scandens	Secunda-mullay.
102	Trichomanes filicula	Glen falls, Perambukanel.
103.	Tæniopsis lineata	Shembaganūr ravine, &c.

CHAPTER IX.

A brief abstract of the information afforded by this work.—General remarks on the present condition and future prospects of the District.—Conclusion.

THE end of my enquiries has now been reached, and it only remains for me to sum up succinctly the results arrived at, and in conclusion offer a few remarks on the present condition and prospects of the country

It appears that the District of Madura is an almost uniformly level tract of country which slopes eastward to the sea from the Western Ghauts, of which certain considerable spurs form its only mountainous portion

Its total area is nearly nine thousand square miles

The principal rocks of the country are igneou Granite and its varieties everywhere abound

The river-system is very simple. With the exception of a few streams which rise on the northern slopes of the Palanis, all the drainage of the country flows nearly due east, in almost parallel courses

There are no natural lakes or pools, as there are no perennial rivers: and the only forests are those which clothe the slopes and recesses of the mountains.

The coasts are low and sandy · destitute of harbours, and dangerous in bad weather.

The mineralogy of the District is in many respects interesting.

Water is scarce, and generally speaking, of inferior quality. It is procured from streams and channels in the rainy season, and from wells tanks and reservoirs all through the year.

There are no indications of the existence of coal-beds. Salt is found in abundance, and saltpetre Lime occurs in numerous varieties in most parts of the District. Gold is washed to a small extent near Palakanût, and in the sands of river-beds. Silver has been found in minute quantities. Iron ores of many varieties are everywhere abundant · but are not easily workable.

The soils are very various: but none are remarkable for fertility They consist of the black cotton soil commonly called black regur, a red earth, a gravelly conglomerate, sand, a whitish earth, one or two alluvial soils, and several mixtures of these elementary soils.

The climate is hot, dry, unhealthy and variable in the plains · cool, rather moist, and exceedingly equable and pleasant on the mountains The thermometer ranges between 65° in January nights and 100° in the hottest days of May. The rainfall amounts in all to a little over thirty inches per annum It is very uncertain, and is distributed over a rainy season of about nine months' duration, which begins about the 1st of April, reaches its maximum of humidity in October, and ends abruptly in December The registers of rain do not appear to show the existence of regular monsoons The uncertainty of the rainfall is very disastrous to cultivation . and year after year some of the crops fail through want of rain at the proper time, or excess at unusual times

Violent winds and storms are uncommon From November to March the wind is usually in the north and east, it then veers round to the east, south-east, and west; is variable in April and May, blows lightly from the south-west in June and July, continues from the same quarter for the most part, but is rather variable during the next two months, and in October shifts about to every point of the compass.

The country is rarely free from epidemic fever, cholera and small-pox, and murrain amongst the cattle. Occasionally the outbreaks are very severe and fatal. Cholera has always been known in Madura since 1609, and in all probability was known long before that date The commonest diseases are the zymotic, fever, cholera, small-pox, ophthalmia, diarrhœa, dysentery, and rheumatism. Of constitutional diseases, anasarca alone appears to be prevalent. Diseases of the nervous system are not very prevalent. Madness of different varieties is pretty common but rarely assumes the violent types so well-

known in Europe. Cephalœa and otitis are rather common, particularly the latter. Diseases of the digestive system, dyspepsia and the like, are extraordinarily prevalent amongst natives of all classes; but more especially amongst the wealthy. The most remarkable disease known in Madura is the entophytic disease of the foot. Snake-bites poisonings and suicides are uncommon The only kinds of "violent deaths" which appear to be of frequent occurrence are those caused by incised wounds and by severe burns

Cattle-diseases are very common, and appear to be generated usually by starved animals eating to excess the coarse rank grass which springs up suddenly upon the termination of a long drought. Sometimes mere drought of long duration produces murrain

The inhabitants of the country belong to nearly a hundred distinct and independent castes, many of which are broken up into numerous subdivisions. and number nearly two millions

With the exception of rather more than thirty thousand so-called Brâhmans of various nationalities, the population consists of various tribes, of which many have been resident in South India so long that they may be called aboriginal, and few can properly be called Hindû. About one-sixth of the population is composed of foreigners, and the remainder is Tamil.

The manners and customs of the several castes are very various. Polyandry, polygamy, incestuous commerce, divorce, and re-marriage of both males and females, are customary with many castes.

As a whole the people is very dark-skinned and ugly, of small size but sufficiently muscular; grossly ignorant and superstitious but not deficient in power of observation and intelligence; industrious and of frugal habits.

The principal Tamil castes are the Vellâla, Marava, Ahambadiya, Kalla, Ideiya, Palla, Pareiya, Valiya, Sânân, Chakkili and Setti. and the principal foreign castes the Kavarei, Tottiya, Vaduka, Reddi and Pattu-nûl-kâran.

The principal religions of the country are the Saiva, Vaishnava, Mahometan, and Catholic but devil-worship is still very prevalent, and appears to be far more to the taste of the great bulk of the population than what has been taught by the Brâhmans. Baudd'hism is unknown; and the Jaina faith is almost if not absolutely extinct

In all probability the Vellâlans first settled in the country about a thousand years ago. The Kallans seem to have come later, and to have ousted the Vellâlans from their possessions Subsequently the Vadukans became the leading caste The Maravans seem to have held their country from the very earliest times There is clearly a certain affinity between the Vellâlans Maravans Ahambadiyans and Kallans which points to a common origin

Mahometans and Labbeis are rather numerous, and appear to have existed in the country for the last eight hundred years.

The mammals of the country consist of tigers, panthers, leopards and cats; dogs, wolves and jackals, hyænas; bears, mongooses, antelopes, deer, oxen, goats and sheep, rats, mice, hares, rabbits, porcupines and squirrels, elephants, hogs, horses and asses; monkeys; and numerous cheiroptera.

The birds consist of the families commonly found in South India The raptores are well represented; the insessores are very numerous, the grallatores and natatores numerous

The fishes reptiles and insects are not remarkable for anything but their numbers

The flora of the District may be said to be two-fold the vegetables of the plains being very different from those of the mountains The former are what are found in most parts of the South; the latter resemble those of the Nîlagiris, the Shevaroys, the Ânamaleis, and other mountain ranges Rice is cultivated to a considerable extent, but the less valuable cereals, such as râgi, varagu, kambu and chôlam are much more largely raised, and afford food to by far the greater part of the population. Amongst fruit-trees, plantains, palms, jack-fruit and tamarind-trees are those most commonly grown

The history of the country commences with the foundation of the Pândya dynasty some five or more centuries before the birth of Christ but is exceedingly obscure and mythical until we come to the sixteenth century of our era

Who the Pândyas were, there is, it is believed, nothing to show Tradition of course says they were Kshatriyas: but as almost all Râjas in ancient times are said to have belonged to this illustrious race, the tradition is worth in itself but little According to Wilson they came from Oude but his authority great as it is, cannot make us accept without hesitation an account so improbable

Whoever they were, the Pândyas had made a name for themselves by the time Christianity began to flourish in the world And they continued to rule their kingdom until (probably) about the end of the eleventh century, when the last and most illustrious of them, Sundara, was killed or at all events dethroned by some foreign invader, shortly after he had succeeded in overthrowing the Jains, and annexing the powerful Chôla kingdom

The period from 1100 A D to 1324 appears to have been one characterized by numberless invasions and constant internecine strife The Mahometans, or whoever were the destroyers of the Pândya dynasty, appear to have failed to establish themselves securely in the country and a new dynasty arose, which may be called that of the Pseudo-Pândyas During their uncertain and feverish tenure of power in various capitals, the country was invaded and occupied from time to time by the Chôlas, the people of Kandi, Mahometans and others, and was at last completely subjugated by a Mahometan Chieftain of infamous memory, Malik Naib Kafûr

He and his successors held the country, or at all events the capital for forty-eight years, during which they treated the subject Indians with unparalleled cruelty They were at last driven out by one Kampana Udeiyâr, who appears to have been a servant of Buk'ha the Râyar of Vijayanagar

Kampana and three other Udeiyârs ruled in Madura for some forty-seven years and then came Lekkina the first of the Nâyakkan Governors of Madura

These Nâyakkans apparently never succeeded in establishing a strong government until Visvanât'ha came to Madura, accompanied by a famous General, Arya Nâyaga Muthali, in 1559.

From that year to 1659, or during an entire century, Visvanât'ha and his descendants ruled the country with great ability, and in spite of numerous rebellions and invasions, raised it to a position of considerable splendour and importance Tinnevelly, Travancore, Madura, Coimbatore, Salem and Trichinopoly formed a compact and rich kingdom and had it not been for the mistaken policy of Tirumala, the Nâyakkans might have continued in power to the present day

In 1659 Tirumala, the greatest and most illustrious of his line, died suddenly, leaving no legitimate issue, and was succeeded by a

natural son, a young man of some promise Shortly afterwards the new King died from the effects of debauchery, and was succeeded by his son Choka Nât'ha, a youth of sixteen Treachery and intrigue were soon at work, and the kingdom was threatened with instant destruction, when Choka Nât'ha shook himself free of the wretches who surrounded his person, and in a short time firmly established his power For a few years all went well But gradually the King yielded himself up to pleasure, and the seizure of Tanjore by Ekoji, the irruptions of Mahometans into the extreme South, and the ambitious policy of Mysore, together brought about a state of things in which it was impossible to hold Madura with a weak hand. The kingdom was accordingly dismembered and Choka Nât'ha died in 1682 of a broken heart, possessed of the Fort of Trichinopoly and of nought else Madura and Dindigul were in the hands of the Mysoreans The Mahrattas under Ekoji held a portion of the country, Sivaji's son another, the Maravans yet another

The death of Choka Nât'ha was followed by a turn in affairs, which enabled his successor partially to reconstruct the kingdom And by 1700 an exceptionally able and honest minister had succeeded in restoring it almost to its pristine power Unfortunately this man was killed in battle at a time when his guidance was most necessary; and from that day forth the government of the country rapidly declined in vigour, until in 1740 Trichinopoly and Madura fell into the hands of Chandâ Sahêb, and the Madura kingdom was finally extinguished

In 1741 Chandâ Sahêb was forced to cede his ill-gotten dominions to the Mahrattas, who were in turn driven out by the Nizam in 1744

In 1748 the officers appointed by the Nizam to govern Madura appear to have been called away from their charge, and in their absence Madura fell into the hands of an adventurer named Mayana He was soon ousted by a Mahometan, who was in turn ousted by another adventurer named Allum Khân

In 1751 Mohammad Ali turned his attention to the acquisition of the Madura country, and an unsuccessful attempt to take Madura in his behalf was made by Captain Cope The Mysoreans then got possession of Madura

In 1755 another expedition was sent against Madura in behalf of Mohammad Ali, under the command of Colonel Heron The gates

were opened to him. and he took possession of the country without meeting with any serious resistance He rented the country to Mak'hphûz Khân, the Nabob's brother, and retired And then happened the disaster in the Nattam Pass

During the next four years the country was in an anarchical state, the British not being able to send enough troops to support their Renters: but in 1759 the gallant Mohammad Yûsuf Khân was sent a second time to reduce the country to obedience, and succeeded in so doing. He ruled with an iron hand and with great ability and discretion But either he could not or he would not pay tribute to the Nabob and in 1762 he was besieged in Madura by troops of the Company and the Nabob, and after making a long and most gallant resistance, was taken, and immediately afterwards hanged.

After this Madura was always held by British Officers, sometimes for the Company but generally for the Nabob Wallajah, until 1801, when the Madura country was finally ceded by His Highness to the British

The Dindigul country was taken by the British some years earlier. It had been seized by the Mysoreans in 1740, was taken by the British in 1767, eight months afterwards was restored to Mysore, and was again taken in 1783; was again restored in the following year, and was finally taken in 1790 by Colonel Stuart.

The Râmnâd and Sivagangei countries appear to have been overrun and reduced to obedience by Mohammad Yûsuf Khân They rebelled: and were completely reduced by General Smith in 1773. Other rebellions took place, and neither of the two countries was brought into proper order until after they finally came into the possession of the British in 1801.

Since 1801 the whole of the Madura District has been at all times peaceful and free from disturbance of every kind

When the first Collector took charge of the Dindigul province in 1790, he found it consisted partly of Circar or Government lands, partly of Pâleiyams or hereditary military feuds in the possession of several Poligars. The Circar lands were rented out in small parcels to Renters, who were armed with practically unlimited powers of coercion, and suffered to collect from the unfortunate peasants as much as fraud and deceit failed to conceal. The Poligars came into the Collector's camp once a year for a settlement of the Government

dues, and each promised the Collector to pay whatever he could persuade him to think was a reasonable amount of tribute, considering the season and the crops This primitive mode of collecting the revenues continued to be practised for several years, during which the sums realised by Government grew painfully less and less, and then the Dindigul Committee was sent to examine and report upon the condition of the Province This led to the appointment of Mr Hurdis, a most energetic and pains-taking Officer, to the post of Collector at Dindigul: who by his vigour and uncompromising honesty of purpose, rapidly succeeded in mending matters and bringing up the revenues to their proper level

Mr Hurdis surveyed the whole of the Dindigul Province with the exception of certain Pâleiyams, and assessed it in the following manner Each village was divided into a number of fields, each of which was separately numbered and accurately measured. The value of the produce which could be raised annually in each village upon particular kinds of nanjey, punjey and garden lands respectively, was then computed, reference being had to the estimated quality and productiveness of the soil, the means of irrigating it, the distance of the village from a market, and other matters, and a consolidated money tax was eventually assessed on each class of land at so much per unit of measurement Each kuli of punjey in the village of Tâdikambu for instance was assessed with a tax of so many fanams per annum, according as it was of the 1st, 2d, 3d or another sort, each gunta of nanjey yielding two crops with another; each gunta of nanjey fit for betel-vines with a higher tax, and so forth.

This is known as the Hulus assessment of Dindigul Mr Hurdis found at once that his rates were too high, and it was necessary to reduce them. This was done in some villages by deducting six sixteenths from the estimated full crop yielded by each sort of land, and calculating the tax with reference to the value of the Government share of the remainder In other villages reductions were made in other ways of which no account is in existence In others again no reduction was allowed This reduction of assessment was called the Hulus remission.

The cultivators were still discontented, and struck; and Mr Hurdis succeeded in inducing them to cultivate their lands, only by giving them cowles of three years' duration, during the currency of which the rates would be gradually brought up to the height at

which he had fixed them in permanence. This second concession was termed the Maaf remission

The assessment thus modified seems to have been on the whole tolerably fair and equitable, but in 1823 the Collector found it necessary to simplify and reduce it. His proposals were approved of by the Board of Revenue, and the reductions he effected known as Mr. Peters' Munâsib Kammi, are for the most part still in force. Since his time however the assessment has been further modified by abolishing the vân-payir or special taxes on particular kinds of crops, betel, plantains, turmeric, chillies and brinjals, by abolishing the custom of raising the assessment on lands improved by ryots at their own expense, and by making sundry concessions in respect of topes, fruit-trees and other things.

When Mr. Hurdis fixed his Dindigul assessment, Government had resolved to carry out Permanent Settlements in all parts of the Presidency, and the Collector of Dindigul was directed to parcel out all the lands at his disposal into Zamindâris which were to be put up for sale to the highest bidder. Accordingly the Government lands were formed into forty estates, and sold upon condition of each vendee of an estate paying for it annually a reserved rent which was very nearly equal in amount to the gross sum leviable from the existing cultivators according to Mr. Hurdis' rates, and collecting always according to those rates. Adverse seasons and other circumstances combined to ruin the purchasers of the Zamindâris, they failed to pay their rent and were imprisoned for default; the Permanent Settlement was pronounced a complete failure; and the idea of attempting another settlement of a like nature was abandoned for ever. Village rents for terms of years were then tried and found wanting, and at last the ryotwâri system of making a settlement with each landholder severally, was everywhere adopted and has now for many years worked well and advantageously to both Government and the cultivators

In Madura the assessment was fixed on different principles. Whether Mr. Hurdis secretly disapproved of what he had done in Dindigul, or whether he felt unwilling to set to work about the Madura assessment immediately after completing his arduous labors in Dindigul, it is impossible now to guess. but for some reason he adopted a different method in dealing with the land-tax in Madura.

At first he made his collections in precisely the same manner as the Nabob's servants had previously made theirs The actual produce of nanjey lands was equally divided between the Circar and the Ryot, swatantrams being allowed for before division in the case of river-fed nanjey at the rate of 12½ per cent Fixed rates payable in money were assessed on certain units of measurement in the case of most punjey lands. whilst certain punjey villages were assessed in gross with a fixed rent called a kattu-kuttagei Lands on which betel was cultivated were specially taxed at so much per chey

In the second year of his administration Mr. Hurdis carried out a rough survey and measurement of the lands cultivated in Madura in that particular year, and classified them according to their mineralogical characteristics as Karisal, Veppal, Sevval, Mannal, &c, &c, and according to their productiveness and value as lands of the 1st, 2d or 3d sort Thus a field of black-cotton soil of the best quality was registered as Karisal 1st sort It does not appear whether Mr. Hurdis himself devised this mode of classification but in all probability he did not He stated in the clearest language in his first report that he was in all things guided by the custom of the country, and he would certainly have recorded the fact of his having invented this classification, had he done so. After the lands had been measured and classified, they were assessed field by field with the rates proper for their several classes and sorts. But how or by whom these rates were fixed, there is nothing on record to show. We have accounts showing the rates actually assessed in many villages on each class and sort of land, but nothing more. It can only be inferred from Mr Hurdis' reports that he preserved intact the punjey rates fixed by his predecessors, and in both his years collected from nanjey cultivators the estimated money value of the Government share of a crop which was supposed to have been raised on their lands, but was never actually measured

Such was what is known as the Taram assessment of Madura Mr. Hurdis' successors never revised or in any way modified it, except by improperly granting remissions to a few villages thought to be exceptionally situated, an indulgence which was discontinued by the Board of Revenue as soon as discovered. It is undoubtedly an exceedingly light assessment But the benefits granted by the Board to the cultivators of Dindigul have not on that account been withheld from those of Madura, and nowhere perhaps is the land-

tax as a whole less open to objection than in the Madura country proper. Even in Mr. Hurdis' time nanjey lands were sufficiently valuable to admit of their occupants leasing them to others, and at the present time Government draws from the best of them not more than a tenth part of the value of their produce.

The Râmnâd and Sivagangei countries were never surveyed or assessed. In 1802, after the Collector in charge of them had made certain rough calculations as to their productive capabilities, they were made Permanently Settled Zamindâris under the provisions of the Regulations of that year

The Madura District possesses a Hukumnâmâ, some of the provisions of which are still in force, whilst others have been superseded from time to time by orders from the Board

The land-tenures of the District are very simple The greater part of the lands are under what is called ryotwâri management, their holders having rights of occupancy, &c, which can be forfeited only by non-payment of the assessment fixed upon them. In the Zamindâris and Pâleiyams, the hereditary landholders enjoy rights of a similar description Some lands are held free of rent for ever, and others subject to a small quit-rent Sales, mortgages, and other modes of transfer are commonly employed Leases and sub-leases are freely granted. Mirâsi rights in the commonly accepted sense of the term, may be said to be non-existent

The machinery by which the Revenues are collected and administered consists of several establishments, the heads of which are all directly responsible to the Collector

The land revenue is collected and administered primarily by the village servants, who act under the orders of, and are immediately responsible to the Tahsildârs; who communicate directly with the Collector

The Salt Department is under the immediate management of the Salt Deputy Collector.

The Forest Department is managed by a Sub-Assistant Conservator of Forests.

The Public Works are managed by a Department which is generally responsible to the Collector. The only works of any importance besides the ordinary roads, bridges, banks, dams, channels, &c.

are those at Pâmbam, the Madura water project, and the Periyâr Scheme now under contemplation. The roads throughout the District are in fair order.

The administration of Civil justice is entrusted to Village Moonsiffs, four District Moonsiffs, a Principal Sudder Ameen, the Civil Judge, and a Court of Small Causes, the Judge of which is vested with the powers of a Principal Sudder Ameen, that of criminal justice is entrusted to Magistrates of various grades, most of whom are also the Revenue Officers of the District, and to the Session Judge who is also the Civil Judge.

The Police force is in the charge of the Superintendent, who is assisted by European Assistants, and by Inspectors, Head and Deputy Constables

The jails are the old jail at Madura, the branch jail at Pâmbam, and sundry lock-ups in the tâlûks A large new jail is being built near Madura.

Education of a solid and useful character is afforded by the Zillah School at Madura, and several subordinate schools more or less under Government superintendence

The Missions are the Jesuit, Goa, and American which attend to the spiritual wants of more than 90,000 native Christians, and proselytize in all parts of the District

The Palanis are a magnificent range of mountains, which offer numerous inducements to both visitors and colonists, but are at present little known and rather inaccessible.

Such are the main facts which appear from the body of the work—the information to be obtained from the Appendices need not be given here—and I shall now proceed to make a few concluding observations.

The greater part of the District is under ryotwâri management, and wherever this is so, there can be no question but that the condition of the people is both rapidly and surely improving. At the beginning of this century, when the South of India generally was in a state of utter stagnation, when roads were as yet unknown, and there was but little foreign demand for such products as the District could raise, none but the best lands were saleable; and in out-of-the-way parts such for instance as the Kambam valley, grain was so

valueless that in seasons of plenty it was actually suffered to rot unheeded in the village granaries. And in ordinary times a kalam of paddy was not worth more than from twelve annas to a rupee. In consequence of this, cultivation was so little remunerative that the hereditary peasants would only take up enough land to fill their bellies, and the Tahsildârs' subordinates were in the habit of resorting to every means of coercion to compel them to take up more land than they required, in order to keep the land revenue up to the usual level. Even so late as twenty years ago, it was customary at the commencement of each season to "take engagements" from Ryots to cultivate certain portions of land; and Rule No. 8 in the Hukumnâmâ was framed with the express object of putting an end to the practice. Now-a-days, it seems scarcely credible that such a practice could ever have been found advisable Land is everywhere sought for with avidity. Even ordinary bits of punjey are valuable; whilst good nanjey is hardly to be bought for fancy prices. Rupees 500 an acre is not considered an exorbitant price in Sôlavandân and other rich villages. and I believe even more is sometimes given. And the price of agricultural produce of all kinds has risen enormously. The kalam of grain that used to cost twelve annas or a rupee, now costs four or five rupees, and in bad times much more. And the price of rice determines in a great measure the prices of all other products.

The value of agricultural produce having risen thus greatly, and the original money assessment of Mr. Hurdis having been lowered to some extent both in the Principal and Sub-Division, the landholders as a body, have necessarily grown comparatively rich Not only do they pay to Government a much smaller per-centage of the value of their crop than they paid in Mr. Hurdis' time: but the share left to them after paying their assessment, is far more valuable than it used to be. And as the value of produce steadily increases whilst the assessment remains stationary, the position of the Ryot becomes day by day more fortunate.

The increase in the material prosperity of the Ryot has been attended by a corresponding improvement in his morals. Thirty or forty years ago the gates of the Fort of Madura were closed before sunset, and belated travellers along the high road from Trichinopoly to Tinnevelly were likely to be robbed if not murdered by banditti. Now there are no forts in the country; and a high-way robbery is almost a matter of wonder. Formerly torch-light robberies were of

constant occurrence now they are very infrequent, and are as often committed in order to gratify revenge as for purposes of mere plunder Practically, professional banditti and highwaymen have ceased to exist. and the Kallans are now orderly, well-behaved farmers.

And as they have become more prosperous and more law-abiding, so the cultivators have become more civilised and respectable They build for themselves better dwellings, eat better food, and wear better clothes, than formerly. On feast days and grand occasions, ordinary Ryots will now-a-days appear in clean, good turbands and cloths, with ear-rings and finger-rings and will often travel in substantial carts of their own, drawn by decent bullocks Thirty years ago none but a few of the wealthiest would make such an appearance

The general acquisition of property throughout the country has led to a general demand for justice between man and man and justice having been fairly administered in the various Courts of the country during a long series of years, a wholesome feeling of security and independence has gradually sprung up amongst all classes of society Sixty years ago, it may be safely asserted, there was no idea of justice amongst the population as a whole. Might was altogether right: and the poor were absolutely ignorant of the fact that under British rule all men are equal before the law. The few complaints made to authorities in those days were complaints against Kallans who had waylaid and robbed Chettis, or against minor officials whose tyranny had become insupportable, or against particular communities which had usurped privileges and dignities not their own But of late years, litigation has become as extensive as violations of rights are common The merchant sues for damages on account of breach of promise, the landlord for rent, the contractee for performance, the heir for his property, the libelled one for special damages,—every one in fact who has a grievance and can afford to seek his legal remedy, seeks it as a matter of course.

Education too is slowly making way amongst the ryots Reading and writing and a little arithmetic are found to be useful to those who every day have occasion to buy and sell, borrow and lend, pledge and receive in pledge; and the number of those who possess these useful accomplishments is constantly increasing. Ryots often write out the bonds they execute: and it is by no means an uncommon thing for them to keep their own accounts.

In the Zamindâris things are in a much more backward state. In them progress is, and for the last hundred years has ever been all but an impossibility. Where disturbed and critical times afford to a bold and unscrupulous Indian chieftain the opportunity of enlarging his dominions and raising himself to eminence, he will sometimes fling aside his natural love of ease and licentiousness, and for a moment display unwonted energy. And when this is done, the enthusiasm of the chief often generates in the people an impulse which leads to great and unexpected results Thus the elevation of Mysore in the last century was due to the energy of Hyder The bold and restless ambition of Sivaji raised the Mahrattas from obscurity Madura as we have seen, was made an important kingdom by Arya Nâyaga Muthali. And Sadeika Têvan constructed the kingdom of Râmnâd out of a few inconsiderable villages on a lonely coast. But in peaceful times and under a strong Paramount Government ambition and energy can compass no such things and Râjas and Princes of every degree yield themselves up without an effort to their besetting sins.

At the present moment Râmnâd appears to be in a semi-ruinous state The tanks are breached, there are no roads worthy of the name in any part of it, cultivation is steadily decreasing, the Zamindâri is heavily in arrears with her tribute, in a word the apathy and short-sightedness of its proprietors have brought about all those results to which native misgovernment naturally gives rise in Indian States. Seeing that Râmnâd was worth some five lacs per annum at the end of the last century, and that rent is payable within its limits for the most part in kind, the enormous rise in the price of agricultural produce which has taken place within the last twenty years, should have made it worth from fifteen to twenty lacs a year And well managed, it might have become even more valuable As it is, I doubt whether it yields its present proprietor so much as four lacs a year

Sivagangei is in a better state owing to its having lately come into the possession of East Indian lessees who manage it on the British system I have no means of knowing how much it has yielded during the past two or three years. but I believe that an average of ten lacs per annum was hoped for, and will probably be realised very shortly Like Râmnâd, it no doubt ought eventually to yield from fifteen to twenty, or even more: but it takes years to restore a mismanaged estate to prosperity

The remarks which have been passed on the state of the two great Permanently Settled Zamindâris are applicable to most if not all of the Pâleiyans. Probably not one of them yields the half of what it ought, and might easily be made to yield.

With regard to the future prospects of the District, they may be said without much risk, to depend almost entirely upon the extension of its cultivation. This is day by day taking place to a certain limited amount: but there is still a large area of waste, much of which will no doubt in time be taken up. Great things are hoped from the Periyâr scheme. The Palanis offer great inducements to British capital. and probably planters will soon begin to settle upon them in numbers when the branch line of rail-road from Caroor to Dindigul shall have been made At present but little is known about them. and they are supposed to be inaccessible Again it is to be hoped that Government will succeed in the course of time in discovering new means of enriching the cultivators of Madura Many things have been suggested to them without success other and better suggestions will doubtless be successful Natives are slow to invest their money in experiments, but as soon as they have fully realised the advantages of cultivating particular kinds of crops, they are ready enough to try them For instance many natives have planted small coffee-gardens on the Shevaroys and Nîlagiris. and potato-planting is almost entirely in the hands of natives It is quite within the bounds of possibility that native coffee-planters will cover the Lower Palanis with gardens in the course of the next fifty years or less No doubt mulberry-trees would flourish admirably on the Palanis, and the manufacture of silk in enormous quantities may some day raise Madura to wealth. The breeding of cattle on the Palanis would probably be very profitable · and as a beginning, Government might import some Toda buffaloes into the hill-villages

The manufactures of the District with the exception of that of salt, are scarcely worth notice Large quantities of a celebrated kind of red cloth are manufactured in the town of Madura and it is also noted for the production of handsome turbands fringed with gold-lace, which is made very well at Dindigul and in Madura itself With these exceptions there is hardly any manufacture of any importance Coarse chintzes are made at Dindigul And piece-goods, cotton-twist, earthenware, and metal vessels and utensils of good

quality are manufactured to some extent for exportation to Trichinopoly, Madras and other places From the extension of existing manufactures nothing is to be hoped apparently. and there is at present no prospect of new branches springing up The saltpetre trade is languishing The iron-ores of the country are abundant but unserviceable. Perhaps however they will be turned to a better use hereafter, when the country can boast of more skill and capital The exports of the District consist principally of rice and other cereals, chillies, garlic, horse-gram, dregs of gingelly oil, cotton and coriander seed, cotton-twist, piece-goods, salt-fish, red-ochre, and earthenware. None of them are very extensive

Education of a certain kind is making rapid progress throughout the District. There is no thirst for knowledge for its own sake, but the hope of obtaining some of the good things which Government has to give prompts hundreds to acquire a smattering of English and of the subjects in which Government examines candidates for employment In the town of Madura probably as many as several hundred men and boys know something of English: and in the District generally many are learning the language which promises so rich pecuniary rewards

The prospect of converting the people to Christianity appears to be now more remote than ever. Self-denying as the Jesuits undoubtedly are, they no longer practice the modes of conversion which were so successful in the seventeenth century, and their influence has declined and is daily declining It is doubtful indeed whether they succeed at the present day in making many *bonâ fide* converts And the American Missionaries do much more in the way of education than by proselytizing. Natives cannot or will not believe in the superior holiness of men who live with their wives and children in comfortable houses, eat good food, and wear good clothes. The Indian religious recluse may nod sometimes. but at all events he is poor and self-denying, and as such is considered to be worthy of approval and admiration The more enlightened natives of Madura, if they laugh at their own religion, nevertheless carefully conform to its more important rules and there is not the slightest desire on their part to listen to the teachings of Christianity.

On the whole, the people appear to be thoroughly well satisfied with British rule; but grumble very heartily at minor inconveniences

such as paying the taxes assessed by the Municipal Commissions for the towns of Madura and Dindigul. So many centuries have elapsed since the country was governed by Tamils, that all memory of the actual state of things under Tamil Râjas has passed away: and the only idea of them and their times is that commonly entertained in all countries and in all ages, that the days which are no more were great and glorious days.

I must now bring these remarks to a close, and conclude my work with the expression of a hope that, incorrect and unsatisfactory as much of what has been written must necessarily be, the first attempt that has yet been made to describe at length the past and present of one of the Southern Provinces of the Madras Presidency, will be found to be of some use as a book of reference for officials, and not altogether devoid of interest for the general reader

THE APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

Contains statements showing the porosity of, and amounts of organic matter contained in various specimens of soils sent from five of the six tâlûks. For information about the soils of the sixth tâlûk, see Part I, p. 35. The amount of soil tested in the tube was in each case .5 inch: and 1,000 *grains of each were tested by fire.*

FROM MADURA TÂLÛK

1	2	3			4
Name of soil	Measurement in cubic inches after saturation.	Measurement in cubic inches of its ascertained constituent parts, viz —			Number of grains per thousand of organic matter eliminated by burning
		Clayey matter on the surface	Sand under the clayey matter	Coarse sand or gravel at bottom	
Padugei	700	·300	·200	200	12 500
2d sort do	·700	·200	300	·200	20 000
3d sort do	·800	500	200	·100	27 500
Karisal	1 100	700	400	”	40 000
2d sort do	700	200	300	200	30 000
3d sort do	800	300	500	”	20 000
Sevval	550	150	400	”	12 500
2d sort do	600	100	300	200	40 000
3d sort do	550	100	150	300	12 500
Kakkarei	700	100	300	300	42 500
2d sort do	700	300	400	”	20 000
3d sort do	600	100	300	200	20 000
Mannal	600	100	100	400	12 500
2d sort do	600	100	400	100	12 500
3d sort do	575	075	200	300	15 000
Shengkarisal	575	075	200	300	22 500
2d sort do	700	400	100	200	32 500
3d sort do	600	100	500	”	25 000
Pottal	600	200	300	100	40 000
2d sort do	500	100	400	”	40 000
3d sort do	500	100	200	200	15 000
Sharralei	500	050	250	200	20 000
2d sort do	700	100	400	200	20 000
3d sort do	600	100	·100	·400	15 000
Sukkân	650	250	·200—black	200	20·000
2d sort do	600—a line	100—a line	·300—black	200	20·000
3d sort do	600+2 lines	200+2 lines	·200	200	25 000
Kallar	800	300	400	100	30 000
2d sort do	600	300	200	100	25 000
3d sort do	800	400	200	200	25 000
Veppal	600	200	300	100	25 000
2d sort do	575	100	175	·300	25 000
3d sort do	550	200	150	200	15 000
Bûthi	600	100	300	200	60 000

FROM MÊLÛR TÂLÛK

Sevval	525	·125	100	300	20 000
Veppal	600	250	150	200	22 500
Padugei	850	100	750	”	42 500
Pottal	550	”	550	”	15 000
Mannal	600	050	350	200	15 000
Kallar	800	200	500	100	40 000
Karisal	”	”	”	”	62 500
Uvar	500 + 2 lines	100+2 lines	100	300	10 000
Alai	600 + 1 line	200+1 line	200	200	25 000
Sukkân	600	100	200	300	20 000
Sharralei	525	075	150	300	30 000
Kakkarei	600	200	200	200	20 000

FROM PERIYAKULAM TÂLÛK

1	2	3			4
Name of soil.	Measurement in cubic inches after saturation	Measurement in cubic inches of its ascertained constituent parts, viz —			Number of grains per thousand of organic matter eliminated by burning
		Clayey matter on the surface	Sand under the clayey matter	Coarse sand or gravel at bottom	
Karisal...	1 000	200	200	600	50 000
2d sort do	900	300	400	200	40 000
3d sort do . .	600	,,	300	300	30 000
Sevval .	800	200	·300	300	90·000
2d sort do.	575	·075	300	200	12 500
3d sort do	600	200	200	200	20 000
Mannal	·550	050	100	·400	2 000
2d sort do	525	·025	200	300	20·000
3d sort do...... .	550	050	200	300	10 000

FROM DINDIGUL TÂLÛK

Karisal....	·650	·050	500	100	50 000
Shengkarisal .. .	·650	·100	450	100	20·000
Padugei......... .	·575	·125	·450	a shade	20 000
Sevval.	700	200	·450	050	25·000
Bûthi..	675	150	425	100	20 000
Veppal	750	400	250	100	25·000
Kakkarei	600	·200	100	·300	15·000
Mannal	575	·075	400	·100	15 000
Sharralei . .	·600	050	200	350	12 500
Kallar .	650	150	·300	200	12 500
Pottal .	800	·400	200	200	15 000
Sukkân	1·250	950	100	·200	15 000

FROM PALANI TÂLÛK.

Padugei	600	100	500	a shade	15·000
2d sort do	600	100+2 lines	500—4 lines	2 lines	25·000
Karisal	900	800	100	,,	55 000
2d sort do	1 000	800	200	,,	55 000
3d sort do	700	100	300	300	35 000
Sevval . .	550	050	·200	300	15 000
2d sort do .	600+2 lines	2 lines	300	300	40·000
Veppal, 1st sort	575	100	075	400	15 000
Pottal do	625	125	200	·300	25 000
Kallar do	650	100	250	·300	27 500
Bûthi, 2d do	600+2 lines	050	·350+2 lines	·200	27·500
Kakkarei, 1st sort	800	200	600	,,	40·000
Sharralei do	525	025	100	·400	25 000
Mannal do	600+a line	a line	100	500	10 000

NOTE —These specimens were tested by Anthony Pillei, the Native Surgeon. Looking to the figures in column 4 I cannot help thinking that Dr. Rule must have made some mistakes in burning See Part I, p. 38.

APPENDIX B

Contains four statements which show:—

1. *The rain-fall of the District*
2. *Do. of each Tâlûk.*
3. *Do. of Pasumalei.*
4. *A register of heat and direction of wind, kept at Pasumalei.*

STATEMENT No. I.

STATEMENT *showing the average rain-fall for a series of years in the District of Muttra.*

Fasli.	Year	July		August.		September.		October		November		December.		January.		February.		March		April		May.		June		Total	
1266	1856-57	1	33⅓	11	74⅓	6	10⅔	11	66⅔	3	85½	3	9½	0	49⅙	0	0	1	51	5	39⅙	2	80⅙	1	50⅙	49	49⅔
1267	1857-58	2	42	2	10½	1	32⅔	21	74	2	36⅔	0	3⅔	0	14	0	8	0	23⅓	6	95	13	77⅙	1	57⅚	52	74⅚
1268	1858-59	3	21⅙	3	7⅚	1	51	19	7⅔	17	70	0	0	1	7⅓	0	0	0	0	16	40⅚	2	92⅚	0	68	65	66⅔
1269	1859-60	3	39	3	46⅙	7	77⅚	5	27⅓	19	35⅙	0	42⅙	0	0	0	14⅔	0	3⅓	0	13½	3	63⅔	2	93⅙	46	56
1270	1860-61	3	36½	7	77⅓	2	27⅔	17	16⅙	0	55⅚	9	97⅓	0	0	0	7⅚	4	72⅓	3	12⅓	1	37⅚	0	49⅚	50	91
1271	1861-62	1	93⅓	5	35	2	32⅔	2	66	4	17⅚	0	4½	1	20⅙	0	91½	0	37½	0	51⅔	3	19½	1	50⅓	24	20
1272	1862-63	1	11⅚	0	76	2	73	7	13⅓	4	63⅙	2	86⅓	0	1½	0	35⅚	1	18	3	77	1	81⅓	0	94⅚	27	32⅙
1273	1863-64	1	4	3	47	1	22⅙	9	39⅔	4	69	2	64⅚	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	73⅓	2	73⅔	1	47	28	40⅔
1274	1864-65	0	53⅓	3	23⅔	3	81⅙	6	7⅚	4	89⅔	4	61⅔	0	41⅓	0	18⅔	0	0	3	27½	5	25	0	18⅙	32	48
1275	1865-66	3	77⅔	0	65⅚	2	69⅚	5	3⅓	2	27⅙	0	27	0	15⅓	0	12½	0	0	0	45⅙	1	73⅔	1	18⅓	18	35⅚
	Total...	22	12⅙	41	63⅔	31	78⅔	105	22	64	50	23	97	3	48⅚	1	89	8	5½	41	75½	39	24⅚	12	47⅔	396	14⅚
	Average..	2	21	4	16	3	17	10	52	6	45	2	39	0	34	0	18	0	85	4	17	3	92	1	24	39	61

STATEMENT No. II.

STATEMENT *showing the rain-fall for a series of Fuslis in each Tâlûk of the Madura District*

Tâlûk	Fasli	July.		August.		September.		October		November		December		January		February		March.		April.		May		June		Total	
Tirumangalam	1266	1	62	7	57	7	31	4	37	3	30	2	52	0	16	0	0	3	70	11	36	2	16	5	20	49	27
	1267	0	31	1	5	4	20	11	63	0	65	0	22	0	5	0	0	0	0	8	1	10	29	0	38	36	79
	1268	6	27	8	12	3	60	28	55	11	14	0	0	0	24	0	0	0	0	11	70	9	74	1	40	80	76
	1269	0	35	0	0	6	24	3	46	25	17	0	77	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	28	3	9	41	36
	1270	3	39	12	37	2	98	21	24	2	1	6	24	0	0	0	0	1	44	3	44	0	28	0	0	53	39
	1271	5	20	6	93	0	74	3	14	2	41	0	0	0	40	0	32	0	50	0	35	2	54	0	44	22	97
	1272	1	92	1	68	4	17	5	18	4	33	1	46	0	0	0	16	0	43	5	61	0	31	1	0	26	25
	1273	0	72	7	11	0	75	7	37	2	7	1	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	90	3	80	2	41	27	37
	1274	0	0	1	98	2	60	2	16	4	90	3	31	0	1	0	12	0	0	0	97	7	61	0	0	23	66
	1275	4	32	0	36	2	95	4	3	3	1	0	5	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	90	1	25	17	97
		24	10	47	17	35	54	91	13	58	99	15	81	0	96	0	60	6	7	43	34	40	91	15	17	379	79

STATEMENT *showing the rain-fall for a series of **Faslis in each Tâlûk of the Madura District.***

Tâlûk	Fasli	July		August.		September		October		November		December		January.		February.		March.		April.		May.		June.			
Madura	1266	1	4	17	55	9	32	17	48	3	43	2	76	0	59	0	0	1	60	5	76	1	77	0	45	61	75
	1267	5	72	3	24	0	0	48	39	2	4	0	0	0	35	0	0	0	0	10	7	20	43	1	34	91	58
	1268	6	42	4	34	4	14	23	25	13	68	0	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	16	12	3	42	2	8	73	60
	1269	5	34	7	61	10	49	7	30	27	66	0	62	0	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	1	7	5	89	66	13
	1270	3	9	15	8	4	7	24	3	0	2	10	7	0	0	0	4	7	46	2	2	1	4	0	48	67	40
	1271	1	17	8	16	2	93	4	28	5	7	0	0	0	34	0	50	0	0	0	0	3	82	4	27	30	54
	1272	1	33	1	52	3	90	13	6	8	47	4	12	0	0	0	53	0	94	3	12	2	11	0	88	39	98
	1273	0	52	3	33	0	67	8	75	4	75	0	95	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	37	1	75	2	0	24	9
	1274	0	31	4	31	3	43	5	43	10	93	4	87	0	50	0	0	0	0	5	88	3	60	0	0	39	26
	1275	4	15	1	0	5	75	8	65	1	15	0	50	0	0	0	40	0	0	0	0	0	32	0	95	22	87
		29	9	66	14	44	70	160	62	77	20	23	89	1	93	1	62	10	0	44	34	39	33	18	34	517	20

STATEMENT *showing the rain-fall for a series of Faslis in each Tâlûk of the Madura District*

Tâlûk	Fasli	July		August		September		October.		November.		December		January		February		March.		April.		May		June		Total	
Mêlûr	1266	2	10	17	70	15	24	8	78	4	25	3	71	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	56	1	20	0	54	62	8
	1267	1	45	7	20	0	0	29	40	2	54	0	0	0	0.	0	0	0	0	9	32	27	11	7	53	84	55
	1268	2	43	4	34	0	74	28	23	14	44	0	0	2	34	0	0	0	0	29	42	0	0	0	0	81	94
	1269	3	84	0	0	8	1	10	2	15	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	4	7	5	50	46	64
	1270	8	68	6	23	3	18	26	75	1	20	11	27	0	0	0	0	7	7	3	0	0	76	1	82	69	96
	1271	3	59	5	50	3	62	1	62	4	67	0	0	1	37	1	50	1	25	0	0	3	3	2	27	28	42
	1272	1	74	0	89	2	5	2	75	2	48	1	36	0	0	1	19	0	58	3	47	2	53	0	37	19	41
	1273	4	22	8	60	5	48	8	30	4	1	2	73	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	81	0	43	3	37	40	95
	1274	2	55	6	70	6	75	10	48	5	60	10	23	0	54	0	0	0	0	2	77	10	83	1	9	57	54
	1275	11	38	2	52	6	45	5	93	3	63	0	0	0	26	0	11	0	0	0	80	3	55	0	90	35	53
		41	98	59	68	51	52	132	26	57	88	29	30	4	51	2	80	8	90	61	29	53	51	23	39	527	2

STATEMENT *showing the rain-fall for a series of* ***Faslis in each Tâlûk of the Madura District.***

Tâlûk.	Fasli.	July.		August.		September.		October.		November		December.		January.		February.		March.		April.		May.		June.		Total.	
Dindigul.	1266	3	4	17	31	3	37	15	25	6	8	6	36	2	20	0	0	1	16	2	47	5	24	2	61	65	9
	1267	1	56	1	14	2	36	15	14	2	63	0	0	0	44	0	48	0	0	0	0	16	1	0	22	39	98
	1268	3	63	1	67	0	53	12	29	33	13	0	0	2	61	0	0	0	0	15	53	2	64	0	0	72	3
	1269	2	13	6	40	9	72	7	15	14	30	1	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	4	50	2	52	48	13
	1270	4	43	4	53	1	53	9	54	0	12	12	68	0	0	0	43	1	27	2	28	2	75	0	44	40	0
	1271	0	64	8	21	5	9	2	97	4	60	0	27	1	46	1	12	0	0	0	0	3	93	0	74	29	3
	1272	1	0	0	47	1	68	6	21	3	19	2	76	0	9	0	27	1	52	3	18	1	83	3	44	25	64
	1273	0	78	1	28	0	43	14	20	3	37	4	79	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	38	7	4	0	88	35	15
	1274	0	34	1	3	2	94	8	17	3	83	3	42	0	78	0	0	0	0	2	19	4	69	0	0	27	39
	1275	1	23	0	7	1	4	3	36	3	0	1	7	0	36	0	24	0	0	0	16	2	40	0	69	13	62
		18	78	42	11	28	69	94	28	74	25	32	49	7	94	2	54	3	95	28	46	51	3	11	54	396	6

STATEMENT *showing the rain-fall for a series of Faslis in each Tâlûk of the Madura District.*

Tâlûk.	Fasli	July		August.		September		October.		November		December.		January		February		March		April.		May.		June		Total	
Periakulam	1266	0	0	7	23	0	0	0	10	2	40	0	10	0	0	0	0	2	30	4	20	5	20	0	0	21	53
	1267	0	0	0	0	1	0	15	40	2	70	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	30	0	0	23	40
	1268	0	52	0	0	0	5	22	14	10	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	20	0	0	0	0	47	95
	1269	8	40	4	40	5	60	1	70	25	40	0	0	0	0	0	73	0	20	0	40	5	70	0	0	52	53
	1270	0	60	6	0	0	90	10	50	0	0	7	28	0	0	0	0	10	70	7	0	0	74	0	25	43	97
	1271	1	0	1	65	0	33	2	10	3	86	0	0	2	62	2	5	0	50	0	55	3	44	0	0	18	10
	1272	0	36	0	0	2	29	7	80	4	66	3	74	0	0	0	0	2	80	4	92	0	95	0	0	27	52
	1273	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	36	8	87	2	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	43	1	90	0	0	19	64
	1274	0	0	0	20	4	50	7	5	4	2	4	60	0	65	1	0	0	0	5	44	1	20	0	0	28	66
	1275	1	58	0	0	0	0	6	22	1	81	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	61	1	10	0	80	13	12
		12	46	19	48	14	67	79	37	63	76	17	80	3	27	3	78	16	50	39	75	24	53	1	5	296	42

STATEMENT *showing the rain-fall for a series of* ***Faslis in each Tâlûk*** *of the* ***Madura District.***

Tâlûk.	Fasli	July		August.		September.		October		November		December.		January.		February.		March		April.		May.		June.		Total.	
Palani	1266	0	20	3	10	1	40	24	2	3	67	3	12	0	0	0	0	0	30	0	0	1	24	0	21	37	26
	1267	5	48	0	0	0	40	10	48	3	64	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	40	14	30	4	49	0	0	40	19
	1268	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23	77	0	0	1	10	0	0	0	0	10	48	1	77	0	60	37	72
	1269	0	28	2	36	6	61	2	1	8	52	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	20	0	59	24	57
	1270	0	0	2	43	1	0	10	91	0	0	12	30	0	0	0	0	0	40	1	0	2	70	0	0	30	74
	1271	0	0	1	65	1	25	1	85	4	46	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	20	2	41	1	30	16	14
	1272	0	36	0	0	2	29	7	80	4	66	3	74	0	0	0	0	0	81	2	32	3	15	0	0	25	13
	1273	0	0	0	50	0	0	11	40	5	7	4	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	51	1	50	0	16	23	24
	1274	0	0	5	20	2	65	3	18	0	10	1	27	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	40	3	57	0	0	18	37
	1275	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	3	0	0	0	20	0	0	0	0	0	14	1	15	2	51	7	4
		6	32	15	24	15	60	73	66	54	92	24	53	2	32	0	0	2	91	33	35	26	18	5	37	260	40

STATEMENT No. III.

Register of Rainfall at Pasumalei.

	Fasli 1256	Fasli 1257	Fasli 1258	Fasli 1259	Fasli 1260	Fasli 1261	Fasli 1262	Fasli 1263	Fasli 1264	Fasli 1265	Fasli 1266	Fasli 1267	Fasli 1268	Fasli 1269	Fasli 1270	Fasli 1271	Fasli 1272	Fasli 1273	Fasli 1274	Fasli 1275	Average
July	2·71	0·99	3·96	5·59	1·72	2·74	6·13	None	1·98	0·66	0·67	2·83	3·41	2·77	1·88	3·67	2·24	None	0·67	5·98	2·53
August	3·17	2·38	4·40	5·18	6·00	1·94	0·86	4·08	2·68	4·26	8·77	0·97	1·12	6·46	5·86	9·20	3·56	5·70	4·05	1·67	4·12
September	3·18	2·61	14·16	3·34	5·20	2·39	4·44	9·80	1·93	3·35	5·20	1·29	3·42	5·47	1·35	3·76	7·40	0·76	1·98	4·51	4·28
October	5·56	9·47	5·70	4·13	5·56	3·34	7·05	9·64	9·27	7·86	7·84	10·06	17·13	4·11	6·59	3·19	11·75	11·61	5·24	9·84	7·74
November	1·33	9·89	2·91	2·21	5·33	10·75	3·88	1·40	5·51	0·15	1·00	0·88	9·20	10·28	0·47	7·37	6·79	6·46	10·33	3·32	4·97
December	4·58	1·63	2·29	0·39	No record	4·67	3·53	None	1·36	7·15	1·78	None	None	0·99	4·79	None	3·28	1·24	5·02	0·32	2·26
January	0·32	None	6·63	None		0·62	4·02	None	1·59	0·55	0·53	0·36	None	None	None	0·62	0·15	None	0·55	0·14	0·80
February	2·46	0·49	None	0·59		0·40	0·03	None	1·60	None	None	None	None	0·22	None	1·70	1·07	None	0·08	0·37	0·50
March	None	None	0·17	None		1·61	None	0·50	None	1·07	None	None	0·43	None	5·16	0·59	1·27	None	None	None	0·54
April	8·86	3·86	2·26	2·57	1·95	None	None	3·65	None	4·29	None	4·51	7·39	No record	2·44	0·80	5·25	2·37	4·58	None	2·88
May	6·01	3·48	2·94	2·95	2·56	No record.	2·10	1·00	2·22	5·23	2·50	6·06	1·90		0·18	2·11	3·34	1·65	1·75	None	2·66
June	0·67	0·83	None	None	2·20		None	0·55	None	1·15	1·77	0·76	0·71	2·97	None	2·28	2·30	2·13	None	0·07	0·96
Total	38·85	35·63	45·42	26·95	30·52	28·46	32·04	30·62	28·14	35·72	30·06	27·72	44·71	33·27	28·72	35·29	48·40	31·92	34·25	26·22	34·24

Average rainfall:
- From Fasli 1256 to 1265 inclusive . . . 33·24 inches
- From Fasli 1266 to 1275 inclusive . . . 34·06 „
- From Fasli 1256 to 1275 inclusive . . . 34·24 „

STATEMENT No. IV.

Register of Thermometer at Poonamalei.

	Average.			Maximum.			Minimum.			Prevailing Winds.
	7 A. M.	12 A. M.	5 P. M.	7 A. M.	12 A. M.	5 P. M.	7 A. M.	12 A. M.	5 P. M.	
January - - -	73°	82°	82°	76°	85°	86°	70°	76°	80	N. N.E. E.
February - - -	75	85	87	79	87	87	72	82	84	N. N.E. E.
March - - -	83	89	91	88	96	96	78	85	86	E. S.E.
April - - -	86	92	94	89	96	97	81	88	89	Variable.
May - - -	83	94	92	88	97	100	77	88	82	Var. & West
June - - -	84	92	92	88	96	96	82	87	87	W. S W., & Var
July - - -	82	90	90	86	95	97	77	82	76	W S W., Var.
August - - -	82	91	89	85	94	92	79	85	83	W Var
September - -	81	89	88	84	94	93	79	85	80	W Var
October - - -	80	86	83	81	91	89	76	82	77	Var W S
November - -	76	84	83	81	90	89	73	76	75	N. N E E
December - - -	76	82	82	82	86	86	71	77	76	N. N E. Var.

APPENDIX C

Contains twelve statements showing :—

1. *The number of Villages and Hamlets*
2. *Houses, Population, and Ryots.*
3. *Rent-roll.*
4. *Sources of irrigation.*
5. *Ayakats, &c.*
6. *Particulars of cultivation.*
7. *Prices of grain, &c.*
8. *Value of export trade.*
9. *Do. import do.*
10. *Total value of trade.*
11. *Vessels arrived and departed.*
12. *Collections under all heads.*

STATEMENT No. I.

STATEMENT *showing the number of Villages and Hamlets in the District of Madura in Fasli* 1271

Tâlûks	Extent in square miles.	Acres according to the Village Ayakat.	Subdivisions of each Tâlûk	Circar Villages: Ryotwâr.		Rented.		Amâni		Shrôtriyam and Inâm		Deserted and uninhabited villages		Total.		Zamindâri Villages.		Grand Total.	
				Villages.	Hamlets	Villages	Hamlets	Villages	Hamlets	Villages	Hamlets	Villages	Hamlets	Villages	Hamlets.	Villages	Hamlets	Villages.	Hamlets
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Tirumangalam.	618½	2,86,761	1	141	324	...	...	...	...	9	9	15	138	165	471	93	165	258	636
Madura .	361	1,55,966	.	121	104	..	..	..	.	61	29	62	58	244	191	4	1	248	192
Mêlûr	617½	3,07,642	...	144	356	.	..	...	...	57	18	75	111	276	485	13	6	289	491
Periyakulam ..	1,212¾	2,74,200	1	38	140	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	126	42	266	41	146	83	412
Dindigul	1,091	4,39,266	2	149	824	..	...	..	...	4	14	19	242	172	1,080	41	374	213	1,454
Palani...	981	2,45,384	1	70	220	..	.	...	..	...	..	10	74	80	294	51	108	131	402
Total...	4,881¾	17,09,219	..	663	1,968	...	...	...	...	131	70	185	749	979	2,787	243	800	1,222	3,587
Sitthanênthal ...	...	2,350	...	...	...	...	...	3¾	2	...	...	½	...	4¼	..	...	..	4¼	2
Râmnâd	2,351	...	...	...	..	...		...	...	...	.	...	...	...	..	2,162⅜	853	2,162⅜	820
Sivagangei.	1,557	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	..	..	..	...	...	.	...	2,069$\frac{29}{32}$	820	2,069$\frac{29}{32}$	853
Total	3,908	...	...	...	...		...	3¾	2	...	...	½	..	4¼	..	4,232$\frac{9}{32}$	1,673	4,232$\frac{9}{32}$	1,673
Grand Total...	8,789¾	.	.	663	1,968	.		3¾	2	131	70	185½	749	983¼	2,787	4,475$\frac{9}{32}$	2,473	5,458$\frac{17}{32}$	5,262

STATEMENT No. II.

STATEMENT *of the Houses, Population, and number of Ryots, Pattas, &c., in the District of Madura, for a series of years.*

Faslis.	Official years.	Number of Houses.	Population.			Total.			Particulars.		Ryots.			Puttahs.			Ploughs.	Cattle.			
			Hindoo.	Mahomedan.	Christians	Male.	Female.	Total.	Agricultural	Non-Agricultural.	Registered Ryots.	Sub-Tenants	Total.	Single.	Joint.	Total.		Tilling Cattle.	Cows.	She Buffaloes	Sheep.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
55		1,45,785		.	...	2,82,524	2,77,237	5,59,761	..	...	77,658	8,827	86.485	.	..	77,658	48,290	1,25,866	1,71,567	54,399	4,14,760
56	..	1,47,929	..	..	..	2,81,757	2,77,663	5,62,420	.		80,974	8,994	89,968	.		80,974	49,17	1,26,165	1,73,474	54,572	4,16,349
57		1,48,124		..	.	2,86,948	2,79,592	5,66,540	.		79,667	8,522	88,189		..	79,667	49,757	1,27,251	1,75,068	55,070	4,11,421
58		1,49,164		..	...	2,88,816	2,81,524	5,70,340	..	...	81,303	8,612	89,915			81,303	50,679	1,31,596	1,79,647	65,729	4,15,021
59		1,51,268	.	.	.	2,90,661	2,83,606	5,74,277		...	80,761	2,940	83,701		.	80,761	51,978	1,33,434	1,81,341	57,390	4,23,597
60	.	1,54,565	.	.	...	3,64,414	3,61,195	7,25,609	..	..	83,766	3,099	86,865		..	83,766	53,967	1,37,656	1,88,465	59,911	4,39,524
61	.	1,56,508		...	...	3,68 336	3,65,119	7,33,455	...	...	86,912	3,721	90,633	86,912	1,562	88,474	54,763	1,38,640	1,92,669	60,130	4,51,242
66		.	16,29,605	1,09,088	54,044	8,97,720	8,95,017	17,92,737	14,04,102	3,88,635	1,03,356	13,584	1,16,940	97,365	1,757	99,122	61,091	1,66,553	1,73,625	51,810	4,24,733
71	.	4,06,571	16,78,850	1,14,958	62,598	9,27,734	9,28,672	18,56,406	15,98,502	2,57,904	80,407	33,031	1,13,438	1,05,057	2,950	1,08,007	75,285	1,67,456	1,56,175	37,277	4,40,799
76	.	4,36,057	17,65,527	1 19,181	61,681	9,68,115	9,78,274	19,46,389	17,52,003	1,94,386	91,924	40,536	1,32,460	1,20,207	4,762	1,24,969	88,655	1,82,366	1,65,411	33 149	4,35,378

N.B.—This statement was prepared from population returns submitted to the Board.

It will be observed that till Fasli 1260 the census was not taken for the whole District, but for a portion of it, viz the Government Tâlûks. The census was taken in Fasli 1261 for the whole of the District, but the return submitted to the Board for that year shows only the population of the Government Tâlûks. Hence the difference between the figures given in this statement for Fasli 1261 and those entered in the list of castes in Part II, which shows the population of the whole District including the Zamindâris.

STATEMENT No. III.

STATEMENT *of Rent-roll for a series of years.*

Faslis.	Official years.	Ryots paying upwards of 1000 Rupees.		Ryots paying from 500 to 1,000		Ryots paying from 250 to 500.		Ryots paying from 100 to 250.		Ryots paying from 50 to 100.		Ryots paying from 30 to 50.		Ryots paying from 10 to 30.		Ryots paying under 10 Rupees		Total single pattas.		Joint pattas.		Grand Total.	
		Numbers.	Assessment.	Numbers	Assessment.	Numbers	Assessment.	Numbers	Assessment.	Numbers.	Assessment	Numbers.	Assessment	Numbers.	Assessment	Numbers.	Assessment.	Numbers.	Assessment.	Numbers	Assessment.	Numbers.	Assessment.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1261	1851-52	.	..	6	3,996	53	16,874	516	71,002	2,179	1,43,934	4,501	1,69,175	21,480	2,61,501	56,964	2,14,677	85,699	8,81,159	1,562	31,220	87,261	9,12,379
1262	1852-53	..	..	10	6,563	78	26,859	751	1,04,632	2,768	1,84,133	5,226	1,98,970	26,517	3,78,589	55,550	2,24,814	90,900	11,24,560	1,629	36,009	92,529	11,60,569
1263	1853-54																						
1264	1854-55																						
1265	1855-56																						
1266	1856-57	1	1,012	12	7,746	62	20,845	643	90,727	2,530	1,69,631	4,981	1,89,494	23,123	3,91,859	65,602	2,53,444	96,954	11,24,758	1,756	45,788	98,710	11,70,546
1267	1857-58																						
1268	1858-59																						
1269	1859-60																						
1270	1860-61																						
1271	1861-62	2	2,287	12	8,025	77	25,165	707	97,691	2,638	1,74,901	4,907	1,84,280	22,872	3,88,104	71,102	2,52,487	1,02,317	11,32,940	2,919	75,481	1,05,236	12,08,421

STATEMENT No. IV.

STATEMENT *showing the different sources of Irrigation in the District of Madura in Fasli* 1271.

Tâlûks.	Tanks.	River channels.	Spring channels.	Anicuts.	Wells.		
					Old.	New.	Total.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Tirumangalam	377	34	2	38	1,910	924	2,834
Madura	306	90	20	13	2,266	388	2,654
Mêlûr	3,036	75	0	21	890	239	1,129
Periakulam	161	103	3	78	1,419	753	2,172
Dindigul	1,697	127	0	144	7,046	1,730	8,776
Palani	105	75	2	82	3,651	747	4,398
Total	5,682	504	27	376	17,182	4,781	21,963
Sitthanênthal	6	4	0	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	5,688	508	27	376	17,182	4,781	21,963

[illegible]MENT No. [illegible]

[illegible] the Ayakats, &c., of the District.

	Dry.		Wet.		Total	
	Acres.	Rupees.	Acres.	Rupees.	Acres.	Rupees.
Ayakat as per Survey - - - -	12,19,405	14,51,380	1,82,887	7,53,108	18,12,400	22,04,488
Deduct.						
Purambôk - - - - - - - -	...	..	...	...	4,10,108	...
Inâms - - - - - - - - - - -	81,688	1,23,224	15,799	69,055	97,487	1,92,279
Total...	81,688	1,23,224	15,799	69,055	5,07,595	1,92,279
Remaining Cirkar Ayakat land in occupation - - - - - - -	6,35,009	8,44,778	1,50,203	6,27,825	7,85,212	14,72,603
Do. left waste- - - - - - -	5,02,708	4,83,378	16,885	56,228	5,19,593	5,39,606
Total...	11,37,717	13,28,156	1,67,088	6,84,053	13,04,805	20,12,209

N.B.—This return does not include the area of the Zamindâris and Pâleiyans and as the uncultivated lands of the Madura country were not measured by Mr. Hurdis, it cannot include the large waste tracts of the Principal Division.

STATEMENT No. V.

STATEMENT *showing the particulars of Cultivation, &c., for a se es of years in the District of Madura*

Fasli	Official years	Cirkar Ayakat.		Total Holding		Waste remitted		Remaining Cultivation — Dry		Wet		Garden.		Total — Actual Cultivation.		Waste charges		Total		Additional Assessment.	Second crop Assessment	Sundry Items	Total	Deduct Remission	Remaining Ryotwar
		Extent	Assessment	Extent	Assessment	Extent	Assessment.	Extent	Assessment	Extent.	Assessment	Extent.	Assessment	Extent.	Assessment.	Extent.	Assessment	Extent.	Assessment.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
1255	1845-46	13,16,870	23,32,294	[illegible],78,422	10,25,476	48,469	95,810	3,46,472	4,97,284	77,281	3,98,212	6,200	34,170	...	9,29,335	...	331	4,29,953	9,29,666	75,601	23,696	46,795	10,75,758	1,11,977	9,63,781
1256	1846-47	13,18,289	23,31,387	5,16,901	10,97,352	64,559	1,39,896	3,69,533	5,28,706	76,488	3,93,861	6,321	34,889	...	9,57,086		370	4,52,342	9,57,456	79,578	18,566	47,314	11,02,914	1,93,362	9,09,552
1257	1847-48	13,20,494	23,80,986	5,16,145	10,87,191	65,752	1,05,658	3,58,184	5,07,750	85,496	4,36,618	6,713	37,165	...	9,78,050	...	3,483	4,50,393	9,81,533	1,02,409	49,541	52,492	11,85,975	1,09,512	10,76,463
1258	1848-49	13,32,576	23,70,895	5,22,168	11,30,665	52,327	1,16,577	3,32,710	4,69,208	1,11,985	4,79,727	25,146	65,153	...	1,85,632		8,456	4,69,841	10,14,088	1,07,332	20,223	58,337	11,99,980	1,16,589	10,83,391
1259	1849-50	13,25,841	23,76,704	5,02,919	10,90,102	41,214	1,03,132	3,36,174	4,77,632	1,01,647	4,47,583	23,884	61,755	...	9,80,149		6,821	4,61,705	9,86,970	96,584	17,493	44,311	11,45,358	1,52,277	9,93,081
1260	1850 51	13,31,583	23,88,377	5,31,872	11,24,059	37,882	69,183	3,57,310	5,08,366	1,13,761	4,87,534	22,919	58,976	...	10,48,374	...	6,502	4,93,990	10,54,876	1 03,379	20,212	50,003	12,28,470	1,22,512	11,[illegible]
1261	1851-52	13,53,996	24,12,952	5,49,465	11,42,971	58,338	1,32,765	4,09,028	5,91,293	75,947	3,85,630	6,152	33,283	...	10,07,360		2,846	4,91,127	10,10,206	89,371	15,971	47,762	11,63,310	1,56,031	10,07,279
1262	1852-53			5,73,471	11,74,834	42,048	76,405	4,40,425	6,32,790	84,914	4,32,102	6,084	33,537	...	10,92,737		5,692	5,71,423	10,98,429	1,01,790	38,762	50,922	12,89,903	1,15,003	11,74,900
1263	1853-54			5,50,655	11,35,247	28,822	47,530	4,28,798	6,15,201	87,066	4,39,321	5,969	32,995	...	6,86,389	...	1,328	5,21,833	10,87,717	1,00,538	24,832	46,105	12,59,192	1,20,704	11,38,488
1264	1854-55			5,51,897	11,36,215	29,776	54,296	4,29,217	6,18,378	86,745	4,33,432	6,159	30,109	...	10,80,790		1,129	5,22,121	10,81,919	1,02,517	22,499	50,812	12,57,747	1,13,621	11,44,126
1265	1855-56			5,74,406	11,63,416	14,735	34,640	4,67,472	6,65,115	86,119	4,34,665	6,080	28,996	5,38,48	11,26,322	1,187	1,954	5,39,671	11,28,776	98,220	18,871	60,500	13,06,367	1,30,560	11,75,807
1266	1856-57	12,92,152	20,01,310	6,32,676	12,42,767	65,505	1,88,597	4,74,103	6,29,767	87,300	4,05,385	5,768	19,018	5,66,5[illegible]	10,53,144	633	1,026	5,67,171	10,54,170	85,284	18,837	58,342	12,16,633	48,057	11,68,576
1267	1857-58		...	6,38,739	12,65,696	1,05,746	1,71,966	4,44,547	6,77,798	82,392	3,95,812	6,054	20,120	5,32,1[illegible]	10,92,019	796	1,711	5,32,993	10,93,730	93,992	18,389	40,216	13,05,913	3,83,191	9,22,721
1268	1858-59			5,78,169	10,87,867	15,406	22,566	4,64,431	6,28,936	91,486	4,13,540	6,846	22,825	5,58,2[illegible]	10,56,197	4,523	9,104	5,62,763	10,65,301	1,05,124	46,899	44,851	12,62,175	15,762	12,46,413
1269	1859-60			6,48,435	12,96,194	43,652	69,080	4,54,278	6,10,970	1,22,991	5,28,806	27,514	87,338	5,87,9[illegible]	11,97,978	16,871	29,136	6,04,783	12,27,114	1,499	47,222	39 129	13,14,964	14,459	13,00,505
1270	1860-61			6,59,200	13,08,776	60,570	98,141	4,50,559	6,04,765	1,20,630	5,19,260	27,441	86,870	5,77,3[illegible]	11,73,990	21,268	36,645	5,98,630	12,10,635	937	15,538	39,509	12,66,619	24,791	12,41,828
1271	1861-62	13,00,[illegible]26	21,33,295	6,60,980	13,17,465	57,475	1,16,902	4,64,630	6,26,133	1,10,946	4,86,023	27,929	88,407	5,93,7[illegible]	11,83,650	9,797	16,913	6,03,505	12,00,563	714	33,340	38,253	12,72,870	64,933	12,07,937
1272	1862-63			7,16,109	14,08,746	32,282	48,244	5,17,705	6,87,038	1,36,235	5,78,883	29,887	94,581	6,58,5[illegible]	13,05,[illegible]03	30,246	54,599	6,83,827	13,60,502	1,015	48,593	43,413	14,53,523	18,325	14,35,198
1273	1863-64			7,50,051	14,59,222	48,327	64,943	5,32,357	7,09,192	1,39,257	5,89,983	30,110	95,104	6,75,2[illegible]	13,37,352	26,515	56,927	7,01,724	13,34,279	1,108	40,875	48,037	14 84,299	42,279	14,42,020
1274	1864-65	...		7,63,074	14,72,725	35,686	81,987	5,68,235	7,43,344	1,28,168	5,49,540	30,985	97,854	6,79,6[illegible]	13,21,998	47,720	68,745	7,27,388	13,90,738	844	30,913	11,009	14,33,504	21,822	14,11,682

STATEMENT No. VII.

STATEMENT showing the prices of Grain and other chief articles of produce for a series of years in the District of Madura.

Faslis	Official Years	Rice, 1st sort per Garce.	Rice, 2nd sort.	Paddy, 1st sort.	Paddy, 2nd sort.	Chôlum.	Kambu.	Râgi.	Varagu.	Horse Gram	Ulundu	Wheat	Gingely Oil Seed.	Lamp Oil Seed	Salt.	Cotton, per Candy	Indigo, per Candy.	Sugar, per Candy.
		Rs	Rs	Rs.	Rs	Rs.	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs.
1255	1845-46	267	247	130	117	112	119	132	86	127	210	244	265	193	176	9	No information.	No information.
1256	1846-47	296	279	146	135	133	138	146	89	162	222	304	301	190	178	10		
1257	1847-48	268	242	129	115	124	120	141	82	162	218	347	311	175	211	10		
1258	1848-49	215	189	101	91	86	80	102	54	100	141	331	290	133	192	12		
1259	1849-50	172	161	83	75	79	61	79	45	82	122	291	242	122	178	12		
1260	1850-51	169	151	76	70	67	67	67	41	84	145	337	320	164	173	15		
1261	1851-52	161	152	77	68	71	59	66	50	80	135	271	230	155	157	12		
1262	1852-53	152	144	59	54	67	69	52	44	64	117	209	154	118	154	12	45	20
1263	1853-54	178	168	88	83	99	93	84	60	128	168	313	265	125	154	15	53	23
1264	1854-55	220	201	94	87	92	90	99	75	127	222	487	427	180	157	16	60	28
1265	1855-56	261	246	118	109	106	99	107	69	125	212	453	433	186	159	12	57	25
1266	1856-57	250	237	108	100	105	95	102	82	126	241	352	341	149	153	15	56	27
1267	1857-58	392	365	181	169	178	169	188	136	223	180	418	306	387	165	24	68	36
1268	1858-59	417	367	189	158	177	160	178	120	254 / 291	295 / 493	247	400	224	185	30	68	39
1269	1859-60	322	291	134	117	117 / 144	110 / 140	152	98	173	268	520	588	256	198	33	68	38
1270	1860-61	369 / 416	393	182	166	195	163	175	193	242	471	570	402	302	235	38	68	32
[illegible]	1861-62	455	425	183	167	186	150	166	115	197	389	486	476	390	258	53	68	41
1272	1862-63	382	367	161	145	158	145	155	88	149	271	603	476	390	262	91	67	42
1273	1863-64	572	540	235	216	219	204	222	133	193	217	551	589	313	255	27	68	50
1274	1864-65																	

STATEMENT No. VIII.

STATEMENT *showing the value of Export Trade with particulars of Articles in the District of Madura for a series of years*

Official Years.

ARTICLES.	1846-47	1847-48	1848-49	1849-50	1850-51	1851-52	1852-53	1853-54	1854-55	1855-56
Bones	4,463	3,646		2,483	4,438	3,814	3,468	4,738	7,693	7,349
Coffee										
Cotton Wool				12,104						
Do. Goods	2,02,805	3,31,565	2,58,829	1,52,265	1,36,167	1,43,659	1,56,321	1,62,482	2,05,626	1,08,429
Dregs of gingely								12,085	11,247	26,180
Drugs	6,190	7,313	7,508	8,124	3,618	5,805	7,151	5,907	5,192	3,089
Indigo										
Dyes of sorts										
Emigrant's Stores										
Feathers										
Fish-maws										
Fruits and Nuts										
Paddy	31,627	14,285	1,390	2,093	12,536	39,655	11,114	36,491	62,321	41,632
Rice	19,828	10,143	2,392	10,361	4,176	4,180	4,732	25,182	1,14,961	33,227
Wheat										
Grain of sorts	7,189	1,233	1,357	8,860	6,268	13,601	11,215	16,912	19,045	41,881
Hides										
Horns								1,664	1,132	
Ivory and Ivory-ware										
Jewellery										
Mats										
Molasses										
Coir and Coir Rope										
Hemp										
Naval Stores										
Oil										
Perfumery										
Precious Stones										
Salt										
Saltpetre										
Seeds	1,836	4,091	6,197	3,249	5,233	5,148	4,287	4,159	1,081	1,515
Shawls, Cashmere										
Silk Piece Goods							2,781			
Spices	1,865	1,569	4,478	3,355	2,980	7,019	5,538	6,218	1,305	8,529
Spirits										
Sugar										
Timber and Wood										
Tobacco	1,805	2,700		1,154						
Wax and Wax Candles										
Sundries	1,51,909	1,86,581	1,71,394	1,45,501	1,04,217	1,40,456	1,02,842	1,12,869	1,28,347	1,25,236
Total	4,29,517	5,63,126	4,53,545	3,49,549	2,79,633	3,63,337	3,09,449	3,88,707	5,58,550	3,97,067

ARTICLES.	1856-57	1857-58	1858-59	1859-6[illegible]	1860-61	1861-62	1862-63	1863-64	1864-65	1865-66
Bones	5,343	9,992	6,128	5,5[illegible]	17,491	7,770	14,902	3,926	10,247	14,860
Coffee										
Cotton Wool										
Do. Goods	1,19,885	1,56,955	1,71,386	1,71,[illegible]	1,94,574	1,68,276	1,15,397	1,85,519	1,01,241	2,15,327
Dregs of gingely	31,916	32,873	32,250	36[illegible]	64,745	85,750	48,118	56,096	53,020	64,805
Drugs	3,005	5,439	5,493	1[illegible]8	2,785	7,511	5,419		249	
Indigo										
Dyes of sorts										
Emigrant's Stores										
Feathers										
Fish-maws										
Fruits and Nuts						607			120	47
Paddy	42,815	24,236	4,682	[illegible]182	11,985	58,538	5,096	1,09,336	16,661	3,062
Rice	33,719	27,792	17,544	[illegible]020	30,371	82,269	11,068	49,994	16,351	5,709
Wheat							396			
Grain of sorts	23,324	24,233	10,086	[illegible],434	24,205	13,656	14,717	10,276	13,093	10,243
Hides										
Horns										
Ivory and Ivory-ware										
Jewellery										
Mats										
Molasses										
Coir and Coir Rope										
Hemp										
Naval Stores										
Oil										
Perfumery										
Precious Stones										
Salt										[illegible],400
Saltpetre										
Seeds	1,839	2,245	3,808	1,447	1,14[illegible]	4,973	2,370	97	[illegible]993	613
Shawls, Cashmere										
Silk Piece Goods										
Spices	3,445	3,910	5,516	7,611	7,491	13,424	9,819	4,355	[illegible]	795
Spirits										
Sugar										
Timber and Wood										
Tobacco					662	117				
Wax and Wax Candles										
Sundries	71,074	1,27,064	1,41,7[illegible]	1,56,013	1,50,933	1,53,658	95,869	1,23,016	1,2[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	3,36,365	4,14,739	3,98,[illegible]	4,45,291	5,06,386	5,96,549	3,23,171	5,43,489	3,42,[illegible]	[illegible]

STATEMENT No. IX.

STATEMENT *showing the value of Import Trade with particulars of Articles in the District of Madura for a series of years*

OFFICIAL YEARS

ARTICLES.	1846-47	1847-48	1848-49	1849-50	1850-51	1851-52	1852-53	1853-54	1854-55	1855-56
Millinery and Wearing Apparel	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gold and Silver Lace and Thread	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Books and Stationery	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Twist and Yarn	...	...	...	...	2,800	5,695	1,162	...	7,784	5,414
Piece Goods, dyed	...	...	...	...	802	...	...	...	...	2,869
Do. printed.	...	...	...	...	746	1,065	1,671	...		1,124
Do plain.	10,804	5,595	2,883	6,611	1,478	2,912	434	1,751	14,836	19,865
Drugs	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dyes	12,709	15,808	12,797	28,933	10,021	13,716	16,733	17,153	11,482	12,014
Betelnut, Boiled	16,778	39,937	21,777	28,741	49,401	77,906	99,683	94,941	72,328	55,502
Do. raw	13,054	14,216	12,060	12,451	18,391	25,254	14,727	16,869	14,730	12,730
Glassware	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Paddy	...	2,168	...	38	...	...	...	...	...	1,216
Rice	905	540	288	2,487	128	...		...	...	...
Grain of sorts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gunnies and Gunny Bags	...	...	1,443	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jewellery	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Machinery	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Malt Liquors	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Metals	...	1,088	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Naval Stores	1,621	...	...	...	...	1,601	...	1,093	...	1,838
Oilman's Stores	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Porcelain & Earthenware	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pipe Staves and Casks	...		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Provisions	...		...	2,357	1,223	1,645	...	...	1,471	
Railway Stores	...	...		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Seeds	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,323
Silk, raw	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Do. Piece Goods	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Spices	...	2,741	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Spirits	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tea	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Timber and Planks	4,443	1,734	3,500	4,554	...	2,223	...	3,470	8,432	5,478
Wines	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Woollens	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wool	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sundries	31,454	20,018	42,848	27,536	20,679	19,878	23,172	17,038	6,401	18,638
Total	91,768	1,03,845	97,546	1,13,708	1,05,669	1,51,895	1,57,572	1,52,315	1,37,464	1,38,011

ARTICLES.	1856-57	1857-58	1858-59	1859-60	1860-61	1861-62	1862-63	1863-64	1864-65	1865-66
Millinery and Wearing Apparel	...	...	...		...	...			...	...
Gold and Silver Lace and Thread	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Books and Stationery	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Twist and Yarn	9,786	7,852	16,684	20,729	12,731	13,174	17,291	32,900	63,604	70,149
Piece Goods, dyed	998	215	483	678	307	670	4,931	1,152	22	182
Do. printed.	1,050	3,393	1,476	784	728	2,418	301	1,055	305	670
Do plain.	17,048	15,074	20,170	21,940	33,026	35,402	66,079	1,14,401	82,366	82,450
Drugs	...	...	...		...	...	249	217	106	22
Dyes	6,700	8,831	11,562	6,674	3,586	10,908	5,350	3,281	1,826	2,562
Betelnut, Boiled	40,209	41,026	41,632	30,711	47,805	78,783	1,25,993	1,41,755	59,290	84,633
Do. raw	13,168	10,389	14,807	18,445	10,479	1,587	4,783	20,295	18,024	14,128
Glassware	...	...		...	...	375	...	...	...	...
Paddy	1,344	1,789	18,338	722	35,327	...	31,139	6,440	28,041	1,26,165
Rice		1,762	3,268	640	20,445	30,226	2,033	181	11,549	5,474
Grain of sorts	...	...	...	...	...	...	238	31	343	192
Gunnies and Gunny Bags	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	...
Jewellery	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Machinery	...	...		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Malt Liquors	...	...		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Metals	3,290	3,038	6,027	12,169	5,804	8,783	3,980	6,710	11,311	6,063
Naval Stores	3,887	4,421	3,637	3,184	5,044	7,880	11,745	7,487	5,514	5,098
Oilman's Stores	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Porcelain & Earthenware	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	...
Pipe Staves and Casks		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Provisions	...	...	1,849	...	...	4,056	950	641	605	734
Railway Stores		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Seeds	...	1,392	...	...	...	65	436	1,578	627	2,099
Silk, raw	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Do. Piece Goods	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Spices	1,551	892	...	482	1,320	2,620	2,443	3,383	3,844	255
Spirits	...	...		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tea	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Timber and Planks	10,711	9,047	6,112	21,538	17,712	23,301	14,598	23,230	21,695	20,180
Wines	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Woollens	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wool	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sundries	17,673	22 748	19,307	21,722	18,819	23,694	28,209	33,593	32,714	52,516
Total	1,27,415	1,31,839	1,65,352	1,80,348	2,13,133	2,43,942	3,20,748	3,98,330	3,41,786	4,73,572

STATEMENT No. X.

STATEMENT *showing the total value of Trade in the District of Madura for a series of years*

Official years	Value of Imports.			Value of Exports.			Value of Re-exports	Gross duty		
	Merchandize	Treasure	Total.	Merchandize.	Treasure.	Total			A	P
	Rs.	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs.	Rs	Rs		
1846–47	91,768		91,768	4,29,517	...	4,29,517	...	No information		
1847–48	1,03,845	..	1,03,845	5,63,126	...	5,63,126	...			
1848–49	97,546	...	97,546	4,53,545	...	4,53,545	...			
1849–50	1,13,708	1,000	1,14,708	3,49,549	..	3,49,549	...			
1850–51	1,05,669	...	1,05,669	2,79,633	...	2,79,633	1,401			
1851–52	1,51,895	..	1,51,895	3,63,337	..	3,63,337	1,053			
1852–53	1,57,572	...	1,57,572	3,09,449	...	3,09,449	1,142			
1853–54	1,52,315	..	1,52,315	3,88,707	...	3,88,707	2,467	23,077	6	10
1854–55	1,37,464	...	1,37,464	5,58,550	.	5,58,550	3,075	27,786	4	2
1855–56	1,38,011	.	1,38,011	3,97,067	...	3,97,067	8,552	20,998	10	9
1856–57	1,27,415	...	1,27,415	3,36,365	...	3,36,365	10,804	18,640	12	11
1857–58	1,91,839	...	1,91,839	4,14,739	...	4,14,739	909	18,822	13	10
1858–59	1,65,352	...	1,65,352	3,98,619	.	3,98,619	19,188	15,825	10	11
1859–60	1,80,348	..	1,80,348	4,45,291	..	4,45,291	2,346	34,565	12	1
1860–61	2,13,133	2,850	2,15,983	5,06,386	..	5,06,386	37,269	28,015	4	6
1861–62	2,43,942	2,000	2,45,942	5,96,549	..	5,96,549	32,822	38,460	3	11
1862–63	3,20,748	850	3,21,598	3,23,171	...	3,23,171	1,747	31,541	5	1
1863–64	3,98,330	...	3 98,330	5,43,489	...	5,43,489	1,059	49,777	11	4
1864–65	3,41,786	...	3,41,786	3,42,295	...	3,42,295	709	24,987	11	1
1865–66	4,73,572	...	4,73,572	5,64,498	...	5,64,498	1,726	28,917	4	2

STATEMENT No. XII.

STATEMENT *showing the Collections under the several heads of Revenue in the District of Madura for a series of years.*

Faslis	Official years	Land Revenue.	Forest Revenue.	Abkâri.	Income Tax	Sea Customs	Land Customs	Salt	Stamps	Total
1264	1854-55	16,86,226	...	57,773		26,125	574	3,93,355	37,772	22,01,825
1265	1855-56	20,27,286	.	66,267	.	19,574	373	3,93,106	49,132	25,55,738
1266	1856-57	19,52,830	.	71,494	...	18,033	328	4,06,982	55,513	25,05,180
1267	1857-58	15,12,063	...	75,433	...	18,540	289	4,29,532	49,259	20,85,116
1268	1858-59	21,55,098	...	74,725	...	20,391	192	4,48,230	49,775	27,48,411
1269	1859-60	20,57,778	...	86,247	...	32,603	292	4,27,693	59,631	26,64,244
1270	1860-61	20,27,193	. .	81,440	60,944	30,160	240	4,52,312	1,15,894	27,68,183
1271	1861-62	20,15,497	...	92,628	1 36,663	37,199	345	6,21,233	1,95,822	30,99,387
1272	1862-63	21,12,309	4,920	79,518	1,07,399	33,637	670	5,74,083	1,39,322	30,51,858
1273	1863-64	22,37,039	2,191	1,01,445	84,220	49,193	919	4,84,811	1,69,997	31,29,815
1274	1864-65	24,07,167	6,945	1,10,228	80,648	24,607	535	5,83,697	2,07,898	34,21,725
1275	1865-66	19,51,350	6,490	1,00,195	29,270	29,363	. .	6,27,712	2,20,582	29,64,962

STATEMENT No. XI.

STATEMENT *showing the Number and Tonnage of Vessels arrived at and departed from the District of Madura for a series of years*

ARRIVALS.

Official years.	Square Rigged. Steamers No.	Square Rigged. Steamers Tonnage	Square Rigged. Ships. No.	Square Rigged. Ships. Tonnage.	Native Crafts. No.	Native Crafts. Tonnage.	Total. No.	Total. Tonnage
1846-47	No information (1846-47 to 1852-53)							
1847-48								
1848-49								
1849-50								
1850-51								
1851-52								
1852-53								
1853-54	0	0	65	4,176	185	5,098	250	9,274
1854-55	0	0	174	13,838	267	7,996	441	21,834
1855-56	0	0	99	7,584	359	12,416	458	20,000
1856-57	0	0	122	9,291	483	12,875	605	22,166
1857-58	0	0	144	11,831	465	13,999	609	25,830
1858-59	0	0	186	14,328	633	17,789	819	32,117
1859-60	2	520	170	14,481	676	20,532	848	35,533
1860-61	0	0	241	22,584	485	19,736	726	42,320
1861-62	0	0	334	30,857	475	21,342	809	52,199
1862-63	1	260	381	38,219	506	37,171	888	75,650
1863-64	0	0	480	55,042	521	25,053	1,001	80,095
1864-65	0	0	499	70,523	318	17,111	817	87,634
1865-66	0	0	577	71,528	418	21,818	995	93,346

DEPARTURES.

Official years.	Square Rigged. Steamers No.	Square Rigged. Steamers Tonnage.	Square Rigged. Ships. No.	Square Rigged. Ships. Tonnage.	Native Crafts. No.	Native Crafts. Tonnage.	Total. No	Total. Tonnage.
1846-47	No information (1846-47 to 1852-53)							
1847-48								
1848-49								
1849-50								
1850-51								
1851-52								
1852-53								
1853-54	0	0	76	6,213	708	23,117	784	29,330
1854-55	0	0	87	6,710	795	25,884	882	32,594
1855-56	0	0	80	7,050	630	21,709	710	28,759
1856-57	0	0	81	6,620	445	14,913	526	21,533
1857-58	0	0	115	8,756	1,225	33,567	1,340	42,323
1858-59	0	0	129	15,184	948	24,979	1,077	40,163
1859-60	0	0	168	14,755	1,024	27,549	1,192	42,304
1860-61	0	0	204	19,618	714	23,682	918	43,300
1861-62	0	0	265	24,684	791	31,192	1,056	55,876
1862-63	0	0	260	26,910	803	36,432	1,063	63,342
1863-64	0	0	354	43,985	678	31,039	1,032	75,024
1864-65	0	0	489	69,906	559	24,038	1,048	93,944
1865-66	0	0	483	59,605	587	24,569	1,070	84,174

APPENDIX D

Contains eight statements showing :—

1.—*State of Roads.*

2.—*List of Towns.*

3.—*Administration of Civil Justice.*

4.— *Do. of Criminal Justice.*

5.—*Numbers and deaths of Prisoners.*

6.—*Deaths by Cholera in Jail.*

7.—*List of Magistrates.*

8.—*Schools and Education.*

STATEMENT No. I.

STATEMENT *showing the state of repair of each Main and Branch Road in the Madura District.*
(Furnished by Mr. Manager Shutie)

Name of Roads	Miles in length	Number of Bridges and Tunnels, &c.	Number of miles metalled.	Number of miles unmetalled.	Expenditure from the last 10 years. Rs. A. P.	Remarks
Main Road No 1, commencing from Dindoogal up to the boundary, viâ Vadamadura	18	......	5	13	10,532 12 2	The first 5 miles of this Road are in fair order. A few miles between Vadamadura and Iyaloor are in a middling state, the remainder is in bad order, some of it is nearly impassable at times
Do do. Branch Road from Dindoogal to Coodanpoody, viâ Ediacottay	35	.....	...	...	.. ...	No repairs.
Do do Branch Road from Trumangolam to Ayerathurmam, viâ Culpatty	17	.....	...	...	......	No repairs.
Main Road No 2, from Dindoogal to Amaravatty River viâ Pulkanooth and Palaney	48	......	10	38	15,994 1 3	The last 10 miles are in fair order, for the remainder of the distance an Estimate has been made to put it in order.
Do No 3, from Madura to Coorvasekurichi, viâ Nattam	33	.....	...	...	......	Under repairs in the Collectorate
Road No. 4, from Pooloothipatty north of Cottampatty through Madura up to the boundary Nullamen Naickenpatty.	64	69 Bridges 163 Tunnels 9 Road Dams	64	...	114,824 7 2	Very fair order generally
Branch Road No. 5, from Meyloor to the boundary, viâ Trippattoor	26	27 Bridges 6 Tunnels 9 Road Dams	5	27	11,235 0 8	When metalled throughout will be a valuable Road

STATEMENT No. I.—*continued.*

Name of Roads	Miles in length.	Number of Bridges and Tunnels, &c.	Number of miles metalled.	Number of miles unmetalled.	Expenditure from the last 10 years. RS.	A.	P.	Remarks.
Branch Road No 6, from Trippatoor to Road No. 7, viâ Kunnakkoody.	24	......	...	...	. ..			No repairs
Do. Road No. 7, from Ramanad to the boundary, viâ Rasingamangalam and Kunnagoody.	63	......	...	...	.. ...			No repairs.
Coast Road No. 8, Branch Road from Shevelpatti to Vuttanam, viâ Ramanad.	80	21 Bridges and Tunnels.	. ...	...	. . .			Road from Sayelgoodi to Ramanad is partly good and partly not good, and from Ramanad to Devipattam 10 miles are in good order, and from Devipattam to Vuttanam is sandy.
Do. No. 9, do. from Parpangolam to Terokosamangay, viâ Moodookalatoor.	27	.....	...	...	... .			No repairs
Do. No. 10, do. road from Mandalamanikam to Yettivial, viâ Yerrumpatty	30	......	...	...	3,900	0	0	A few miles of Road is in good order
Do No. 11, do from Shevagangah to Ramanad, viâ Eliangoodi.	44	25 Bridges and Tunnels.	35	,,	1,298	13	2	The Road is generally good. Most of the Bridges and Tunnels are in good order and the rest requiring repair.
Do. No. 12, do. from the boundary near Kunnagoodi to Road No. 11, viâ Kaliarcoil and Mangalam.	38	......	...	...	.....			No repairs
Do. No 13, Main Road from the boundary near Caroor to Vuttanam, viâ Dindoogal, Cottampatty and Trippattoor.	123	24 Bridges, 57 Tunnels and 5 Road Dams.	41	82	51,100	8	1	

STATEMENT No. I.—*continued.*

Name of Roads.	Miles in length.	Number of Bridges and Tunnels, &c.	Number of miles metalled.	Number of miles unmetalled.	Expenditure from the last 10 years RS.	A.	P.	Remarks
Road No. 14, Branch Road from Manaloor to Tondy viâ Shevagungah.	57	38 Bridges and 105 Tunnels.	44	13	62,394	14	0	
Do. No. 15, Main Road from Dindoogal to Paumben viâ Ramanad, Manamadura and Madura	130	180 Tunnels.	67	63	22,440	3	7	
Do. No. 16, Main Road from Madura to Sayelgoodi viâ Tiroochooly	60	3 Bridges and 18 Tunnels.	59	...	22,440	3	7	In good order.
Do. No. 17, Branch Road from Mallacottey to Dindoogal.	17	....	...	...	......			The road is in a very rough state.
Do. No. 18, Branch Road from Rullapatti to Goodaloor boundary viâ Periakolam and Chinnamanoor.	73	......	...	...	18,797	0	7	The road is under repair at the Collectorate.
Do. No. 19, Branch Road from Buttalagoondoo to Dindoogal.	21	......	...	...	1,581	4	2	A few miles made which are in good order, the remainder is passable although unmade except in a few places where black soil and rocky ground is to be met with.
Do. No. 20, do. from Andipatti to Periakolam.	11	......	...	...	......			No repairs.
Do. do. from Madura to Chinnamanoor viâ Kurmatoor and Andipatti.	57	......	...	...	6,450	7	8	A few miles made and are in good order.
Do. No. 21, do. from Periakolam to the boundary near Darapooram viâ Poomparai and Palaney.	48	......	...	...	12,938	0	7	A few miles in good order—the remainder in course of repair.

STATEMENT No. I.—*continued.*

Name of Roads.	Miles in length.	Number of Bridges and Tunnels, &c.	Number of miles metalled.	Number of miles unmetalled.	Expenditure from the last 10 years. RS. A. P.	Remarks.
Road No. 21, from Sembaganoor to the south side of Balasamudram viâ Vilpatty.	12	......	...	...	......	No repairs.
Do. do. from Vilpatty to Periakolam viâ Palamaday.	15	......	...	...	......	No repairs.
Do. do. from Palamaday to Devadanapatty.	7	......	...	...	......	No repairs.
Do. No. 22, do. from Meyloor to Tiroochooly viâ Tirooppoovanam.	40	......	...	...	......	The road is partly good and partly not good.
Do. No. 23, Branch Road from Ayeratharmam to Road No. 18 viâ Oosilampatty.	39	......	...	...	......	No repairs.
Do. No. 24, do. from Meyloor to Cadagoosunthay viâ Shevagangah, Manamadura and Moodookalathoor.	70	......	...	...	328 0 0	The road is in a bad state
Main Road No. 25, do. from Tiroomangalam to Oosalumpatty viâ Surdoopatty.	16	6 Bridges, 19 Tunnels and 13 Road Dams.	7	9	......	When metalled throughout, will be a valuable road.
Do. Road No. 26, from Tiroomangalam via Ammayanaicknoor to Coimbatore boundary.	87	4 Bridges and 130 Tunnels.	24½	52½	60,181 0 0	The remaining part of the road is under construction.
Do. Road No. 27, from Pundalagoodi to Road No. 16 viâ Aroopoocottah.	24	......	...	...	8,508 5 7	In good order throughout.

STATEMENT No. II.

STATEMENT *showing the Towns of the District.*

Names of the Towns.	Population.	Remarks.
Madura - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	41,601	The Police Act has been declared applicable to this town
*Tirumangalam - - - - - - - - - -	5,107	
Mêlûr - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	4,068	
Dindigul - - - - - - - - - - - -	6,258	The Police Act has been declared applicable to this town.
Palani - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	11,151	Do. do. do
*Râmnâd - - - - - - - - - - - - -	9,687	
Kîlakarei - - - - - - - - - - - - -	11,041	
Râmêswaram - - - - - - - - - - -	3,760	
Paramagudi - - - - - - - - - - -	7,393	
Aruppukôttei - - - - - - - - - - -	8,139	
*Sivagangei - - - - - - - - - - -	7,471	
Eliyângudi - - - - - - - - - - - -	4,346	
Tondi - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	2,834	Belongs to the Sivagangei Zamindâri.
Pârthipanûr - - - - - - - - - - - -	3,578	
Periyakulam - - - - - - - - - - -	7,554	The Police Act has been declared applicable to this town.

In a letter from the Magistrate of the District to the Head Assistant Magistrate in 1865, the former expressed his intention of extending the application of the Police Act (Sec. 48) to the Towns marked*: but the thing was never done.

STATEMENT No. III.

STATEMEMT *showing the Administration of Civil Justice for a series of twelve years in the District of Madura.*

Years	Number of Suits		Particulars of the Suits instituted during the year.						Value of the property at issue in the Suits pending at the close of the year.	Appeals.		Application for execution of Decrees.		Petitions	
	Instituted.	Disposed of.	For land rent and revenue.	Land.	Real property such as Houses, &c	Debts, Wages, &c.	Caste, Religion, &c.	Indigo, Sugar, Silk, &c.		Referred.	Disposed of.	Referred	Disposed of.	Referred.	Disposed of
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1854	6,888	5,719	61	388	164	6,275	0	0	31,44,765	117	137	1,732	1,732	10,362	10,362
1855	6,721	5,511	61	404	125	6,131	0	0	30,38,205	186	157	1,532	1,532	7,767	7,767
1856	9,057	7,024	71	519	149	8,318	0	0	51,22,012	303	175	1,371	1,371	6,116	6,116
1857	7,049	6,868	101	526	142	6,280	0	0	67,36,219	304	166	1,537	1,537	7,472	7,472
1858	7,408	6,976	235	387	138	6,573	0	75	70,26,041	253	147	924	924	7,185	7,185
1859	9,732	8,105	284	417	181	8,751	7	92	20,72,375	185	162	2,496	2,496	7,490	7,490
1860	6,850	7,439	230	259	133	6,205	3	20	67,21,677	160	420	2,111	2,111	6,435	6,435
1861	16,432	9,829	243	392	152	15,631	8	6	7,95,152	280	502	3,711	3,711	6,307	6,307
1862	10,707	13,295	228	321	116	10,032	0	10	6,62,389	222	226	3,200	3,200	5,533	5,533
1863	9,814	12,250	274	324	166	9,019	9	22	6,17,745	361	230	3,392	3,392	4,023	4,023
1864	6,493	8,028	253	481	159	5,584	1	15	22,93,317	418	282	3,612	3,612	5,262	5,262
1865	11,540	11,665	795	506	245	9,985	5	4	7,83,543	484	335	4,359	4,359	4,793	4,793

STATEMENT No. IV.

STATEMENT *showing the Administration of Criminal Justice for a series of years in the District of Madura.*

Years	Offences against the Person		Offences against Property with violence		Offences against Property without violence		Malicious offences against Property, &c.		Forgeries, &c.		Offences against Revenue Laws.		Miscellaneous		Number of Accidental Deaths	Number of Suicides
	Number of Persons apprehended.	Number of Persons convicted	Number of Persons apprehended	Number of Persons convicted.	Number of Persons apprehended.	Number of Persons convicted	Number of Persons apprehended.	Number of Persons convicted.	Number of Persons apprehended.	Number of Persons convicted	Number of Persons apprehended.	Number of Persons convicted.	Number of Persons apprehended.	Number of Persons convicted.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1862	196	97	242	42	1,025	535	12	6					272	181	..	
1863	101	70	263	81	676	490	50	16	4	4	8	3	773	643	339	46
1864	2,401	1,456	385	123	1,528	1,049	538	150	2	2	13		2,431	1,000	267	53
1865	3,156	1,943	194	90	1,452	1,062	378	67	11	1	45	11	3,033	1,447	252	63
1866	5,375	3,690	384	162	3,163	2,426	600	201	28	7	34	30	2,854	1,355	269	47
1867	3,981	3,340	460	161	2,428	1,781	671	147	43	12	59	50	4,203	2,079	296	30

STATEMENT No. V.

STATEMENT *showing the number of Prisoners in the old Jail at Madura during a series of years.*

Year	Number of Prisoners the old Jail ought to hold	Average daily number of Convicts	Average daily number of under-trial Prisoners.	Average daily number of Civil Debtors	Number of Deaths	Remarks
1863 - - - - -	181	$240\frac{10\frac{3}{4}}{12}$	$18\frac{8}{12}$	$18\frac{6}{12}$	55	Average mortality $50\frac{1}{2}$
1864 - - - - -	181	$239\frac{4\frac{3}{4}}{12}$	$18\frac{7\frac{1}{2}}{12}$	$31\frac{6\frac{3}{4}}{12}$	81	
1865 - - - - -	181	$200\frac{2}{12}$	$13\frac{\frac{3}{4}}{12}$	$30\frac{3\frac{3}{4}}{12}$	43	
1866 - - - - -	181	$206\frac{1}{2}$	$17\frac{3}{4}$	$27\frac{1}{2}$	23	

STATEMENT No. VI.

STATEMENT *showing Admissions and Deaths from Cholera in the Old Jail Hospital for a series of years.*

	1856.		1857		1858.		1859.		1860.		1861.		1862.		1863.		1864		1865		1866	
	Admitted	Died	Admitted	Died	Admitted.	Died.	Admitted	Died.	Admitted	Died.	Admitted	Died.	Admitted.	Died	Admitted.	Died.	Admitted.	Died	Admitted.	Died.	Admitted	Died
January	4	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	3	7	5	1	1	29	13	10	5	0	0
February...	1	1	23	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	3	2	1	9	8	5	2	1	0
March	0	0	7	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	6	4	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
April..	0	0	0	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
May	0	0	0	0	7	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	3
June	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
July	0	0	19	11	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
August	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	0	0
September	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	10	3	2	5	2
October.. . . .	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
November	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	3	1	1
December.....	1	0	0	0	18	9	0	0	5	3	2	1	3	2	0	0	16	11	3	2	3	2
Total .	6	3	55	28	38	16	0	0	9	6	7	4	25	15	7	4	72	42	32	16	17	8

STATEMENT No. VII.

STATEMENT *showing Magistrates' names, salaries, &c, in the year* 1867.

Names of Magistrates	Salaries			Chief Stations	Jurisdiction	Remarks.
V. H. Levinge, Esq	2,333	5	4	Madura	Full powers of a Magistrate	Collector
G. VansAgnew, Esq	1,166	10	8	Dindigul	Do	Sub-Collector
G McWatters, Esq	733	5	4	Madura	Do	Acting Head Assistant Collector.
L R Burrows, Esq	350	0	0	Pâmbam	Powers of a 2d class Sub-Mag	Assistant Collector.
H W. Wellesley, Esq	350	0	0	Madura	None	Do Not passed.
P. Seshagiri Râu	250	0	0	Do	Full powers	Treasury Deputy Collector.
Râm Râu.	350	0	0	Râmnâd.	Do	Salt Deputy Collector.
Sômasundara Muthali	225	0	0	Madura	Powers of Sub-Mag, 1st class	Tahsildar of Madura
Venkata Râu.	200	0	0	Tirumangalam	Do	Do Tirumangalam
Râmasâmi Ayyar	175	0	0	Dindigul	Do	Do Dindigul
Mr G Burby	150	0	0	Palani	Do	Do Palani
Râmaya	200	0	0	Mêlûr	Powers of a 2d class Sub-Mag	Do Mêlûr.
Gôvinda Râu.	150	0	0	Periyakulam.	Do	Do Periyakulam
Sîtârâmayya	100	0	0	Madura	Do	Town Sub-Magistrate.
Subbaya.	70	0	0	Usalampatti	Do	
Nâranayya	70	0	0	Tiruchuli	Do	
Sadagôpa Chetti	70	0	0	Mudukulattûr	Do	
Sadâsivan	100	0	0	Râmnâd	Do	
Râmalingaya	70	0	0	Tiruvâdâni	Do	
Gôpâlayangâr	100	0	0	Sivagangei	Do	
Kristnasâmi Nâyakkan	100	0	0	Tirupatûr	Do	
Dêvapriyam Pillei	70	0	0	Nilakôttei	Do	
Râm Râu	70	0	0	Vêdasandûr	Do	
Râgavayyan	70	0	0	Chinnamanûr	Do	
Strînivassa Râgavayya	150	0	0	Palani Hills	Do	50 Rupees as Sub-Magistrate and 15 as
Mr. A. Burby	65	0	0	Pâmbam	Do	Sea Customs Agent

STATEMENT No. VIII.

STATEMENT *showing the progress of Education for a series of years in the District of Madura*

Years.	Government Schools		Schools maintained by a rate		Aided Schools.		Schools under simple inspection.		Total		Candidates for Matriculation and First Art Examinations		Candidates for U. C. S. Examination.		Candidates for Special Test Examination.	
	Number.	Number of pupils.	Number	Number of pupils.	Number.	Number of pupils.	Number.	Number of pupils.	Number.	Number of pupils.	Number of applicants.	Number passed	Number of applicants.	Number passed.	Number of applicants	Number passed
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1857	1	163	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	163	...	...	...			
1858	7	311	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	311	...	...	...			
1859	5	395	...	...	3		...	...	8	395	...	...	...			
1860	4	317	...	...	6	146	1	44	11	507	1	1	...			
1861	4	381	...	...	4	178	...	...	8	559	...	...	...	No information available		
1862	4	385	...	...	1	56	5	177	10	618	4	2	...			
1863	3	442	...	...	3	146	3	87	9	675	5	4	...			
1864	3	448	...	...	14	543	29	637	46	1,628	19	3	127			
1865	3	454	...	...	28	1,118	13	449	44	2,021	17	6	179			
1866	3	434	...	...	31	1,198	31	670	65	2,302	31	10	175			
1867	3	454	...	...	36	1,315	26	561	65	2,330	48	16	142			
1868	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	130			

APPENDIX E

Contains three statements showing:—

1.—*Cotton and Indigo cultivation.*

2.—*Collections in Zamindâris.*

3.—*Collections under all heads from Fasli* 1211.

STATEMENT No. I.

STATEMENT *showing the extent of Cotton and Indigo cultivation in the District of Madura for a series of years, together with the assessment.*

Fasli	Cotton		Indigo.	
	Extent in Acres.	Assessment in Rupees.	Extent in Acres.	Assessment in Rupees.
1260	74,688			
1261	85,008	1,20,947		
1262	86,783	1,31,300	30	35
1263	81,067	1,25,118	27	40
1264	79,204	1,25,390	31	55
1265	52,016	87,748	43	64
1266	69,972	1,09,763	52	86
1267	74,583	1,21,752	28	58
1268	75,818	1,22,037	32	67
1269	77,159	1,26,143	34	75
1270	81,250	1,32,751	53	81
1271	72,083	1,18,843	128	163
1272	83,681	1,36,708	158	179
1273	1,08,804	1,73,925	173	248
1274	1,23,914	1,93,731	273	335
1275	1,09,637	1,68,692	119	183
1276	91,918	1,47,565	61	93

STATEMENT No. II.

STATEMENT *showing the amount of Collections made in the Zamindâris of Sivagangei and Râmnâd.*

While under Government attachment		While under the management of the Court of Wards.		While under Government attachment		While under the management of the Court of Wards	
Fasli.	Amount of Collections	Fasli	Amount of Collections	Fasli	Amount of Collections	Fasli.	Amount of Collections
	SIVAGANGEI.				RÂMNÂD		
1246	2,95,301	1258	4,29,867	1224	4,39,239	1252	5,11,431
1247	4,26,130	1259	3,64,884	1225	4,69,132	1253	4,62,333
1248	4,36,261	1260	3,91,803	1226	5,60,329	1254	4,29,112
1249	4,77,714	1261	3,60,825	1227	5,28,747		
1250	3,49,641	1262	4,13,801	1228	5,29,075		
1251	3,65,957	1263	4,34,820	1229	5,08,793		
1252	3,62,342	1264	5,08,229	1230	4,67,497		
1253	4,05,085	1265	5,45,882	1231	5,40,459		
		1266	6,03,962	1232	5,94,796		
		1267	4,32,106	1233	3,67,847		
		1268	6,43,084	1234	5,44,945		
				1235	5,29,107		
				1236	5,34,233		
				1237	4,80,907		

STATEMENT No. III.

STATEMENT *showing the Revenue from all sources in the District of Madura from Fasli* 1211 *to* 1276.

Fasli.	Ryotwâr. RS A P	Zamindâri Pêshkash RS A P	Jôdi of Shrôtriam and Inâm Villages RS A P	Amâni RS A P	Hill Villages RS A P	Rented for one year RS A P	Miscellaneous. RS A P	Total Land Revenue RS A P	Forest Revenue. RS A P	Abkâri RS A P	Salt. RS A P	Sayer. RS A P	Sea Customs RS A P	Fish Rent. RS A P	Cardamom Hills RS A P	Income Tax. RS A P	Moturpha RS A P	Stamps. RS A P	Total of sundry sources of Revenue RS A P	Grand Total RS A P	Remarks
1211	7,37,356 3 0	5,22,968 14 8						12,60,325 1 8													
1212	8,22,619 3 0	7,01,358 15 11						15,23,978 2 11													
1213	9,18,868 4 6	8,49,333 5 1						17,68,201 9 7													
1214	3,23,424 1 9	12,14,436 7 8			3,627 4 4			15,41,487 13 9													
1215	4,36,796 11 9	12,50,148 6 5			4,793 15 0			16,61,739 1 2			61,914 5 0										
1216	4,27,012 11 8	12,50,148 6 5			4,783 5 4			16,81,944 7 5			60,942 10 8										
1217	6,95,721 3 4	9,68,938 4 5			4,517 15 5			16,69,177 7 2			86,864 9 3										
1218	7,40,278 5 11	9,68,932 14 6			5,537 3 5			17,14,748 7 10		29,647 4 5	79,580 7 4	29,663 8 9			19,090 12 7				1,57,972 1 1	18,72,720 8 11	
1219	7,69,397 2 3	9,68,932 14 6			4,412 1 11			17,42,752 2 8		22,852 3 8	76,462 10 6	29,935 3 4			21,211 15 8				1,90,462 1 2	19,33,214 3 10	
1220	6,71,619 10 7	9,68,932 14 6			2,990 14 6			16,43,543 7 7		18,051 1 6	44,299 13 6	72,793 0 6			15,060 9 8			8,258 0 2	1,58,462 9 4	18,02,006 0 11	
1221	4,46,481 12 5	9,68,932 14 6			3,754 8 10			14,19,169 3 9		27,548 0 10	92,843 0 3	84,425 1 8			15,060 9 8			8,890 3 1	2,28,766 15 6	16,47,936 3 3	
1222	4,94,122 9 3	9,68,932 14 6			4,560 9 9			14,67,616 1 4		29,123 9 0	1,11,987 4 11	99,470 6 8			15,060 9 8			8,306 13 2	2,63,948 11 5	17,31,564 12 9	
1223	4,44,031 12 8	9,68,932 14 6			3,606 1 0			14,16,570 12 2		23,838 0 11	1,04,594 1 1	1,53,495 14 1						7,385 14 6	2,89,313 14 7	17,05,884 10 9	
1224	5,87,022 13 1	9,09,189 2 5			3,733 5 6			14,99,945 5 0		24,113 11 5	90,458 2 11	1,53,970 3 4						8,870 10 11	2,77,412 12 7	17,77,358 1 7	
1225	6,77,749 12 7	8,45,463 11 0			4,942 9 10			15,28,156 1 5		26,107 11 0	1,02,908 13 10	1,54,857 7 1						9,460 1 2	2,93,334 1 1	18,21,490 2 6	
1226	7,10,112 3 3	7,49,646 12 6			5,133 5 4			14,64,892 5 1		31,825 4 11	1,24,450 7 0	1,91,216 11 6						10,881 13 10	3,58,374 5 3	18,23,266 10 4	
1227	7,25,761 11 10	7,29,170 8 2			4,910 9 7			14,59,842 13 7		34,781 5 4	1,16,726 7 11	2,08,346 13 2						12,332 8 5	3,72,187 2 10	18,32,030 0 5	
1228	7,47,894 0 1	7,29,170 8 2			4,910 9 8			14,81,957 1 10		35,698 15 8	1,18,393 4 6	2,30,877 6 7						12,630 9 2	3,97,600 3 11	18,79,576 5 9	
1229	7,25,042 14 3	7,20,766 6 7			4,277 6 8			14,50,086 11 6		47,812 0 0	1,52,554 6 1	2,52,165 9 6						18,658 11 7	4,71,190 11 2	19,21,277 6 8	
1230	7,11,151 0 7	7,14,871 7 3			4,277 6 8			14,30,299 14 6		54,105 13 4	1,68,881 2 10	2,53,300 3 11						18,884 13 10	4,95,172 1 11	19,25,472 0 5	
1231	7,40,548 2 2	7,14,871 7 3			4,277 6 8			14,59,697 0 1		60,206 5 9	1,78,524 13 6	3,02,509 4 0	18,345 13 4					24,960 1 0	5,84,546 5 7	20,44,243 5 8	
1232	8,55,052 8 8	7,22,863 3 11			5,115 4 10			15,83,031 1 5		60,217 0 0	1,83,750 11 1	3,19,009 5 9	15,973 14 3					24,757 2 0	6,03,708 1 1	21,86,739 2 6	
1233	6,69,512 0 6	7,22,863 3 11			5,115 4 10			13,97,490 9 3		65,246 2 3	1,81,933 5 3	3,43,458 12 11	13,389 13 3					23,335 15 0	5,27,364 0 8	20,24,854 9 11	
1234	8,79,527 14 8	7,23,303 6 8			5,115 4 10			16,07,946 10 2		68,474 6 10	1,77,081 7 8	3,49,900 13 10	16,936 6 6					22,206 13 0	6,34,599 15 10	22,42,546 10 0	
1235	9,10,626 13 3	7,23,303 6 8			5,115 4 10			16,39,045 8 9		65,406 3 0	1,87,609 8 6	3,49,884 11 3	16,136 4 8					16,594 1 0	6,35,630 12 5	22,74,676 5 2	
1236	9,52,191 8 11	7,23,303 6 8			5,115 4 10			16,80,610 4 5		69,913 8 7	1,76,689 7 7	3,64,112 4 5	8,291 12 7					19,104 5 0	6,38,111 6 2	23,18,721 10 7	
1237	8,65,222 2 5	7,24,111 15 1			4,910 9 8			15,94,244 11 2		62,199 0 0	1,81,213 6 0	38,582 0 0	11,463 10 8					17,621 7 0	6,56,079 7 8	22,50,324 2 10	
1238	8,00,943 7 7	7,24,111 15 1			4,910 9 8			15,29,966 0 4		68,647 2 6	2,42,883 1 3	4,01,316 12 4	11,258 7 6					17,854 4 0	7,41,959 11 7	22,71,925 11 11	
1239	7,98,896 3 6	7,24,111 15 1			4,910 9 8			15,27,918 12 3		65,148 0 0	2,19,283 5 0	3,88,896 7 6	9,235 13 10	9,137 15 8				16,036 12 0	7,07,738 6 0	22,35,657 2 3	
1240	8,62,774 4 4	7,24,111 15 1			4,910 9 8			15,91,996 13 1		60,707 14 1	2,14,093 11 0	3,43,129 2 8	22,156 15 7	8,738 15 2				13,779 5 0	6,62,605 15 6	22,54,402 12 7	
1241	7,03,992 3 8	7,24,111 15 1			4,910 9 8			14,33,014 12 5		63,204 0 0	2,53,026 4 11	3,64,354 0 0	16,792 7 8	9,923 11 6				15,358 8 0	7,22,659 0 1	21,55,673 12 6	
1242	8,18,683 13 11	7,24,111 15 1			1,457 11 3			15,44,253 8 3		59,410 8 11	2,26,033 2 11	3,25,633 12 0	7,686 15 7	9,937 15 8				13,517 6 0	6,42,019 13 1	21,86,273 5 4	
1243	8,78,264 7 6	7,24,111 15 1			2,836 5 10			16,05,212 12 5		52,746 12 3	2,15,567 7 8	3,07,711 8 0	8,658 4 4	8,761 9 0				12,895 15 0	6,06,341 8 3	22,11,554 4 8	
1244	9,11,467 1 10	7,24,111 15 1			3,231 3 4			16,38,810 4 3		47,291 0 0	2,46,204 4 8	2,98,779 8 0	25,135 15 7	10,436 4 10				15,593 6 6	6,43,440 7 7	22,82,250 11 10	
1245	10,35,485 3 6	7,12,075 5 6			3,231 3 4			17,50,792 12 4		45,705 0 0	2,35,089 10 5	3,20,889 0 0	23,346 15 9	10,659 0 11				17,978 8 0	6,53,668 3 1	24,04,459 15 5	
1246	7,48,577 5 2	7,12,075 5 6			3 231 3 4			14,63,883 14 0		48,805 0 0	2,46,387 8 4	3,20,464 0 0	10,808 10 8	4,822 15 3				22,364 15 0	6,53,653 1 3	21,17,536 15 3	
1247	9,17,331 10 10	7,13,015 4 0			3,283 12 0			16,33,630 10 10		42,241 0 0	2,49,592 9 2	2,22,137 2 5	11,398 5 2	8,331 6 7				23,207 0 10	5,56,907 8 2	21,90,538 3 0	
1248	10,20,977 12 5	7,13,015 4 0			3,283 12 0			17,37,276 12 2		42,461 0 0	2,55,271 10 3	2,55,028 4 8	11,492 4 7	10,725 10 9				19,857 9 1	5,94,836 7 4	23,32,113 3 6	
1249	10,58,847 5 8	7,21,515 4 0			3,283 12 0			17,83,646 5 8		42,120 0 0	2,61,242 8 3	2,74,745 2 10	13,653 11 5	10,678 4 9				22,140 1 6	6,24,579 12 9	24,08,226 2 5	
1250	10,19,619 0 10	7,21,515 4 0			3,378 0 0			17,44,512 4 10		42,590 0 0	2,76,736 6 6	2,71,211 6 1	13,064 1 3	8,345 9 2				24,512 11 11	6,36,460 2 11	23,80,972 7 9	
1251	10,95,552 13 10	7,21,515 4 0			3,398 0 0			18,20,466 1 10		48,420 0 0	2,68,571 9 8	2,76,811 3 6	14,052 5 4	10,959 9 10				24,648 13 6	6,43,463 9 10	24,63,929 11 8	
1252	10,72,696 15 8	7,21,515 4 0			5,553 13 7			17,99,766 1 3		48,790 0 0	2,73,440 3 7	2,74,671 5 5	13,490 3 1	10,103 0 9				21,696 12 4	6,42,191 9 2	24,41,957 10 5	
1253	10,09,646 9 0	7,59,655 2 2						17,69,301 11 2		54,080 0 0	2,82,852 6 6	2,01,932 15 0	16,926 4 6	9,987 12 5				16,682 3 0	5,82,461 9 5	23,51,763 4 7	
1254	9,51,399 14 10	7,62,239 1 6						17,13,639 0 4		55,590 0 0	3,50,577 0 1	2,520 12 8	23,559 1 4	10,417 1 0				13,689 9 0	4,56,350 8 1	21,69,989 8 5	
1255	9,63,781 10 7	7,82,815 12 4						17,46,597 6 11		60,685 0 0	3,31,726 5 7	2,123 9 2	20,138 0 8	11,687 7 5				14,467 7 0	4,40,827 13 10	21,87,425 4 9	
1256	9,09,552 15 8	7,82,815 12 4						16.92,368 12 0		54,970 8 10	3,92,873 11 8	1,538 8 1	15,201 8 2	8,121 0 11				13,074 7 6	4,86,479 12 10	21,78,848 8 10	
1257	10,76,463 5 2	7,82,815 12 4						18,59,279 1 6		54,040 0 0	3,18,072 14 5	1,490 2 8	19,510 7 4	11,404 5 3				12,530 0 0	4,17,047 13 8	22,76,326 15 2	
1258	10,83,390 8 2	7,82,815 12 4						18,66,206 4 6		57,160 0 0	3,23,134 15 3	1,603 15 5	13,416 13 9	11,204 3 2				23,200 15 0	4,29,720 12 7	22,95,927 1 1	
1259	9,93,080 10 5	7,82,815 12 4						17,75,896 6 9		52,405 0 0	3,50,826 0 0	1,553 5 7	12,900 11 1	9,517 4 6				26,589 9 6	4,53,791 14 8	22,29,688 15 5	
1260	11,05,957 7 6	7,82,815 12 4						18,88,813 3 10		56,840 0 0	2,94,629 11 3	1,351 13 1	14,987 15 3	11,973 5 8				30,435 4 0	4,10,218 1 3	22,99,031 5 1	
1261	10,07,279 1 1	7,72,999 15 9						17,80,279 0 10		51,790 0 0	3,65,969 6 5	784 11 5	18,863 8 6	9,208 0 9				33,642 2 0	4,80,257 13 1	22,60,536 13 11	
1262	11,74,899 10 3	7,72,999 15 9				Erachaka		19,47,899 10 0		61,870 0 0	3,82,584 0 0	576 13 10	21,088 15 5	8,737 3 3				36,009 13 6	5,10,866 12 0	24,58,766 6 0	
1263	11,38,488 3 9	7,72,999 15 9				Nâyakkanûr		19,11,488 3 6		62,770 0 0	3,28,421 1 7	585 12 10	26,738 8 1	13,188 13 3				38,241 0 0	4,69,945 3 9	23,81,433 7 3	
1264	11,44,125 15 7	7,73,002 3 3						19,17,128 2 10		63,525 0 0	3,87,690 0 0	562 7 0	25,275 8 7	10,795 12 9				37,771 15 0	5,25,620 11 4	24,42,748 14 2	
1265	11,65,705 5 4	7,70,940 3 7	10,101 5 2	2,950 0 2		3,461 15 8		19,53,158 13 11		64,210 13 9	4,08,881 3 7	375 8 3	19,950 14 6					49,132 5 0	5,42,470 13 1	24,95,629 11 0	
1266	11,58,474 14 2	7,36,952 14 3	10,101 5 2	2,771 0 0		3,461 15 8		19,11,762 1 3		78,900 0 0	4,09,075 14 0	348 3 11	17,920 3 2					55,512 12 6	5,61,757 1 7	24,73,519 2 10	
1267	9,22,721 3 10	7,39,014 13 11	10,101 5 2	3,274 13 1				16,75,112 4 0		78,900 0 0	4,32,339 4 11	227 5 3	18,087 15 7					49,259 1 6	5,78,813 11 3	22,53,925 15 3	
1268	12,46,413 5 4	7,39,014 13 11	10,101 5 2	4,945 0 8				20,00,474 9 1		79,298 8	4,06,634 10 4	192 10 8	19,261 10 5					49,775 11 0	5,55,163 2 5	25,55,637 11 6	
1269	13,00,504 15 0	7,27,992 4 3	10,101 5 2	6,403 12 3				20,45,002 4 8		79,430 0	4,27,693 2 5	292 4 7	32,603 7 11					59,631 7 6	5,99,650 6 5	26,44,652 11 1	
1270	12,41,827 9 8	7,55,972 13 4	8,904 4 6	4,236 2 8			11,140 2 4	20,22,381 0 6		79,509 9	4,52,791 11 11	240 10 11	30,376 14 4			92,916 6 7	1,883 5 1	1,18,803 4 10	7,76,521 14 11	27,98,902 15 5	
1271	12,07,936 12 5	7,55,972 13 4	8,904 4 6	7,453 1 5			12,471 8 9	19,92,738 8 5	6,787 0 2	95,936 8	6,21,233 3 5	345 1 0	37,198 12 3			1,72,644 9 2		1,95,822 7 2	11,29,967 9 4	31,22,706 1 9	
1272	14,35,198 4 7	7,55,972 13 4	8,904 4 6	4,508 15 8			7,713 1 10	22,12,297 7 11	4,919 12 5	96,011 14 1	5,74,082 14 9	670 10 10	33,637 3 3			1,06,830 5 8		1,39,323 2 4	9,55,476 0 1	31,67,773 8 0	
1273	14,42,019 8 5	7,55,972 13 4	8,904 4 6	5,237 14 9			6,931 6 2	22,19,065 15 2	2,191 5 11	95,900 0	4,84,811 12 1	918 14 10	49,193 11 4			78,798 9 8		1,69,998 6 8	8,81,812 12 6	31,00,878 11 8	
1274	14,11,681 13 5	7,55,972 13 4	18,422 5 6				38,503 0 4	22,24,577 0 7	6,945 13 0	95,925 0	5,83,697 15 10	536 4 6	24,607 11 9		License Tax	80,071 11 11		2,07,898 12 0	9,99,683 5 0	32,24,260 5 7	
1275	13,28,967 6 8	7,83,707 12 9	26,189 11 9				56,677 11 9	21,95,542 10 11		96,202 8	6,27,713 1 11		29,363 1 2					2,20,582 3 10	9,73,860 14 11	31,69,403 9 10	
1276	12,71,533 10 7	7,84,731 15 11	26,914 11 7				46,421 14 0	21,29,602 4 1		1,88,474 8	5,89,705 13 7		29,309 11 3		2,570 0 0			2,09,603 15 0	10,19,663 15 10	31,49,266 3 11	

GLOSSARY

OF COMMONLY USED TECHNICAL WORDS WHICH OCCUR IN THE MANUAL.

Abkari......................The branch of Revenue derived from granting licenses to manufacture or sell intoxicating liquors.

Adi-kodei................An extra crop of rice harvested about the month of Âdi.

Agraharam..............Street or quarter occupied by Brâhmans.

Amaldar..................Commissioner ; ruler or administrator of a small tract of country ; head of a minor department.

Amani......................Direct Collectorial management ; system of taking the Circar "share" in kind.

Ambalakaran...........Head of a village ; village magistrate. Term commonly used in Kalla and Marava villages.

Anna.....................A coin = $1\frac{1}{2}d.$, nearly : 16 Annas = 1 Rupee, 12 Pie = 1 Anna. Also the fraction $\frac{1}{16}$.

Attukal-pashanam...River-channel irrigation.

Ayakat.....................Area as entered in accounts.

Ayan lands..............Ordinary Government lands.

Bagham...................A fathom : of $6\frac{2}{5}$ English feet according to Campbell.

Bag'hayat................'Garden' land irrigated sufficiently to grow particular kinds of crops, with water not supplied by Government.

Banjar.....................Waste.

Batta.......................Subsistence allowance ; diet money.

B'hattan..................Officiating priest in a Pagoda.

Bramhadaya............Grants for the maintenance of Brâhmans.

Bund........................Dyke forming a tank.

Chakram..................Coin = two Rupees, nearly.

Chattram.................A rest-house for wayfarers ; in Anglo-Indian 'Choultry.'

Chatur-b'hagam.......A fourth part of the tîrvei or land-tax customarily remitted to Brâhmans in certain villages.

Chauki......................Custom-house.
Chetti........................Merchant ; money-lender.
Chey..........................A measure of nanjey land which varies in different parts of the country. Usually equals more than half a kâni.
Choultry....................See Chattram.
Circar........................The *de facto* Government.
Collector....................He who administers the revenues of a Province : and is also its chief magistrate.
Collectorate..............A tract of country administered by a Collector.
Cowle..........................Lease ; grant of land for a term of years, a gradually increasing rent being reserved.

Dalâyat......................Personal attendant on an official ; superior kind of Peon.
Dammer.....................A kind of resin used for stopping bottles, &c.
Dark'hast..................Written application for lease of land.
Desa-kavali..............Guarding of a country.
Desam........................Country.
Devadaya..................Grants for maintenance of Churches.
Deva-st'hanam.........God's place ; Pagoda ; Church.
D'harmakartan.........Manager or trustee of a Pagoda ; Churchwarden.
Dittam........................Settlement ; taking engagements to cultivate from Ryots.
Dry-grains................Grains which require no irrigation.
Dubashi......................One who speaks two languages ; interpreter ; agent.

Fanam........................A coin of various values ranging between 1¼ Anna and 3½.
Fasli...........................The year commonly used in Revenue matters. It begins now on the 1st June. Fasli 1277=1867-8.
Fassal.........................Crop.
Fassal Jasti..............Extra crop ; second crop grown where one crop is usually grown.
Faysal........................Original settlement ; settlement first made by a British Administrator.

Ghee...........................Clarified butter.
Ghetti-tirvei.............Assessment payable on lands cultivated with certain superior kinds of dry grains, *e. g.* chôlam, râgi, &c.
Gopuram....................A lofty tower, generally over the entrance of a temple.

Gramam..................Hindû Village.
Gumastah............Clerk.
Gunta......................A measure of land in Dindigul : supposed by some to contain 25,610 sq. ft., by others 25,039. The Madura Nanjey Gunta contains 576 sq. ft.
Guru......................Hindû priest or spiritual adviser.
Gutta or Guttagei..Renting or hiring.

Hafta Devast'hanas.The "seven Churches"; a group of Churches endowed with certain lands.
Hukumnama..........A set of written rules for the guidance of Revenue Officers.
Hulus Assessment.That fixed in Dindigul by Mr. Hurdis.
Huzur....................The presence : commonly applied to the chief English administrative Officer of a district.

Inam......................Free grant ; gift ; privilege ; endowment.
Inamdar................Holder of an Inâm.
Jaggery................Coarse sugar made from the juice of the Palmyra tree.
Jama......................Total Government demand.
Jivitham................Subsistence.
Jamabandi............The annual settlement made with Government tenants.

Kalam....................=6, 8, or 12 markâls.
Kalam....................Time ; season ; the principal cultivation season.
Kalvay....................Channel taken off from a river stream or tank for irrigational purposes.
Kammalans............Smiths, carpenters, and masons, See Pânchâla.
Kanakku-pillei.........Accountant ; Registrar of a village.
Kani......................A measure of Nanjey. Contains 57,600 square feet or 100 Madura guntas.
Kanmay..................Tank for irrigational purposes.
Karbar....................Financial agent or minister in a Native Court.
Karei village...........One divided into kareis or shares, which are or ought to be periodically re-allotted.
Karnam..................= Kanakku-pillei in its second sense.
Kasba......................Principal village ; metropolis ; head-quarters of the Tahsildar.
Katcheri..................Public building or place in which business is conducted : also the establishment which conducts it.
Kaval......................Watch and ward.

Kavalkaran............Watchman of a village or tract.
Kavalgar................See preceding word.
K'has.....................Belonging to Government.
Kist.......................Instalment of tîrvei, or of tribute.
Kistbandi...............Arrangement by which kists are made payable at particular times in the year.
Kodei.....................An extra crop of rice raised either before or after the principal or kâlam.
Kovil......................Hindû church or temple.
Kudi.......................Inhabitant; ryot; cultivator.
Kudivaram.............The cultivator's share of the crop.
Kulam.................... ...Tank, reservoir
Kuli.........................A measure of punjey: said to be the same as the gunta, q. v. The kuli varies much in different parts of the District. See p. 90, Part IV.
Kunkur..................Travertine.
Kurukkam... ....A measure of punjey land which varies in every village. Several go to an acre.

Laterite..................A soft red conglomerate rock, which hardens on exposure to the air.

Maafi ....Remission or reduction of assessment; particularly one granted in Dindigul by Mr. Hurdis.
Madeiyan..............Village servant who distributes water for irrigational purposes.
Mahajanams..........Great people; principal inhabitants; Brâhmans.
Mahanam........ .....Group of villages; the fraction $\frac{1}{16}$.
Malikana...............Subsistence allowance granted to Zamindârs, Poligars and others dispossessed of their estates, usually at the rate of 10 per cent. on the collections actually made from their estates.
Mamul. ....Custom.
Manavaripat.........Watered by rain alone.
Mandalam....... ......Country.
Maniam...... ....Fee; grant; remuneration by occupancy of land rent-free.
Maniamdar............Holder of a mâniam.
Mantapam........ .....A square or rectangular hall with a flat roof supported by pillars, generally open at the sides.
Manyakaran.........Subordinate in charge of the revenues of one or more villages, Revenue Inspector; Auditor of Accounts; Supervisor.

Markal..................A measure of capacity which varies in different parts of the country; usually = 8 or 4 padis.

Masi-kodei..............An extra crop of rice harvested about the month of Mâsi.

Melvaram................The 'upper share' of the crop, *i. e.*, that which belongs to the landlord, usually the Government.

Miras...................Hereditary right or privilege.

Mirasidar...............Holder of a mirâs; usually an hereditary Village Officer.

Monigar.................See Manyakâran.

Moonsiff................Head of a Village; Village Collector and Magistrate; also a native Judge.

Munasib-kammi.....'Proper' remission or reduction of assessment; particularly that granted in Dindigul by Mr. Peter.

Mutta or Mita...........Small estate; the word is loosely used as equivalent to Pâleiyam or Zamindâri.

Muttadar................Holder of a mutta.

Nadu....................Country; group of villages, particularly Kalla villages.

Namam...................The symbol of the Vaishnava religion: is generally painted on the forehead in the form of a trident.

Nanjey..................Land capable of being irrigated sufficiently for the growth of rice with water supplied by Government.

Nanjey-mel-punjey or nanjey-taram punjey................Nanjey which has become unfit for rice, and degenerated into ordinary punjey.

Nanjey-van-payir..Nanjey cultivated with certain special crops called vân-payir, q. v.

Nattanmeikaran ...Formerly 'ruler of a nâdu'; head of a village with its dependencies; Village Collector and Magistrate.

Nattamgar...............See Nâttânmeikâran.

Nirgunti................See Madeiyan.

Paddy...................Unhusked rice.

Padi....................A measure of capacity which varies in every village. Usually = about three pints.

Paditaram...............Ordinary expenditure in a Pagoda.

Pagoda..................A Star Pagoda = 3½ Rupees.

Paleiyakaran............Grantee of a pâleiyam; formerly military chief seised of a pâleiyam.

Paleiyam..............Military feud ; estate not "permanently settled."
Panchala..............Group of 'five' castes of smiths, masons and carpenters
Panchayet............Jury of arbitrators ; properly there should be five.
Pandal..................Booth.
Pandaram.............Saiva Monk ; devotee ; beggar.
Panmala...............Betel-vine cultivation.
Pathei-kavali........Guarding the King's highways.
Patta.....................A document showing the particulars of the Government demand against a ryot in respect of his registered holding. It is granted every year to each registered ryot.
Pattu-kattu...........Hereditary occupancy of a holding, or holding permanently held.
Pattu-nul-karan.....Silk-weaver.
Peon......................Armed retainer ; irregular policeman ; messenger ; bailiff.
Peshkash..............Annual tribute payable by Zamindârs, Poligars and others.
Pie.........................A coin = 1-12th Anna.
Pilluvari...............Grass-tax.
Poligar........ ....See Pâleiyakâran.
Pollam..................See Pâleiyam.
Pon........................Coin = two Rupees, nearly.
Poruppu...............Quit-rent ; pepper-corn rent.
Pothu-selavu.........'Common charges' of cultivation ; cost of labor, &c., incurred in raising a crop.
Pradani................Financial minister.
Punjey..................Land which cannot be irrigated and is therefore unfit for the growth of rice.
Punjey-bag'hayat..= punjey garden, q. v.
Punjey garden.......Punjey land irrigated by private wells, streams, &c., in such a way as to admit of the growth of certain vegetables.
Punjey-van-payir..Punjey cultivated with certain crops termed vân-payir, q. v.
Punjey-varavu-nanjey................Punjey converted into nanjey.
Purambok...............Lands reserved as being required for purposes other than those of cultivation, *e. g.*, sites of villages, beds of tanks, banks of channels, ditches of Forts, &c., &c.

Puthukudis............Ryots newly settled in a village.

Rassum..................Small fee, usually paid in money.
Rayasam.................Secretary ; scribe ; clerk.
Razinama................Written agreement ; deed of relinquishment of land.

Renter..................Farmer of taxes.
Rupee...................A coin = two shillings nearly ; see Anna.
Ryot....................Cultivator of land.
Ryotwari................System of settling with each ryot directly.

Samib'hogam.........Landlord's share of the crop.
Samprati..............Revenue Accountant ; Inspector or Supervisor of a small tract of country.
Sanad..................Patent of grant or appointment.
Saucar.................Banker ; agent.
Sayer..................Land customs ; transit duties.
Shavi..................Withering of rice-crops for want of water.
Shrotriyam...........Inâm lands granted to learned Brâhmans.
Sibbandi..............Establishment ; Police ; armed retainers.
St'hanikan...........Principal Brâhman attached to a Pagoda.
Swarnadaya..........Ready-money collections ; certain petty cesses.
Swatantram..........Fee ; privilege ; emolument.
Swami..................Lord ; ruler ; God ; idol in a temple.

Tahsildar..............Revenue Officer in charge of a tâlûk.
Taram assessment.That introduced in the Madura country by Mr. Hurdis : so termed because the soils were classified according to their natures and capabilities, and each class separately assessed in each village.
Takkavi................Money advanced to a ryot to enable him to cultivate.
Tali.....................Marriage token, worn by the wife round the neck.
Taluk...................A division of a Collectorate immediately administered by a Tahsildâr.
Tasdik..................Fixed or customary allowance.
Teppakulam..........Square stone tank for religious uses.
Tirvei..................The money assessment fixed on Government lands, and payable directly by those who hold them.
—— **Jasti**..........'Extra assessment' realised after Jamabandi accounts have been made up.
Tope....................Clump of trees ; grove ; orchard ; plantation.

Totti.......................Village messenger
Tunduvaram..........Landlord's share of estimated profits of cultivation.

Ulkudi....................Permanent, resident ryot ; hereditary occupant of land.

Vakeel...................Agent ; representative ; ambassador.
Village.....................A large or small area of land marked off by boundaries, and partly or wholly cultivated by one or more families, which are recognized by the State as constituting a separate and independent community in respect of such land.
Van-payir.............Certain specially taxed products, viz., betel-vines, turmeric, plantains, chillies and brinjals.
Varam...................Share of crop.
Varapattu.............System of dividing crops.

Yendal.....................Very small tank or reservoir : chiefly found in the Mêlûr country.

Zaft.........................Attachment ; sequestration.
Zamindar..............Land-holder ; owner of an estate ; usually one who holds a "permanently settled" estate.
Zamindari..............The estate of a Zamindâr.

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